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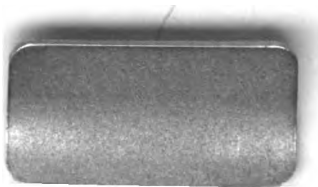
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With this issue the *American Journal of Theology* closes its career, to give way to the *Journal of Religion*, which will take over its aims and purposes.

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THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY

Volume XXIV

JANUARY 1920

Number 1

RECENT TENDENCIES IN THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES

WILLISTON WALKER
Yale University

American Christianity is remarkably homogeneous. The churches have so grown to represent a common type that what is true regarding any Protestant communion in the United States is measurably true of all. The same tendencies are everywhere at work. No body of American Christians which claims the adhesion of any considerable portion of our population is unaffected by the spirit of our national intellectual, political, and economic life. The general diffusion of popular intelligence, the steady trend toward democracy, and the growing significance of questions of social justice have influenced the life and outlook of all our churches and have produced changes in emphasis that, though difficult to estimate on any statistical scale, are abundantly evident. None of the American Protestant churches stand where they did a generation ago. All are striving to adapt their methods to the needs of the altered age in which we live.

While much that could be said of any denomination is therefore true of all, the group known as the Congregational churches has a historic unity and a present corporate life that makes a special consideration of existing conditions and tendencies not unfitting, and constitutes the subject of this review.

A generation ago the Congregational churches were in controversy regarding the acceptance of the more conservative results of

biblical criticism and of the view of the universe which had been brought about by modern science. Leaders were sharply divided. Controversies involved the continued occupancy of their chairs by professors in Andover Theological Seminary and the conditions of appointment to service by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. The questions were then purely doctrinal, and the cleft between the "conservatives" and "progressives" threatened a division of the Congregational churches into separate bodies. Had the Congregational denomination been more centrally organized, with a single universally recognized creedal standard, such would have probably been the outcome. Fortunately more fraternal feelings prevailed. With the decision of 1893, that the standards of doctrinal acceptability for missionary service should be those of admission to the Congregational ministry at home, the door was opened to the recognition of the newer views, since the determination of ministerial fitness rests in the Congregational churches, with a special advisory council composed of ministerial and lay representatives of churches, largely of the vicinage. This decision, which ended the controversy, was not so much a defeat of the "conservatives" as an attainment of recognition by the "progressives." Both attitudes were to exist side by side in mutual tolerance. A broadly interpreted evangelicalism was to be characteristic of the Congregational ministry. The results thus foreshadowed have been abundantly achieved in the years that followed. No doctrinal controversy since that time has divided Congregational allegiance. There are considerable diversities of interpretation in the Congregational churches, but the freedom then attained has been permanent. Such divergencies as exist are maintained in a spirit of fraternal good will. Any observer who remembers the older time and has been in recent attendance on the great representative gatherings of Congregationalism must have been impressed by the total absence of acrimonious doctrinal debate.

Naturally the progress of time has brought a younger leadership to the front in the Congregational churches and with it an increasing sympathy with more modern views of the Bible and of Christian truth. Few of those who were active in the discussions of a genera-

tion ago are now leaders in the life of the churches. Most of them are now no longer of the living. In their place has arisen a younger ministry, no less consecrated and self-sacrificing, but with somewhat unlike interests. A somewhat extensive listening to sermons enables the writer to affirm that the doctrinal exposition, once common, has become relatively rare. The newer ministry is not prevaillingly a race of theologians. It is interested primarily in the practical application of the gospel. It is far also from being a generation of preachers of morality. To those in the Congregational pulpits of the present day, as to those who stood in the desk in earlier times, the Christian life is a divinely wrought change, effected and maintained by the power of the living God; but Congregationalists nowadays are more interested in its results than in the intellectual explanation of its processes. There is at present no Edwards nor Taylor nor Park in the Congregational pulpits or seminaries, nor is there promise that there will soon be. No great theological "system," as once, now claims the allegiance of large portions of the Congregational ministry.

Closely connected with this altered emphasis in teaching there has come about a somewhat altered attitude of the ministry toward its profession. The ministry of the Congregational churches of today is less ecclesiastical than that of an earlier time. It is less conscious of the claims and dignity of office and more of its influences as that of Christian men among men. There is in the Congregational ministry an almost complete absence of any sacerdotal feeling, or of separation, save in leadership, from the laity. Its message must come with the authority of reasonableness, enforced by sincerity and consecration of life rather than by weight of office.

These tendencies have been strengthened by the experiences of the Great War. Undoubtedly a good deal of theoretical pacifism existed among a minority of the Congregational ministry and found occasional utterance during the early months of that struggle; but it was generally consumed by the hot fire of patriotism once the United States had taken its share in the conflict. Once in the war, those of the Congregational ministry whose youth permitted sought an active share in the work of chaplaincies, of the Red

Cross, of the Young Men's Christian Association, and of other religious and welfare agencies at home and across the seas in great numbers. No religious body in America has a more creditable record in this respect. This service has brought many of our younger ministry into more intimate contact with the needs of widely representative average American life than they could have had in the normal service of our churches. They have seen American manhood in its raw, formative stage, and have been called upon to do their utmost to mold it for God and for righteousness. They have been impressed with the simplicity of the gospel message which shall appeal to the average of American young manhood, the value of the rougher and more masculine virtues, and the contagious influence of Christian example, and they have brought home with them the desire to apply some of these lessons in their home communities. It is far too soon to estimate the effect of this novel contact upon the life of the Congregational churches; but there can be no doubt that many of the younger ministry have caught a vision of a wider and more efficient service. If their work may be less intense in building up a small group of saints it may be more wide-reaching in building Christian men.

As in other American religious bodies, the presentation of the gospel message has tended toward simplicity and directness. Great preachers, who speak to the hearts and consciences of many, are as highly valued as ever, and the Congregational churches are blessed with as many as in any earlier age; but great sermons are less esteemed. The elaborately wrought written discourse, delivered with carefully balanced elocutionary effort, admired by a previous generation, is esteemed artificial by those who sit in the pews today. Few ministers now read their sermons. The type of preaching represented by the younger Congregational ministry is simple, direct, often almost conversational; but this change is nothing peculiar to the Congregational churches. At the same time, while Congregational preaching, like American preaching in general, far more seldom takes the form of biblical exposition than in Scotland or in Nonconformist England, the expository sermon is much more frequent than it once was. The essay type of discourse is distinctly on the decline. The presenta-

tion of Bible thought has increased as the discussion of theological doctrine has waned.

Yet all preaching must have behind it a background of doctrinal conviction, as any fleshly body must have a bony structure for its support. If the exhibition of the osseous articulation of this framework is less frequently the subject of discourse than was once the case, its existence is none the less real. The great evangelical doctrines stand firm today in the Congregational churches as in the past. Congregationalism is profoundly convinced of the awful reality of human sinfulness and of the impossibility of the renewal of human nature except by the grace of God. It knows too much of the weakness and inefficiency of unaided humanity, it has seen too much of the seamy side of life, to have faith in salvation by character. Yet character, renewed, unselfish, and Christian, is the goal which by God's renewing grace may be attained; and Congregationalism generally holds that belief or emotion without appropriate fruitage in character is of relatively slight value. Yet so confident are Congregationalists that right relations with God, however attained, are of the essence of the Christian life, that the Congregational churches have not opposed, but have heartily co-operated with the efforts of well-known evangelists whose doctrinal emphases and methods are not those of the Congregational churches generally.

The Congregational churches believe that God, in the regeneration of men, works when and how he will. They are therefore not sacramental in the sense of regarding the sacraments as the exclusive channels of divine grace, though to them the Christian life, once formed, is nourished by the sacraments. They believe that divine renewal may be, and often is, an instantaneous and radical change, and they therefore feel that direct appeal for reconciliation with God and acceptance of Christ has a normal and legitimate place in Christian effort; but they do not deem it the exclusive means of increasing the subjects of the Kingdom of God. Hence the Congregational churches while often adopting the methods of the revival are not prevaillingly revivalist.

They hold, with Horace Bushnell, that, in case at least of those of Christian parentage and environment, Christian nurture is the

normal avenue of entrance into the Christian life. Hence they lay increasing stress on what is coming somewhat widely to be known as the church school—the old Sunday school in more efficient pedagogical form. Religious education is regarded as of constantly increasing importance in our churches, and that not merely as a door of entrance into the Christian life but as a prime means of the development of that life when immature. The minister is becoming rare who does not regard the church school as a field demanding an effort fairly proportionate to that which he devotes to the pulpit. At the same time it cannot be denied that the increased pedagogical efficiency which emphasis on improved methods of religious education has wrought has brought its special problems. Many excellent men and women, who once would gladly have taken upon themselves Sunday-school instruction as a Christian duty, and whose Christlikeness of example would have largely offset faultiness of training or of method, hesitate to assume the burden in the face of increased demands of teaching efficiency. This is probably a passing phase, which improved church schools will alter by training teachers from those who are at present pupils.

Modern Congregationalism yields to no past generation in its loyalty to Christ as its Lord and Master. To Congregationalists generally he is the revelation of the character of God in terms of a human life, the way to the Father, the bearer of the divine authority over men, and the pattern and example of what redeemed humanity may be. While confidently convinced of his divinity, modern Congregationalists largely regard the historic doctrine of the Trinity as a scholastic effort to explain the great mystery of Christ's person and life, and while in no sense denying the value of the doctrine of the Trinity as the best philosophic interpretation of that mystery, holding themselves to be truly Trinitarians, they feel that the reality is too vital and deep to be compassed in any formula, however intellectually able. Similarly, regarding the Holy Spirit, they are convinced of the reality and omnipresence of his working—all true Christian life bears witness to that—but whether he is so distinguishable from the Father and from Christ as to be adequately designated as a "person," they prefer to leave in the field of metaphysical interpretation. With Augustine they feel

that language is inadequate to express the mystery of the divine existence, yet that the term "person" is the best yet employed. The great thing is that coming into contact with Christ and the Holy Spirit the soul comes into contact, not with what some prophet or religious genius has thought about God, but with God himself.

Modern Congregationalism holds strongly to the significance of the death of Christ. It believes with intensity of conviction "that Christ died for our sins." That death, also, set forth God's outreaching love for men as nothing less could. Christ's cross draws all men unto him. But modern Congregationalism is less sure than was an older generation that its understanding of the exact process of salvation is complete or exhaustive. It has no theory of the atonement that has such sway as once, for instance, the governmental theory advocated by Professor Park had. The doctrine of vicarious atonement still has large following in these churches. The interpretation of moral influence advocated by Horace Bushnell has a larger hold; but very many prefer to emphasize the importance of the death of Christ for the individual Christian life without attempting to catalogue or define exactly the benefits that flow therefrom.

The most important difference between the message of modern Congregationalism and that of an earlier time is one not so much of content as of emphasis. It believes as intensely as did the older generation in the commandment: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart"; but it regards as equally important the second, which is "like unto it": "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." Modern Congregationalism feels strongly the social significance of the gospel. Salvation is necessarily individual, but it is not primarily for the sake of the individual. The reign of God is a kingdom. His will is to be done on earth as it is in heaven generally and not by a few individuals. The gospel implies a regenerated human society in which justice shall reign between man and man, and in which the welfare of all shall be the goal of endeavor. Modern Congregationalism has therefore much sympathy with movements which aim for human betterment. Its younger ministry have cordially co-operated with efforts to secure

larger rewards, better hours, and more healthful conditions of labor. They have felt that labor and capital alike have rights, while those of the great public must not be neglected. But modern Congregationalism feels that existing movements, whether in the interest of capital or of labor, if motivated primarily by selfishness, are wrong in method, and that the Christlike attitude, and therefore the only right attitude, is that of service and the true spirit is that of mutual helpfulness.

This spirit of social service has rendered the Congregational churches sympathetic with reform movements, such as that to secure national prohibition and that to obtain a better understanding and juster relations between the various races represented in American citizenship, notably between the white and colored people of the United States.

"Christlike," "social," and "sacrificial" are three conceptions about which much of recent Congregational preaching centers. Such an emphasis on the regenerative power of the gospel as applied to the social, no less than to the individual, life renders the present Congregational outlook this-worldly to a degree not characteristic of the not distant past. The hope of personal immortality burns as brightly in most hearts as ever. Men strive to live "after the power of an endless life." The Great War with its sacrifices of youthful promise has brought to the Congregational churches, as to all churches, a quickened appreciation of the significance of a life beyond. But of the occupations and conditions of that life it is fair to say that the average Congregationalist of today has a less definite conception than his predecessor. It is enough for the man of the present to hold with Baxter:

My knowledge of that life is small,
The eye of faith is dim,
But 'tis enough that Christ knows all
And I shall be with Him.

As a result sermons on heaven are heard more rarely in Congregational pulpits than once they were, while sermons on the fate of the wicked have become rare indeed. It would be too much to affirm that hope that the divine mercy may ultimately reach all souls has displaced the older conviction of the eternal suffering of the impeni-

tent dead, but such a hope is unquestionably widespread in Congregational churches, and the torments of the damned are certainly very seldom the theme of pulpit consideration.

While, as in all Protestant churches, the degree in which the results of modern investigation of the Bible have been accepted by individuals is very unequal, it is to be said that among the ministry of the Congregational churches the more conservative conclusions of biblical scholarship have large following. The Bible is no less significant than it was to an earlier generation, though the conception of the process by which it has come to us is less mechanical. A large proportion of Congregational ministers would say that the Bible contains rather than is the word of God, and that the inspiration was in the men who wrote, rather than in any immediate supernatural dictation. That guidance certainly was not a preventive of occasional errors in history, it did not guarantee inerrancy in geology, it did not prevent the inclusion of much that represents a lower stage of spiritual insight, or the expression of hopes that time has certainly not fulfilled within the period anticipated by those who wrote. But when all these results of criticism are admitted what can be put in comparison with the Bible? It is to present Congregationalists, as to their fathers, the Book of Life, wherein are revealed the nature and the providence of God, the duty and the destiny of man, and above all the life, teachings, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ.

The Congregational churches have witnessed, during the past few years, a remarkable growth of organic consciousness. All Congregational thought regarding polity has always centered about the two conceptions of autonomy and fellowship. In Congregational thinking each local church is a self-governing democracy electing its own officers, administering its own discipline, defining its term of membership, and stating its faith in words of its own choosing, subject to the important provision that all shall be illustrative of New Testament principles. That autonomy was never more complete than at present. But autonomy has always had as its correlate the principle of fellowship. The founders of American Congregationalism rejected the name "Independent," and their successors on this side of the Atlantic have never favored

it. The favorite illustration employed by early Congregationalism to exhibit the relation of the churches one to another was that of brothers and sisters in a family. That figure still well illuminates the conception. As brothers and sisters in a human household are not under the dominion of any save the head of the family, so the churches which form the spiritual family of Christ own no lordship but his. Yet they owe to each other affection, help, advice in important decisions, aid in financial necessities—in a word fellowship. Hence American Congregationalism from the first has regarded the organization of a new church, or the settlement or dismissal of a pastor, or a grievous case of discipline, as occasions demanding the advice of the representatives of other churches. Similarly the necessities of weak congregations demand the aid, especially the financial aid, of the stronger. These principles have been recognized from the beginning, but the sense of the scope of this application has greatly enlarged during recent years.

While there were general gatherings of the representatives of the Congregational churches in early Colonial days, such as the Cambridge Synod of 1646-48, the first general modern meeting of these churches was the Albany Convention of 1852, by which important measures affecting denominational polity were inaugurated and a fund was raised which resulted in remarkable achievements in church building. The problems raised by the Civil War led to the assembly of a National Council in Boston in 1865. Both the meeting in Albany and that in Boston were special and occasional, but so useful were they felt to be that, in 1871, a regular National Council, meeting once in three years, was inaugurated, the first session being convened in Oberlin. The Council had no legislative powers. It has none now. In its early days, however, it was little more than a gathering for discussion. As years have gone on and the roll of its sessions has lengthened, its influence has steadily grown. The advice of the National Council has been increasingly determinative of the policy of the churches, till the Council has become a main instrument, not merely for the crystallization of common opinion, but for the determination of common action.

Desire for an increase in the power of the National Council was strengthened by the anomalous constitution of the missionary

societies through which the Congregational churches conduct their outreaching work at home and abroad. These societies began in the day of small things, and were therefore compelled at their origin to take the form of voluntary associations of the few then interested in the work which they represented. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, organized in 1810, was typical of all. At its beginning its affairs were intrusted to a small group of interested residents of Massachusetts and Connecticut. Most of these missionary societies were legally self-perpetuating close corporations, though all for the last half-century have steadily increased their membership as their work has come to be that of the churches as a whole, and they have adopted various devices by which the churches should have some effective share in the nomination of those to whom the guidance of the missionary societies was intrusted. Still the churches as such, or the Congregational churches of the United States as a whole, were not directly and immediately represented in the voting membership of the missionary societies which were their agents.

The problem before the Congregational churches was therefore twofold: how to make the National Council more adequate and efficient for its task, and how to give to the churches a determining voice in the management of the missionary societies. After much discussion a widely representative Commission of Nineteen was appointed by the Council of 1910, which held many sessions and public hearings and presented a memorable report to the Council assembled in Kansas City in 1913, where it was adopted with but a single dissenting vote. By the constitution then adopted the National Council meets once in two years. It is composed of representatives of the churches so grouped that if every delegate were present the body would number about six hundred and fifty. These delegates are chosen for terms of four years each, one-half retiring at each council, so that each new Council has in it a membership of one-half who have had at least the experience of one previous Council and therefore do not come unprepared to their tasks. All officers of the Council, with the exception of the moderator and assistant moderators, are nominated by a nominating committee chosen for the term of four years and renewed to the

extent of one-half at each Council. By this committee the members of standing commissions and of special committees are also nominated. To avoid any possible persistence of control by any single element vacancies in the nominating committee are filled by the moderator for the time being, who, it will be remembered, is an officer elected by the Council on nomination from the floor.

Three other creations of this Council of 1913 are of great importance. The first is the enlarged secretaryship. To this office not merely the collection of statistics and the usual duties of a bureau of certification and record are intrusted, but wide representative responsibilities and direct relationship to the committees, other than the nominating committee, of the Council. While not a member of all committees and commissions, the secretary is responsible for securing their meeting and is usually present at their more important sessions. Not a little of the success which has attended the inauguration of the enlarged secretaryship has been due to the wise and statesman-like qualities of the occupant of this post of responsibility from 1913 to the present.

A second creation of 1913 was an executive committee which makes appointments and exercises the rights of the National Council, subject to its revision, when that body is not in session.

The third establishment of 1913 is the Commission on Missions, of whose duties some description will be given in speaking of the missionary societies.

The second problem before the Council of 1913 related to the missionary societies. The difficulties of changing their legal form were too great to be lightly attempted, but their transformation into bodies representative of the churches was accomplished by provisions that each of the national societies should hold its meeting in connection with the National Council, and that each delegate sent by the churches to the Council should be a voting member of each of the societies. Such a result could not, of course, be accomplished without the co-operation of the societies which thus made the representatives of the churches assembled in National Council their voting membership, but this co-operation was in each case heartily given.

To adjust questions that may arise between the societies, to delimit their fields, and to effect wise consolidations and prevent duplication of work, the Commission on Missions was created, consisting of a majority chosen by the National Council and a minority of representatives of the missionary societies. This creation has proved of great value.

This somewhat lengthy account of the changes wrought in 1913 may be justified, since they were no sudden revolution but the culmination of a long process of anterior development, and they are an interesting, and it must be judged successful, attempt to combine the independence of the local church with a corporate and representative power of action which, without being judicial or legislative, is yet extremely effective in directing the larger concerns of the churches thus associated.

The success of the National Council has led to the gathering of an International Council representative of world-wide Congregationalism. Such assemblies have been held in London in 1891, in Boston in 1899, in Edinburgh in 1908, and will meet again in Boston in 1920. They have not yet advanced beyond the stage of meetings for common discussion and fraternal greeting.

Besides the National Council, the Congregational churches of each state in which Congregationalism is represented in sufficient strength are grouped in a state conference, having local powers similar to those of the National Council. Most of these state conferences have existed for many years, and though some constitutional changes have been adopted in the recent past, they are not sufficient to warrant extensive consideration. Below the state conference, and the most local of the bodies into which the Congregational churches are grouped, are the district associations, in which the churches of a convenient territory are represented by their pastors and delegates. The most important change regarding these associations in recent years is that ministerial standing, and therefore immediate ministerial responsibility for character and doctrine, is now vested in these local associations thus directly representative of the churches.

Yet while the possibility of discipline in case of need is thus mentioned in speaking of the district associations, the prime motive

in all these recent changes of Congregational organization has been an increase of efficiency by which the churches of this order could hope to accomplish more fully their work for the Kingdom of God.

Congregationalism has always emphasized education. It has been the mother of schools and colleges. No alteration in this Congregational policy has been made in recent years. It is worthy of note, as illustration of this spirit, that at the National Council of 1919 steps were initiated toward an extensive endowment of the newer and feebler colleges of Congregational foundation. The theological schools of Congregationalism, like theological seminaries generally, have witnessed a great broadening of their curricula corresponding to the enlarging conceptions of Christian service. While preparation for the pulpit and for the active pastorate is emphasized as much as ever, new courses of training have been introduced preparatory to a life-work on the mission field, to service in the Young Men's Christian Association, to the profession of religious education in schools and colleges as well as the more incidental labors of the Sunday school, and to the multitudinous forms of practical philanthropy. All these are truly Christian ministries, and the Congregational theological seminaries feel the obligation of equipping men for these services no less than for the pastorate.

The problem of recruiting for the ministry is one constantly before the Congregational churches, and here the outlook is less satisfactory. The number of ministerial candidates coming from the larger city churches and from the eastern universities and colleges is small. The trend of cultivated and wealthy lay life is away from the ministry. Such families rarely turn their sons toward it. Something of this reluctance may be due to the feeling of inadequacy to meet the intellectual and oratorical demands illustrated in our larger pulpits. More is occasioned by the scanty financial compensation of the ministry, though a decided improvement in the scale of salaries is in process of accomplishment. More disheartening are the frequent changes in pastorates and the uncertainties of maintenance in old age. Steps now being taken to improve the condition of the aged minister will be spoken of later in this article. It is interesting to note that the foreign-

missionary work, while as scantily paid as the pastorate, but promising continuous service and a modest provision in old age, has relatively less difficulty in securing candidates than the home ministry. For the reasons just advanced, or for others, the fact is evident that the majority of recruits for the Congregational ministry now come from rural homes and from the smaller colleges, especially of the Middle West. At the same time the pulpits of the Congregational churches have received large accessions from those trained in other Christian fellowships, and many who have thus thrown in their lot with us are among the most honored and useful of the Congregational ministry.

The mention of additions to the ranks of pastors of Congregational churches from other denominations raises the question of the attitude of Congregationalists toward their fellow-Christians of other names. It is a matter of present satisfaction to Congregationalists that at no time since its establishment in this country has the Congregational body claimed to be the whole church of Christ, nor has it ever denied the Christian character of denominations otherwise organized. In considerable portions of its history, relations with the Presbyterians have been intimate, and if less so for the last sixty years than once they were, a free interchange of ministers and members with the Presbyterian church of the United States of America still actually, if not formally, exists. The sense of a common Christian heritage and the feeling of association in a common work for the advancement of the Kingdom of God have been influencing the relations of Congregationalists to the whole wide family of evangelical communions in rapidly increasing measure during the last few years. The National Council has long had an active Commission on Comity, Federation, and Unity, which has diligently sought to cultivate fraternal relations with other Christian bodies.

Congregationalists have also been forward in practical efforts to advance Christian unity. They have borne their full share in the development of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and look with strong favor on its work. They are actively represented in the councils for home and foreign missions. They are planning to bear an adequate part in the inter-church

world-movement. Congregational participation has also been cordial in endeavors looking toward a yet closer relationship of the churches than any contemplated by the movement just mentioned.

The Congregational churches have been represented in the endeavors initiated by the Protestant Episcopal church looking toward a world-conference on faith and order. They are participant by the formal appointment of delegates for that purpose by the National Council in the Council on the Organic Union of the Evangelical Churches of the United States, resulting from the movement initiated by the Presbyterian General Assembly and soon to be convened in Philadelphia. During the recent war a proposition looking toward a joint ordination of chaplains was made by a group of individual Congregationalists to the House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal church. The proposal was rejected, but it led to further informal conference between Congregationalists and Episcopalians, on private initiative, seeking some honorable agreement by which on the mission fields, in the chaplaincies of the army and navy, and in rural communities Congregational and Episcopal ministers could serve congregations of either or both forms of organization. This informal discussion led to the appointment of a Commission of Fifteen by the Episcopal General Convention of 1919 to meet with Congregationalists and consider the whole question of terms of co-operation in Christian service. The Congregational National Council of 1919 responded by the appointment of its own Commission of Fifteen to deliberate with the representatives of the Protestant Episcopal church. What may be the outcome of any or all of the three movements just described it is impossible to predict. It is evident, however, that the Congregational churches of the present take a vital interest in the question of church unity, regard it as of great importance, and are at least seriously prepared to consider any reasonable propositions that may be made to advance the cause.

What may be the actual result during the next few years of this various discussion of church unity it would be rash to prophesy. The Congregational churches undoubtedly favor church unity theoretically. But really effective unity must be a matter of

association by mutual concession, by the surrender of certain things which while they are seen not to be vital are yet valued and consecrated by time. It involves a spirit which can estimate as of greater worth the things in which Christians of different names are at one than those in which they are divided. There can be no union without sacrifice, nor can the sacrifice all be on one side. When, therefore, the question is asked how far Congregationalists are willing to sacrifice to achieve church unity, a query is put which only time can answer. There are certainly many High Congregationalists in these churches who regard their polity, to say the least, as embodying more completely than any other the principles of the gospel. There are more who prize the liberty of the Congregational pulpit, the non-liturgical nature of Congregational worship, and the democracy of Congregational procedure. To most of these the acceptability of any proposals of church union would depend on the degree to which that which seems fundamental in these characteristics is preserved. Then, too, it cannot be ignored that the differences of American Protestantism are often even more a matter of temperament than of doctrine or government. If there is a characteristically Episcopal, Methodist, or Presbyterian way of doing things, there is also a Congregational. On the other hand, there are many in the Congregational churches who feel painfully the divided state of American Protestantism with its consequent inefficiency and inadequacy in the face of the gigantic spiritual problems of the present, and who long that the church may bear a more united witness to its Lord. Which of these elements may prove the controlling force only the lapse of years will show.

The Congregational churches celebrate, in 1920, the three-hundredth anniversary of their establishment on American shores by the landing of the Pilgrims and the foundation of Plymouth Colony. It will be for them a time of rejoicing, a revival of valued memories, a remembrance of three centuries of honorable witness. They plan to honor the occasion by the gathering of an International Congregational Council. Yet they hope to commemorate the significant events of three centuries ago in no denominational or partisan spirit, for they believe that principles were then

established which have become in greater or less degree the property of all American Christianity, and into that inheritance American churches have widely entered.

The Congregational churches in planning for a suitable permanent commemoration for this anniversary have decided on a more ample provision for their aged and infirm ministry. Some support for the more necessitous of these veterans of the warfare of the church militant, and for the needs of their widows and children, has long been furnished partly by funds and contributions in the older states and partly by the National Board of Ministerial Relief. While such aid has done much service, it has been only for the most necessitous, and it has been too scanty even for that which it has attempted. The National Council has therefore undertaken the creation of a "Pilgrim Memorial Fund," as a result of which it is believed that by means of a small annual contribution by the minister himself, augmented by a similar or larger payment from the church that he serves, and both supplemented in much greater measure from the income of the Memorial Fund, each minister who has labored in the Congregational churches for a considerable term of years can be assured, on attaining the age of sixty-five and for the rest of his life, an annuity amounting in the case of one who has received a moderate salary to at least half his annual active compensation, and in that of his better-paid brother to a very considerable if not quite proportionate amount. Some worthy provision will also be made for his widow and dependent children should he die. The Fund is in process of collection, but the work has sufficiently advanced to make evident that no cause in recent years has appealed more strongly to the conscience and liberality of the Congregational churches, and the success of the undertaking seems assured.

The Congregational churches, like all other American Christian communions, face serious problems in this changing and restless time, but they look forward with courage and confidence, believing that the good hand of God which has been over them in blessing in the past is still guiding them and will continue to lead them into larger service for him who is the Master of us all.

THE NEW ENGLAND THEOLOGIANS

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It may be doubted whether any corner of earth, unless it be Scotland, has ever had so metaphysically minded a clergy as New England. The eighteenth-century New England divines, commencing with Edwards, were ardent, and some of them very acute, metaphysicians.

I

The New England theology was chiefly concerned with three great issues—all fundamentally metaphysical and to some extent ethical—arising out of the effort to square the Calvinistic system with the demands of rational and moral thinking. The first of these was the issue between sovereignty and benevolence; the second, that between determinism and freedom; the third, that between total depravity and true virtue. These issues appeared and reappeared in their sermons and writings with what seems to us wearisome persistence—a form, doubtless, of the perseverance of the saints. All of these problems, although not raised *de novo* by Jonathan Edwards, profoundest of American thinkers, were thrust upon the American people by his eager and speculative mind.¹

Edwards left a yawning chasm between his extreme Calvinistic interpretation of the doctrine of sovereignty (including divine decrees) and his representation of God as benevolence—a gulf of which he himself seemed strangely oblivious. It was the task of his pupils and friends, Joseph Bellamy and Samuel Hopkins and their successors, to relate and if possible reconcile these contradictory doctrines which Edwards himself treated as if they were

¹ Jonathan Edwards was born at East Windsor, Conn., in 1703; was graduated from Yale College in 1720; pastor at Northampton, Mass., 1727–50; missionary to the Indians at Stockbridge, 1750–58; president of Princeton College from 1758 till his death in the same year. See the biography by A. V. G. Allen, also the invaluable article, "Jonathan Edwards' Idealism," by Professor E. C. Smyth in the *American Journal of Theology*, Vol. I, No. 4.

entirely harmonious. "Why not harmonious?" Edwards would doubtless have asked. "May there not be a benevolent sovereign?" Possibly, it might be replied, but not if that sovereign elects the greater part of his subjects to eternal damnation for no other reason than his own inscrutable pleasure. Nor can a sovereign be readily regarded as benevolent who has decreed a world-order of which sin and suffering and death are predetermined constituents.

Joseph Bellamy¹ endeavored to meet such objections as these in his daring treatise, *The Wisdom of God in the Permission of Sin* (1758), in which he advanced the New England counterpart of Leibnitzian optimism, i.e., that this is the best possible of worlds and that God decreed sin for the reason that in the end it will bring "the greatest good to the greatest number." Samuel Hopkins² took much the same position in his tract, *Sin through the Divine Interposition an Advantage to the Universe* (1759), in which he declared that "God's greatest and most glorious work is to bring good out of evil . . . to make sin in general, which is the greatest evil, the means of the greatest good."³

Nothing could excel the boldness with which these two New England optimists advanced and upheld these daring propositions. But it was an impossible position and gradually underwent a large degree of modification, especially at the hands of N. W. Taylor, who held that "such is the nature of *free agency* that God could not wholly prevent its perversion."⁴ In fact, "He has been crossed and thwarted" by sin.⁵

God may be supposed to purpose an event—i.e., to purpose that it *shall be* and to prefer that it *should be*—which is not the necessary means of the greatest conceivable good, but which is wholly evil in its nature, tendencies, and relations

¹ Joseph Bellamy, born in Cheshire, Conn., February 20, 1719; was graduated at Yale College, 1735; studied with Edwards at Northampton, 1736; pastor at Bethlehem, Conn., 1740 till his death in 1790; D.D., Aberdeen University, 1768.

² Samuel Hopkins, born in Waterbury, Conn., September 17, 1721; was graduated at Yale College, 1741; studied with Edwards; pastor at Great Barrington, Mass., 1743-69; Newport, R.I., 1770 till his death, December 20, 1803.

³ F. H. Foster, *History of New England Theology*, p. 131. Professor Foster's history is the one thorough and adequate history of this notable school of theology.

⁴ Foster, *op. cit.*, p. 372.

⁵ *Moral Government*, II, 14.

because the evil is unavoidably incidental (so far as His power is concerned) to that system which is the necessary means of the highest conceivable and highest actual good, it being true at the same time that He can bring so much good out of the evil that the actual result will be the greatest good which He can secure.¹

This is manifestly a circuitous defense, but the best, perhaps, that could be reached under the Edwardean system.

II

The second issue with which the New England theology had to wrestle was that of determinism versus freedom. This was the battlefield royal. Edwards' determinism, so strongly set forth in his *Treatise on the Will*, left a heavy load for a freedom-loving people to carry. The only relief to Edwards' absolute determinism was his doctrine that while a man is morally unable to choose for himself he has a kind of defunct residual "natural ability," or at least he might have it if he had not sinned in Adam. For a time this doctrine of "natural ability"—although it was an ability which was hardly more than a fiction—served to offset the dead weight of "moral inability." Bellamy, Hopkins, Smalley, and others defended and extended this distinction. Bellamy declared that "the more unable to love God we are the more we are to blame."²

The *Treatise on the Will* was recognized as a masterly work. But the New England mind would not endure its determinism—high treason as it was to the consciousness of freedom. Protest after protest was raised against it, some mild and suggestive, others indignant and denunciatory. Among the earlier were James Dana's *Examination* (1770) and Samuel West's *Essays on Liberty and Necessity* (1793). Not only the Arminians, against whom Edwards had directed his *Treatise*, but many of the adherents of orthodoxy joined in this revolt against him. The most notable protest was that of Nathaniel W. Taylor, professor of systematic theology in Yale College.³ Taylor was no seceder from the New

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 330.

² Foster, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

³ Nathaniel W. Taylor, born in New Milford, Conn., 1786; was graduated at Yale College, 1807; studied theology with President Dwight; pastor of the First Church, New Haven, 1812-22; professor of systematic theology, Yale, 1822-58; died March 10, 1858.

England system, although violent antagonists attempted to brand him as such. He held fast to the cardinal doctrines of Calvinism. Yet "The New Haven theology," which he fathered, proved to be a powerful factor in undermining the New England theology. Taylor rejected emphatically and explicitly the Edwardean doctrine of natural ability, asserting that "the *natural ability of man* to obey God, as defined by Edwards and others, has no existence and can have none. It is an essential nothing." In place of this fiction Taylor declared that the soul possesses "power to the contrary."¹

Inasmuch as the Unitarians had thrown their full weight against Calvinistic determinism and in behalf of an extreme individualistic freedom, this attack of Taylor upon determinism seemed to ally him with them, in spite of the fact that one of the main objects of his system was to refute Unitarianism. This unholy alliance, as it seemed to the orthodox, greatly prejudiced many against Taylor. Nevertheless "Taylorism" spread near and far. It became a dominating factor in that new center of New England life, Oberlin College, under its first three presidents, Finney, Mahan, and Fairchild. President Finney insisted with characteristic positiveness that under a moral government "sin and holiness must be free and voluntary acts and states of mind."² President Mahan in his vigorous little volume, *Doctrine of the Will* (1844), specifically refuted Edwards and strongly upheld liberty. President Fairchild in his *Moral Philosophy* (1869) followed Mahan in appealing to consciousness as a sufficient guaranty of freedom. Meanwhile the protest was still going on in New England. Roland G. Hazard's *Freedom of Mind in Willing* appeared in 1864. In fact, before the last quarter of the nineteenth century American Congregationalism, orthodox as well as Unitarian, had quite fully repudiated Edwards' determinism, although there was here and there a theologian who still endeavored to sustain it.

This inner repudiation of determinism on the part of Congregationalism was aided by the bombardment from without. From

¹ *Moral Government*, II, 134. Professor B. B. Warfield calls Taylor "the Pelagianizer" (see article, "Edwards and the New England Theology," *Hastings' Dictionary of Religion and Ethics*).

² *Lectures on Systematic Theology* (1851), Preface, p. viii.

the side of Arminianism *Whedon on the Will* (1864) vigorously attacked it, and Unitarianism delivered against it an unceasing fusillade. With all this battling over the issue of freedom versus determinism it is indicative of the limited range of metaphysical speculation that there was little or no thought of a possible synthesis of the two. Polemics was too much the accepted atmosphere of the time to permit of this.

III

Nathaniel W. Taylor was a unique and striking figure in American thought and typical of the polemic era. He was an effective controversialist and a very Jove at wielding theological thunderbolts. His stormy strength was felt on every hand. He shook the hoary tree of Edwardian Calvinism, already smitten by Unitarianism, to its roots, leaving it standing (he meant to strengthen it) yet ready to topple over at the mere breath of his dissentient pupil, Horace Bushnell, and his fellows of "the New Theology." Taylor was by no means a philosopher. His ignorance of philosophy—its history, its spirit, and its method—is impressive, as his discussions of the Trinity and his all but sophomoric sermon "What is Truth?"¹ sufficiently attest. Yet he was master of the art of stating obvious but overlooked truths impressively and in making a certain class of distinctions and affirmations which were both opportune and forceful. In this way he came to be the champion of freedom of the will when all about him cowered before a deterministic orthodoxy. For these reasons he stands out as one of the heroes of the New England faith, whom we of their heritage may well canonize—in our Protestant fashion.

Another of the strong and scintillating minds of the New England school was Nathaniel Emmons (1745-1840).² Born forty-one years earlier than Taylor, he was preaching that the soul is a series of "voluntary exercises" when Taylor began lecturing on moral government at Yale. Emmons was a country pastor, serving for fifty-four years as pastor of the church in Franklin,

¹ See Taylor's *Revealed Theology*, pp. 461 ff. Professor George P. Fisher overlooks this defect in his otherwise just tribute to Dr. Taylor. See *Discussions in History and Theology*, pp. 285 ff.

² See Henry B. Smith, "The Theological System of Emmons," *Faith and Philosophy*, pp. 215-63.

Mass., which he made a center of large influence. He published no system of theology, but his sermons, published after his death, setting forth a complete system of doctrine gave him a wide reputation and a prominent and permanent place in New England theology.

Emmons' empirical doctrine that the soul consists of a series of "exercises," every one of which is free, in the sense of being voluntary, did not prevent him from making God the author of these exercises. Sin "consists in sinning"; it is therefore man's voluntary action; and yet *God is actually the Efficient Agent of all sinful acts*. Emmons, like Taylor, was an acute reasoner and polemicist but blissfully ignorant of the hampering hesitations and inhibitions begotten of philosophy. In a manner so crystalline as to be easily convincing, and with an unfailing confidence, he set forth the most startling antitheses with no effort whatever to reconcile them. The restless waters of such a mind sparkle, attract, suggest—but one looks into them in vain for the translucent depth of an Edwards or the strength and placidity of a Samuel Hopkins.

Others of the metaphysical theologians of New England were Stephen West (1735-1819), eminent Hopkinsian and defender of Edwardian determinism; Timothy Dwight (1752-1817), moderate Calvinist and persuasive refuter of the prevailing skepticism; and the Andover professors, Leonard Woods (1774-1854), successful exponent of the Hopkinsian-Old Calvinist compromise, which led to the formation of Andover Seminary; and Moses Stuart (1780-1852), scholar and exegete, "the father of biblical learning in this country" and the ablest opponent of Channing.

The last of the chief metaphysicians of the New England school—in some respects the peer of them all—was Edwards A. Park (1808-1900), professor of systematic theology at Andover from 1847 to 1881.¹ Professor Park was above all the logician, building up his system block by block, each resting so securely on the last that if the foundation had only been sufficiently broad and true, and if theology were a science that would submit its

¹ See the chapter devoted to Professor Park in Foster's *History of New England Theology*.

profound truths to such treatment, the structure might be standing still. Not that theology has not within it a pervasive and unifying logic, but it is a logic subtler, profounder, and yet in some respects simpler, than entered into the mind of Professor Park to conceive. He too was no philosopher. He was no provincial, having studied in Germany, but he had not the philosophic temper. He took up Kant—and dropped him. His was the legal rather than the Platonic mind. And yet he had imagination as well as humor. In that truly magnificent and memorable sermon, preached in 1850 before the Massachusetts Convention, "The Theology of the Intellect and That of the Feelings," he rose to a vision of religious truth far transcending his classroom lectures. The latter, by the limitations of the system which he strove to sustain, were confined to the same treadmill, trod in patience and with far less opportunity to escape into larger liberty, by the New England theologians as a whole.

IV

To return to the problems with which the New England metaphysical theologians were engaged. The third main issue which Edwards left to his successors was distinctly ethical as well as metaphysical—the reconciliation of an infinitely high ideal of virtue with the doctrine of the total depravity of human nature.

Edwards' two irreconcilable treatises, *The Nature of True Virtue* and *Original Sin*, left man with an ideal of incomparable "excellence" before him, yet impotent to attain it and without a particle of moral soundness, with neither rights nor worth nor capacity of his own, and uncertain whether God would ever lift him out of his fallen estate. In accordance with this Edwardean conception of the requirements of true virtue Samuel Hopkins put forth, as the test of fitness for the ministry, the famous dictum, willingness to be damned for the glory of God, which elicited from one candidate the classic response that he was not sure about himself but he was willing that the ordaining council should be. Why this lofty pitch of virtue should be expected of such impotent and corrupt creatures, incased in original sin, and without an atom of freedom, none of these theologians were able to say.

This radical denial of the right of any consideration whatever for one's self, in the interest of divine grace, was more than even the New England piety could endure. Samuel Hopkins himself, in spite of his insistence upon the renunciation of selfhood and upon willingness to be damned, made a place for a certain kind of self-recognition which he refused to call *self-love*, but which actually gave a foothold, in the exercise of benevolence, for the individual to pay some respect to himself. In the chapter on "Disinterested Affection" in his *System of Divinity* he wrote as follows:

By many there is not a proper distinction made, and kept in view between self-love and that regard which the benevolent person must have for himself and his interest and happiness, which is necessarily included in disinterested affection. Disinterested, impartial benevolence to being in general that is capable of good and happiness, regards and wishes well to every being and creature in the system, according to the degree of his existence, worth and capacity of happiness, so far as all this comes into the view of the benevolent person, and so far as the good and happiness of each is, or appears to be consistent with the greatest good of the whole. And as he himself is one individual part of the whole, he must of necessity be the object of this disinterested impartial benevolence, and his own interest and happiness must be regarded and desired, as much as that of his neighbors, or any individual of the whole society, not because it is *himself*, but because he is included in the whole, and his happiness is worth as much, and is as desirable as that of his neighbor, other circumstances being equal. This is not self-love, but the same universal, disinterested, impartial public benevolence which wishes well to being in general and therefore to himself, because he has an existence and is one among the rest, and equal to his neighbor.¹

V

This interpretation of the marginal bearings of disinterested benevolence relieves it of much of its superhuman rigorism and opened the way for the development of a system of morals at once lofty and reasonable. Without attempting to trace the intermediate steps, including N. W. Taylor's approach to eudaemonism and its rebuke by the Oberlin divines, it may suffice to point out how the benevolence theory of virtue reached its climax in the well-known volume by President Mark Hopkins, great-nephew of Samuel Hopkins, *The Law of Love and Love as a Law* (1868). In this volume the Edwardean doctrine takes on a modern aspect.

¹ *System of Divinity*, I, 547-48.

Love is substituted for benevolence, although the conception is substantially the same. Indeed, one is reminded of the very atmosphere and phraseology of the older writers in such a statement as this:

Moral Law is an affirmation through the Moral Reason of obligation to choose the supreme end for which God made us, that is, to choose the good of all beings capable of good, our own included, and to put forth all those volitions which may be required to attain or secure those ends.¹

Yet while this loyal but emancipated son of the New England fathers propounds his theory of virtue in fundamental accord with the main principle of Edwards' *Nature of True Virtue*, he freely casts aside its extravagances. The touch is fresh and firm, the language clear and simple, the whole discussion keeps close to life and reality.

In one respect Mark Hopkins' *The Law of Love* breaks completely with, or perhaps we should say transcends, the Edwardean conception of man. In place of Edwards' disparagement of humanity, emphasis upon original sin, and denial of all natural worth, we have here a hopeful and dignifying representation of human worth and affections. Edwards disparaged, as "not belonging to true virtue," all "private" love for self or others which is not subordinated to and does not spring from *a supreme love to God*. President Hopkins admits no such distinction, although he recognizes the difference between love as a principle and love as a mere feeling of attraction. Love is one, whether the moral nature is first stirred toward God or toward man.²

The "self-love" whose nature and defects Edwards had analyzed so mercilessly and against which Samuel Hopkins had warned so earnestly as "the root and essence of all sin,"³ is here given a legitimate and honored place. And yet it is not the kind of self-love which Edwards and Samuel Hopkins condemned. Evidently they did not distinguish clearly between self-love and selfishness. The following passage from *Love as a Law* clarifies the whole matter:

Self-love is legitimate. Our own good is of intrinsic value, and we are especially bound to care for it as it is that part of the universal good which

¹ P. 89, first edition.

² Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 305.

³ *System of Divinity*, I, 549.

is more especially intrusted to us. God cares for it, and why not we? In doing this we have reason to believe that we not only work with Him for our own good, but as He himself works. "From hence, also, it is evident," says Edwards, in his *Treatise on the Nature of Virtue*, "that the divine virtue, or the virtue of the divine mind, must consist principally in love to himself." If this be correct, our virtue will consist in some degree in love to ourselves. While, therefore, we allow self-love a place in prompting efforts for our own perfection, it is a subordinate one. . . . To love God and our neighbor is the best way of loving ourselves.¹

This is bold treatment to give to the words of the father of the New England theology. One questions if he would approve of it. Yet the modern mind feels that "this confidence which we have in Him" is nearer the Christian conception of God than that abject abasement before Him which the New England fathers came too near mistaking for reverence. It is a far cry from Mark Hopkins to Walt Whitman, still farther from Samuel Hopkins; but one need strain no moral nerve to find much of the essence of their doctrine of benevolence in that line of the hobo mystic,

For every atom belonging to me as good belongs to you.²

Absolved of its needless dishonoring of human nature, the doctrine of virtue as benevolence is the noblest and most enduring element of the New England theology. It reflects truly and constructively the spirit of Christianity. It is noble, comprehensive, Christian. It represents the greatest qualities of the New England Puritan mind, its surreptitious optimism as well as its superb devotion to duty and to God. A little reflection shows how truly the benevolence doctrine of virtue reflects the spirit and teaching of Christ. Christianity does not weaken the categorical imperative or deny that duty involves a stern sense of *oughtness*; but it does disclose the *purpose* and *meaning* of duty. It does not leave the conscience shivering under a cold weight of impersonal obligation, but reveals why it is right to do right. It transforms blind obedience into the intelligent pursuit of an end; it lifts duty into the light of love, of "universal benevolence," which is grounded in the worth of sentient, and above all, of personal being. It exalts personality. Indeed, personality appears in President

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 161-62.

² Whitman, "Song of Myself."

Hopkins' book—as it had already begun to appear in the writings of the Oberlin school and elsewhere—as a “condition” without which obligation cannot exist. From this time on, in ethics and philosophy and theology, personality becomes clearer and clearer as an illuminating principle in the understanding of both God and man.

VI

This brief survey of the New England theology will suffice to show by contrast how far our modern theology has withdrawn from the metaphysical realm. American theology, in common with that of Europe, has in the present century taken the direction of historical investigation and interpretation, until at present it has almost lost its metaphysical character. This change of direction has on the whole been beneficent. It has led to a great advance in theological science. Yet while no one would wish to return to the type of metaphysics of the New England theologians, it is to the loss of theology that the metaphysical interest has so largely disappeared from its horizon. This deficiency is an inevitable source of weakness and provincialism. In looking back upon the stalwart and exalted minds who dignified their profession, walking with steady step the dizzy heights of metaphysical speculation in the palmy days of the New England theology, one cannot but feel their power, even while he recognizes how strained and disproportionate was their scholasticism. The New England theology was strangely out of touch with life. Its contact with the current of religious experience was almost broken; and yet its instinct was a true one. The intellect has its rights—large rights—in theology; and it will be well for American theology if, in turning back in this year of the Pilgrim tercentenary toward the New England divines, it recovers, in a more normal way, something of their profound interest in the metaphysical presuppositions and issues of the Christian faith.

ANATOLE FRANCE AND MODERNIST CATHOLICISM

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Those who take interest in the development of "modernism" among the French clergy should not neglect that unfailing source of suggestion which is found in the satirists and caricaturists of any period. We understand Socrates all the better if we read the *Clouds* of Aristophanes, as well as the *Memorabilia* of Xenophon. A vanished type of ecclesiastical *ἀσκησις* needs to be studied not only in the *Lives of the Saints* but in Boccaccio and Rabelais. Many a useful hint about the eighteenth-century deists can be caught by supplementing Butler and Bolingbroke from *Tom Jones* and *Joseph Andrews*. And, though the future historian of Pius X and modernism will depend a great deal on the books by Abbé Loisy, he will find much to start trains of thought in the work of a brilliant fellow-countryman of Loisy's—one who we may be sure did not set out to write ecclesiastical memoirs, but upon whom those engaged with such a task will yet be forced to draw. Anatole France has been interested in church affairs for at least half a century, and there is no reason to postpone the study of his significance until lapse of time makes a critic less able to discount the burlesque, to explain the topical references, to judge how far the mordant epigram is a mere thrust at transient corruptions and how far it cuts deep into things that are fundamental.

For there are, of course, many allowances and many reservations that we must be careful to make in consulting such a witness. The satirist is always an unfair critic, and his unfairness is in direct proportion to his satiric gift. He is apt to exaggerate in order to amuse. The sharp antithesis and the sparkling paradox which are his stock in trade would be spoiled by taking account of considerations that are dull, uninteresting, without any feature to draw attention to them except their truth. The preacher's pungent scourging of a frivolous age often gains force by neglecting facts

which extenuate or explain. The man of the world, who mocks at preachers, is at least equally prone to ignore those high virtues by which puritanic austerity is redeemed. And a charge we may justly bring against Anatole France is that he has shown himself no less biased in his ridicule of the world of Christian morals than Tacitus in his indictment of Rome under the early Caesars or St. Jerome in his denunciation of the pagan empire. Such, however, are among the cautions with which this sort of literature must always be examined, and if we bear them in mind it has many a hint from which we may profit.

I

Needless to say, the author of *L'Ile des Pengouins* has none of that vehement enthusiasm for modernism which has become so familiar to us in the writings of George Tyrrell or Paul Sabatier. He does not believe that there is enough reality in the old creed to make it worth restating or revising. Yet even the most determined agnostic cannot ignore the fact that the Christian faith and practice are here, that they have a long past, that they enter somewhat deeply into social arrangements, and that their future means a great deal to the life of mankind. It is not enough to explain why such a system is wrong, unless one explains at the same time why it is persistent. And even those who are agreed that all religion is mere superstitious error are by no means agreed as to the right attitude for the informed to adopt toward it. They differ about this owing to differences in their estimate of the race's capacity for education.

Anatole France has thought and written much upon this problem. We have in him no fervid iconoclast, smashing the idol in full view of its worshipers and exulting in their dismay. He thinks, like Mr. Thomas Hardy, that poor mankind is in evil case, and that the consoling though baseless creeds, the eager but delusive hopes, the buoyant yet utterly sterile enthusiasms should be treated by "those who know" with a tender forbearance.¹ "Truth," says

¹ Cf. especially Mr. Hardy's little poem, "The Problem," beginning
 "Shall we conceal the case or tell it—
 We who believe the evidence?"

M. Safrac in *La Fille de Lilith*, "is like the sun; it needs the eye of the eagle to gaze upon it." With his master, Renan, Anatole France would compound for freedom of teaching in the universities by leaving the common school at the absolute direction of the priest. Perhaps the key to his whole attitude on this subject is to be found in that curious judgment which he puts into the mouth of Abbé Coignard, that the two best friends of suffering humanity were Epicurus and St. Francis of Assisi: the one had freed the soul from empty fears and taught it to seek only such happiness as its miserable nature and feeble powers admit, while the other had shown how by internal vision and in the depths of an enchanted solitude the utmost attainable ecstasy may be enjoyed for a time. "Both were helpful, one to destroy illusions that deceive, the other to create illusions from which one does not wake."¹

In so far as the church thus acts as a soothing analgesic to men's minds, our novelist finds it a tolerable, even an admirable, institution. He shares the eighteenth-century hatred of "enthusiasm." We may say of him that throughout his life, like his own Coignard, "tenderly he despised men," and that his sympathetic regard has "urged him to humiliate his fellows in their opinions, their knowledge, their philosophy and institutions."² Above all, however, he would keep them at their ease, and no doubt he is right in judging that church doctrine has often been admirably contrived to maintain this calmness of soul. But he indicates, somewhat fiercely, the limit beyond which superstition cannot be looked upon with indulgence. We find in him by no means the skepticism of those who dare stamp nothing false where they find nothing sure. For error often leads to dehumanizing practice, and Anatole France becomes aflame with resentment when he meets with any sort of asceticism, any recoil from sensuous delight, any self-immolation for a supposed ideal, any restraint upon the quest for knowledge, any decrying of pagan art and the pagan *joie de vivre*. Toward all this gospel of denial, which he regards as typically Christian,

¹ *Les Opinions de M. Jerome Coignard*, p. 8. I am indebted for the passages quoted in this article to the excellent English translation of Anatole France's works, published by Mr. John Lane.

² *Ibid.*, p. 13.

his temper of positive hatred reveals itself again and again. For example, Paphnuce the missionary is presented in *Thaïs* as piously selecting amid the luxuriance of the tropics that route which takes him along the most cheerless byways, and as wrapping his face tightly in its cowl lest the beauties of the world should seduce his eye from its austere devoutness. Vergil declares in *L'Ile des Pingouins* that to fear pleasure and to flee from joy is the worst of all insults to nature, and that Dante had done him grievous wrong in supposing that he would replace the gods of Rome with Iahveh as a substitute for Juppiter. We hear of a Benedictine in *La Révolte des Anges* who had defaced four thousand Greek and Latin manuscripts to make four thousand copies of the Fourth Gospel, and of the light this casts on the strange legend that the convents were a refuge of learning in the Middle Age. And a little later he reviles that "German monk, all swollen with beer and theology," who stopped the renaissance of paganism, saving by his Reformation that which would otherwise have blessedly perished.

Nor does Anatole France turn with any satisfaction from the theological to the philosophic treatment of ultimate questions. Like one of his own heroes, he is the type of unbeliever who does not deny that things are as they appear, for appearances are the only reality that he will recognize.¹ His merry wit plays around the phantasms of metaphysic, such monstrous inanities as "the solution, dissolution, and resolution of the Absolute, the determination of the Indeterminate and the definition of the Infinite."² He recalls the old uproar about Nominalism and Realism, how one school maintained that before there were apples there was the Apple, before popinjays the Popinjay, before passionate and greedy monks the Monk, Passion, and Greed. He suggests the common-sense reply, but reminds us how it was condemned by the Council of Soissons!³ The great philosophic systems, according to Anatole France, have been put together by a dexterous spreading of sophistry like cement in the interstices between truth and truth.⁴ More than once he satirizes the moralists who would extract a rule of life from the principle of "conformity to nature," and would even

¹ *Thaïs*, pp. 35, 36.

² *Ibid.*, p. 198.

³ *La Révolte des Anges*, p. 17.

⁴ *Coignard*, p. 7.

identify the "good" with the "natural." Surely, says Brotteaux, what we call our morals must be understood rather as a resolute enterprise by mankind against that universal order which is nothing but ruthless carnage or the blind play of opposing forces. The philosophic God who created such a universe must have been more malignant than most mere men.¹ With such a pattern to guide us we should have to judge the guillotine to be the most moral of instruments, for on the whole it is the most natural. Our author's own creed seems to be embodied in the remark that this world is like the tragedy of a first-class poet, that the cast includes all sorts of people, and that one must be content to play one's rôle.²

II

It might have been conjectured that one who thought thus about religion would favor a state-controlled church as less likely than any other to cause needless spiritual disturbance. The latitudinarian of our own day is very apt to be an Erastian, and there are hints here and there of the same mood in Anatole France. We seem to catch this in his picture of Pontius Pilate, taking the waters for gout in his old age at a health resort of northern Italy, and chatting with an old friend about the bygone disorders of Jerusalem. He is reminded of a "Galilean thaumaturge" who had been crucified a generation ago, but—ransack his memory as he would—he could not recall the incident.³ It was one among many outbursts of "enthusiasm" that it had been necessary to check if the *pax Romana* were to be maintained. The author's sympathies are fairly clear in this piece. And we may be sure that he felt with the *prefet*, Lucius Aurelius Cotta in *Thaïs*, who declared that all gods were divine in their own way, and that for himself he cherished respect for "un culte désormais imperial."⁴

But Anatole France cannot help seeing the absurd aspect of a Christianity which has become a mere branch of the civil service. Take, for instance, his sketch of the new French Erastianism as shown in *L'Orme du Mail*. The scene is laid a few years ago, when M. Combes had just completed his work. Ultramontaniam

¹ *Les Dieux ont Soif*, p. 88.

² *The Procurator of Judaea*.

³ *Thaïs*, p. 193.

⁴ *Thaïs*, pp. 159, 160.

has been flouted, the clergy are placed under a Minister of Public Worship, the religious congregations which refused to become corporate fraternities have been expelled, and the *prefet*, M. Worms-Clavelin, although himself a Jew and a freethinker, can pull many wires for the selection of a bishop. So can his wife, Madame Worms-Clavelin, whose chief interest is in adorning her salon with ancient copes, vestments, chalices, and pyxes, torn from rural sacristies and conveyed to her at a price by complaisant ecclesiastics. When a see is vacant she knows how to direct the intrigue of masonic lodges and how to set the bureaux in motion for the candidate of her own choice. But the old orthodoxy has its cunning, too. That other influences and other wives have to be reckoned with is made obvious when Abbé Guitrel and Abbé Lantaigne are rivals for the diocese of Turcoing. Guitrel is no *intransigent* priest; he believes in the divine appointment of the powers that be, in the judicious accommodation which adapts theories to facts, above all in the paramount necessity of preserving the Concordat. So he gently insinuates in a high quarter that Lantaigne is lamentably obstinate in his "devotion to an exiled family," that he has been heard to sneer at the cardinal's lack of intellect, that his preferment would deepen rather than heal the discord between church and state, and that he nourishes a fanatical bitterness against the Jewish freemasons. Lantaigne plays a counterstroke against Guitrel, accuses him to the archbishop of simoniacal traffic in chasubles with the freethinking world of Parisian fashion, points out his shocking concessions to German rationalism in explaining sacred history by the so-called "local color"—e.g., his "pitiable childishness about the narrative of travellers regarding the boat service on the Lake of Tiberias"—and even repeats with heartfelt reluctance some village scandal about Guitrel's private life. Madame Worms-Clavelin was strong at the government offices; her husband even assured her favorite that "Noemi is powerful enough to create a bishop." But she reckoned without Madame Cartier de Chalmot, wife of an old general of 1870, who had his own ideas about worshiping the God of Sabaoth, and knew that the morale of an army must be maintained by chaplains that are sound in the faith. The general

had the best of reasons for opposing those who would trifle with ancient dogma. "In destroying mystical beliefs you ruin the military spirit. By what right do you exact of a man the sacrifice of his life if you take away from him the hope of another existence?" And Madame de Chalmot promises to drop a word in season to Monseigneur. It was a nice point that Monseigneur had to settle. He was a cautious cardinal, a little afraid that in his old age he might have a coadjutor foisted upon him, and that the man he declared worthy of a bishopric might be inferred worthy to share his own see. The scheming Guitrel he believed to be "capable of anything." On the other hand, he loathed Lantaigne, would have been glad to see him Pope in order to get rid of him, but could not support his candidature for bishop because he foresaw its failure, and "Monseigneur Charlot never willingly placed himself on the losing side." So when Lantaigne craves an audience, the cardinal diverts him to the discussion of a serious problem about cleansing a village church within which a curé has just hanged himself. It is a matter on which His Eminence would much value the advice of so learned a priest!

So the maneuvers go merrily on, with much diverting humor on both sides. What, for instance, it is good ecclesiastical statesmanship to do about Mademoiselle Claudine Deniseau, who has set up as a prophetess inspired by nightly visions of St. Radegonde, constitutes a problem like that of psychic mediumship to some English theologians of our own day. It was a hard question, for the girl had been foretelling things that came to pass; all the world was running after her, and the state church as guardian of public order and patriotism must be eminently judicious. She was even influencing the elections! M. Worms-Clavelin had to see Abbé Guitrel about it, elicited a wary answer that communications had beyond doubt from time to time occurred between the church militant and the church triumphant, but that the sayings of Mademoiselle Deniseau did not "bear the hall-mark of a celestial revelation." The *prefet* was less interested in this than in a definite, practical suggestion, and was overjoyed to hear that the maid might be "exorcised." That sounded like business in view of the coming trial of strength by the ministry. M. Worms-Clavelin

was keen to know how this "exorcising" could be effected, and Abbé Guitrel undertook to set the cardinal at work, if the salary of seven poor curés, suspended under a former minister, were at once restored. Lantaigne, on the other hand, kept an open mind on such matters. The church had not yet pronounced, and he must reserve his opinion, lest he should fall either into latitudinarianism or into credulity. And the whole tale is lit up by many an acrid comment from one constitutional ecclesiastic upon another, like the jest of Abbé Lantaigne that in learning at least the cardinal has kept the vow of evangelical poverty, and the terrific charge that His Eminence never speaks the truth except when on the steps of the altar he pronounces the words, *Domine non sum dignus*.

III

Anatole France's attitude to the Modernists may be readily gathered from what has here been set forth. Intellectually he is on their side, of course, in so far as they are destructive, for he differs only in that he would destroy much more than they. Their theism, their belief in a providence not guaranteed through the oracle of the living church but finding its token in the individual heart, their "progressive revelation" through spiritual experience, their hope of a world to come grounded not on St. Peter with his keys but on "the postulate of immortality," all this is to him no less foolish than the outworn dogma which it aims to supplant. And of the two sorts of creed he likes the orthodox considerably better, for its old strength is fast ebbing and it can be trusted to extinguish itself at no distant date, while the strength of its alternative—like that of Luther's ill-starred Reformation—is threatening to grow out of the ashes of an obsolescent past, and its internal decay may have to be hastened by a tiresome frontal attack. Speaking of Coignard, he says: "I do not share his religious beliefs, and am of opinion that they deceived him, as they have deceived, for their good or ill, so many generations of men. But it looks as if the old errors were less vexatious than the new, and that, since we are bound to go wrong, it were best to hold by illusions that have lost their sparkle." Hence he often seems more sympathetic with the simple curé, who still stands by the authoritative church

enthroned among the seven hills, the church which the republic simply cannot abide and which politicians like M. Clemenceau will easily batter into harmlessness, than with the politic *professeur* of the Sorbonne, who keeps a watchful eye upon "the modern man with his modern mind,"¹ and who threatens to reinstate much of the exploded superstition by dexterous compromises with the spirit of the age.

Scorning as he does both philosophers and theologians, Anatole France perhaps scorns the philosophic theologians most of all. He thinks them extraordinarily stupid in not realizing that to rationalize belief is to pave the way for unbelief.² Abbé Gassendi had "relegated God gently to the far distant abyss of first causes."³ Abbé Lapetite, in *La Révolte des Anges*, when asked to explain the scourges of mankind—the plagues, famines, floods, earthquakes—has to reply "with a heavenly smile" that God must from time to time remind us of his existence!⁴ Now, is not Anatole France obviously right in thus insisting that the Catholic Modernist occupies an untenable position as compared either with the school of strict authority which he has left behind or with the school of untrammelled freedom into which he has not yet the courage to pass? When the late Monseigneur Benson, still an Anglican priest, consulted that typical Modernist, Father George Tyrrell, about submission to Rome, he was told that Tyrrell could not receive him officially "except on terms which were impossible to persons of reason."⁵ It is time, surely, that those wretched compromises and disguises under which some still seek to avoid "the clash of Yes and No" should be stigmatized as the thing they are. They do not unite the advantages, but rather the disadvantages of the two extremes between which they affect to mediate.

The work of fiction is an unusual place for these high controversies, but at least one English novelist has been drawn by the

¹ I borrow this phrase from Mr. Ronald Knox. Cf. *A Spiritual Aeneid*.

² *L'Ile des Pengouins*, pp. 135, 137. Cf. an acute remark by Professor Burnet about Hesiod. "The *Theogony* is an attempt to reduce all the stories about the gods into a single system, and system is necessarily fatal to so wayward a thing as mythology" (*Early Greek Philosophy*, p. 7).

³ *La Révolte des Anges*, p. 207.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

⁵ A. C. Benson, *Hugh*, p. 144.

same interest which appeals to Anatole France. The embarrassments of the modernist school in a Catholic country were depicted with remarkable vividness just twenty years ago in Mrs. Humphrey Ward's *Eleanor*. It presents the character and traces the fate of one Father Benecke, who has written a book of "mildly liberal" views, telling no more than "a fraction of the truth" on matters historical and critical. The monograph is condemned, and Benecke's best friend, who fully shares his opinions, is forced by intellectual necessity to point out that propaganda is right. How can a priest be permitted to celebrate at the altar when he has abjured the supernatural authority which gives the altar its sacredness? Yet Father Benecke continues to feel an insatiable hunger for the Mass, though what the Mass can mean apart from the infallible church one may be unable to conjecture. Again, we are made listeners at a keen debate between an Italian countess, aflame with zeal for the Risorgimento, and a young priest who will have neither part nor lot with "the Italy of Venti Settembre." The disputant on one side wants the church to add a little patriotism to her philosophy, that dogma may become better appreciated by a loyal populace. The disputant on the other side retorts that Jesus Christ and his vicar must take precedence of the House of Savoy.¹ For those who believe that such a vicar is here on earth, clothed with such awful powers, the clerical case is surely beyond reasonable challenge. But the lady, with perhaps a feminine inconsequence, manages somehow to hold simultaneously that Pius IX was given the keys of the world to come, and that for all practical purposes in this world—though it is but a preparation for the next—the decrees of the pontiff may be rightly trampled upon at the behest of Victor Emmanuel! So our Modernists still go on, trying to persuade their public and themselves that in church matters at least two and two need not make four, and that it is possible both to eat one's cake and to keep it.

If the path were not so worn and beaten as to make it almost tiresome to tread it again, one might follow Anatole France with more zest as he dwells upon the folly of despising nature, and upon the fanaticisms of a desert anchorite. Nietzsche has spoken much

¹ *Eleanor*, p. 452.

in the same strain, in hatred of "world-deniers" and in praise of him who remains "faithful to earth." So has George Meredith in those frequent passages which bid us think of earth as our "Mother." In Protestant countries the risk of eschatological brooding seems for some time past to have been slight, but it is perhaps to be expected that in a Catholic environment the heralds of revolt should still have to wage war against spurious sainthood. Anatole France knows his own audience, and as he keeps faithful to the doctrine of the Mean he does well, it may be, to remember with Aristotle that the special extreme to which one is most inclined is the proper object of special warning. In one sort of country this is "the world," in a different sort it is "the other-world." A critic is tempted to suggest that Catholic Modernists are here not free from the old reproach of seeking to "make the best of both worlds."

But when we have fully recognized all that is true in Anatole France's burlesque of a compromising clergy, a state-enchained church, and a fanatical asceticism, we must insist that his attack has no real relevance to the liberal Christianity still struggling in some quarters for its place, equally defiant of the shackles of old dogma and the direction of new imperialistic politics, determined to win for mankind a spiritual freedom upon which neither pontiff nor *prefet* will dare to lay his coercing hand. We grant at once to the defenders of the encyclical *Pascendi Gregis* that they have a dialectical advantage over Catholics of the school of Lord Acton. Pius X at least knew his own mind, while the mind of the late George Tyrrell remains, certainly to others, as it may well have been even to himself, a book sealed with seven seals. We serve the cause of genuine modernism by first agreeing that Roman modernism is a sheer contradiction, nor have we the slightest quarrel with any critic who points out the incoherence in those who affect to believe in private judgment while they pin their unquestioning faith to some ancient formula. There is not a creed-bound church which does not herein require to set its house in a new order, not one which has not kept some relic of the past that is long dead in the real thought of our world, and our thanks are due to any influence—even the influence of systematic ridicule—which may help us to have these corpses buried out of sight. Look,

for instance, at the chapter of the *Westminster Confession* on the duties of the civil magistrate, and ask yourself whether it would be possible to enjoin in more explicit terms just what we do *not* believe about the right of the state to interfere with the individual conscience. Look at those clauses bearing the name of St. Athanasius which venture to define with a minuteness at which we stand aghast those metaphysical views required of him who would escape eternal damnation! Ask yourself whether a more indecent outrage could be committed in public worship than the recitation month after month of those vindictive phrases by which God is dishonored, reason is caricatured, and conscience is horrified. To the average worshiper let us trust that those words mean absolutely nothing. But their definite repudiation has been waited for too long, and, while they stand as they are, the mordant satires of men like Anatole France are painfully appropriate. It is because modernist Catholicism, like timid Protestant "reinterpreting," tries to effect an amalgam of the true and the false, to preserve old dogma while shrinking from its immoral implications, that it fares so ill by comparison with any creed that is consistent.

To admit this does not prevent us from urging at the same time that Anatole France, viewed as a critic not of Catholicism but of religion in general, has been fighting with shadows. The God in whom he disbelieves has long ceased to be the God of enlightened Christian men. Brotteaux, for example, complains that Christianity means conservatism, reaction, the substituting for that mortal king whom the French had dethroned of a King of Kings, *beaucoup plus tyrannique et féroce*. He charges Robespierre and Marat with failing to realize that even the Bastille was mild punishment when compared with hell, and that the gods whom religious folk revered were just copies of the human despots from whom they had won freedom.¹ We hear that the Iahveh of the Jews was opposed to all liberty, all curiosity, all doubt, and that the serpent with his zeal for knowledge was the true pioneer of progress.² This sort of criticism takes us back a very long way indeed to a world which we thought we had outgrown. Its author

¹ *Les Dieux ont Soif*, pp. 86, 87.

² *La Révolte des Anges*, p. 166.

does not show a trace of acquaintance with any theology which rejects a literally inspired scripture, which places the Old Testament in its proper place as the record of a developing religious progress, and which makes room for a still active Divine Spirit leading mankind to higher truth. Again and again as one reads Anatole France one recalls the trenchant language of Carlyle about Voltaire:

That the Sacred Books could be aught else than a Bank-of-Faith Bill, for such and such quantities of Enjoyment, payable at sight in the other world, value received; which bill becomes waste paper, the stamp being questioned:—that the Christian Religion could have any deeper foundation than Books, could possibly be written in the purest nature of man, in mysterious ineffaceable character, to which all Books, and all Revelations and authentic traditions were but a subsidiary matter, were but as the light whereby that divine *writing* was to be read;—nothing of this seems to have, even in the faintest manner, occurred to him.¹

There is the note of the true modernism, that goes forth conquering and to conquer. And those of us who believe in it cannot refrain from observing how deficient is Anatole France in the true historical sense. Place side by side his recurring ridicule of the French Assembly of 1793 and Victor Hugo's calm evaluation of "What the Assembly Did" in *Quatre-vingt treize!* A similar contrast will at once suggest itself between the merry jibes at monkish asceticism and a dispassionate judgment upon the great service which these ascetics rendered in holding aloft the ideals of purity of life. The historian knows well that human freedom is under immense debt to those agitators whose extravagance a humorist can easily exploit, and that the morals of mankind in a dark age owe no less to that standard of personal restraint of which narrow but self-sacrificing monks were once the sole effective guardians.

Perhaps indeed this aspect of Anatole France's influence supplies ground for the most serious complaint of all. It must be offered, though with reluctance, by those who appreciate his great powers and value his tender human feelings. For in nothing else is he so plainly an heir of the *Encyclopédie* as in his effort to discredit Christian morals that the Christian faith may be discredited with them. Macaulay once said of Byron that his readers were in

¹ Essay on Voltaire in *Critical Miscellanies*.

danger of assimilating from him a new scheme of conduct, analyzable into two commands, "Thou shalt hate thy neighbor," and "Thou shalt love thy neighbor's wife." The pliant disciple of Anatole France will be vehement in his hatred of the cruel, and charitable in his sympathy with the credulous; but he may likewise become a cynic in his distrust of enthusiasm, a rebel against the sterner virtues, and derisive in his contempt of chastity. Our author, no doubt, did not mean to produce all those undesirable effects which some of his books appear likely to foster. Yet his continued propagandism on behalf of what has been called "the natural man" is in pursuit of that anticlerical purpose which we know to be so dear to the heart of Anatole France. He has abundant precedent for such a policy in French letters. The pamphleteering which did so much a hundred and fifty years ago to pave the way for the Revolution was in one of its aspects deliberately planned to weaken the church by pouring scorn upon that family virtue for which the church was supposed to be specially solicitous. Satire in an earlier age had delighted in depicting the hypocritical monk or curé who affected to be austere beyond all others, but who was in truth a secret libertine, and who turned even the confessional into an instrument of his passions. But the satire of the Encyclopaedists rested on a frank acknowledgment that the clergy were puritanic, and it appealed rather to the resentment of those who chafed under such restraint. Never was there a more shameless attempt to exploit human vices for the injury of the church which forbade them. Voltaire mocked Joan of Arc, not because he thought her either an impostor or a fanatic, but largely because she had become a national symbol of virgin honor. The unspeakable foulness of Diderot's romances had the calculated design of creating an atmosphere whose mephitic vapors should stifle the voice of the priest. Such a purpose is, indeed, hard to be believed of men who had so much genuine zeal for human progress. But that it is no slander to attribute it to the circle of the *Encyclopédie* has been made evident by Condorcet's shocking defense of the tone of the *Pucelle*:

If we may treat as useful the design to make superstition ridiculous in the eyes of men given to pleasure . . . if the affectation of austerity in

manners, if the excessive value attached to purity, only serves the hypocrites who by putting on the easy mask of chastity can dispense with all virtues if by accustoming men to treat as so many crimes faults from which honorable and conscientious persons are not exempt we extend over the purest souls the power of that dangerous caste, which to rule and disturb the earth has constituted itself the interpreter of heavenly justice—then we shall see in the author of the *Pucelle* no more than a foe to hypocrisy and superstition.

Those who think that immoral casuistry has been a sin peculiar to churchmen would do well to read this passage with care, that they may extend their censures to another field. The literary tradition to which Anatole France belongs is quite obvious, and he has numerous imitators who follow him to the best of their limited endowment. Those who know best the Paris of our own time tell us that it is far less immoral than might be inferred from its pornographic bookstores and its ribald letterpress. Its writers do themselves a grave injustice before the world in their half-insane desire to flout the clergy. They do not really hate the church because she exalts the chaste. But they have worked themselves into a mood of hatred toward the chaste because they look upon the unchaste as more effective allies against the church. The motto is still *écrasez l'infâme*, and any device, however repulsive, which will serve their turn is not refused. Our most bitter complaint against Anatole France is that in a measure he has lent himself to this campaign. A despiser of zeal in almost everything else, he has been zealous in patronizing that moral coarseness which will facilitate the growth of secularism. It is strange indeed that so acute a thinker should use a weapon so certain to recoil upon the cause he would promote, or should risk so valuable a compliment to the cause he would destroy.

Much more would need to be said in an adequate review of our author's religious and antireligious attitudes. One might remind him, for example, that his passionate disgust with those who find in "nature" a complete rule of conduct corresponds far more closely than he is aware to the Christian view that nature is a thing not seldom to be overcome rather than to be followed, and that this very protest in the name of higher impulses seated in the heart owes most of its historical strength to its promotion by the church. One might ask whether that old decrying of the Christian

ethic as deficient in "patriotism" and "civic virtues," which was never indeed encouraged by Anatole France himself, but which men of his skeptical school have so often emphasized, does not now stand revealed as but an aspect of hideous imperialism, and whether the gospel assertion of the individual against the state has not been signally vindicated. One might urge too that the old faith, with its insistence on the value and possibility of objective truth in one's cosmic doctrine, does not compare ill in the light of the some things we have seen with the genteel habit of *nil admirari* and the notion that he is the wisest man who can never make up his mind. But to develop all this would carry us too far. And if one may judge by the very novel but very satisfying solemnity of Anatole France's recent address to teachers at Tours,¹ one may perhaps guess that even to him the pagan and the Christian outlook upon life have become fraught at length with new and momentous contrasts.

¹ A report of this address, translated from the report in *L'Humanité*, appeared in the *New York Nation* September 6, 1919.

THE OCCASION OF THE DOMITIANIC PERSECUTION

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The occasion of Domitian's persecution of the Christians has been much discussed. Several causes for his attack upon the church have been assigned: the unsocial habits of the Christians; the prevalent charges against them that they were atheists, child-murderers, and addicted to malevolent magic; Domitian's zeal for the traditional Roman religion; an effort on his part to force the Christians to contribute to the *fiscus Judaicus*.¹ Scholars, however, are now coming by general agreement to date the Book of Revelation in Domitian's reign.² If this conclusion be correct, the question may be regarded as determined. The Domitianic persecution was called forth by a refusal on the part of the Christians to participate in the observances of the imperial cult.

It is surprising that on this point a conflict between the church and the government had not arisen long before, for the imperial cult was as old as the empire. That the issue was so long postponed may be explained in three ways. In the first place, Christianity was regarded by the pagan world as a Jewish sect; and ever since the failure of Gaius to force the observance of the cult upon the Jews, the latter had enjoyed an immunity from it on condition that they sacrificed for the emperor in the Temple at Jerusalem and offered prayers for him in the synagogue.³ That the Christians hoped for immunity on similar grounds is shown by the exhortation in I Tim. 2:1: "I exhort therefore that first of all supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks be made for all men; *for emperors and for all that are in authority, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life.*" In the second place, the nature of the

¹ Would the Christians have made the imposition of this tax upon them a *casus belli*? Rom. 13:6; I Pet. 2:13 f.

² Moffatt, *Introduction to Literature of the New Testament*, pp. 503 ff.

³ Schürer, *History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, II, 303 f.

rites of the cult was such that, so long as Christianity was confined to humble folk, the Christians came into no necessary contact with it. The sacrifices and vows which the cult prescribed were not required of individuals. They were offered by specially appointed priests on behalf of communities. These priests were public functionaries chosen for their wealth. A Christian had only to avoid public office and to abstain from gratuitous attacks upon the cult to be secure from molestation. Finally, it should be noted that none of the emperors between Gaius and Domitian had any special interest in the cult. Any of them, it is true, would have punished a deliberate refusal to participate in it, but none of them showed any disposition to widen the sphere of its obligation. The problem is, therefore, to account for the emergence of the issue under Domitian. The solution is to be found through a consideration of two factors, Domitian's personality and the political situation in his reign.

Domitian had had an unfortunate youth.¹ It had been his fate to see his elder brother Titus monopolize the good fortune of the family. Titus was born about 41 A.D., and grew to manhood under Claudius, whose favor his father enjoyed. He was chosen as the special companion of the Crown Prince Britannicus, and shared with him the best education, literary and social, that Rome could afford. At the earliest possible moment he entered upon the usual military and public training of a Roman noble. When therefore in 66 A.D. Vespasian received his Judean command, Titus was ready to accompany him as a *legatus legionis*, in which capacity he found opportunity to distinguish himself as a detachment commander. Domitian, on the other hand, was some ten years Titus' junior. When it came his turn to be educated, Vespasian had lost Nero's favor. Bookish training, to be sure, could be bought; but the son of the vulgarian upon whom the cloud of imperial disfavor rested was doubtless something of a social outcast.

When Vespasian left for the East, Domitian was only fifteen, and was left behind at Rome to brood over the glory his brother

¹ The materials for the life of Domitian can be found conveniently collected in Gsell, *Essai sur le règne de l'Empereur Domitien* (Paris, 1894), and in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Vol. VI, cols. 2541-96.

was winning. Then, sometime in the late summer of 69 A.D., thrilling news arrived. His father had been hailed as emperor by the armies of Egypt and Syria. For this nobody in Rome was prepared. Vespasian had owed his eastern command in the first place largely to the fact that he was the one experienced general who in Nero's opinion could be trusted never to aspire to the Principate. His plebeian birth would forbid.¹ For Domitian some exciting months ensued. Then in December the lieutenants of Vespasian fought their way up the Capitol and the inexperienced youth found Rome at his feet. Ere long he was marching in nominal command of a splendid army to put down a nationalist uprising on the Rhine.

So sudden a transition from obscurity to absolute power could not but be dangerous to any young man. Domitian was only eighteen and utterly untrained. He seems to have behaved arrogantly and outrageously.² But he soon found his new splendor a Dead Sea apple. Mucianus, the commander of Vespasian's armies in Italy and the West, had played the part of king-maker in Vespasian's elevation, and was indisposed to submit to the control of a stripling. Domitian soon found that he was allowed no share in the real direction of affairs. Even the expected opportunity of rivaling Titus in military fame was denied him. Mucianus permitted him to advance no farther than Lyons, and he had to look on from a distance while the Gallic insurrection was put down by the troops on the spot. His position was in no way bettered by the arrival of his father in Italy. News of his conduct had reached Vespasian on the road home, and he greeted Domitian with displeasure. To add to Domitian's chagrin, Titus was left to finish the Jewish war by the capture of Jerusalem. On his return home he was permitted to share his father's triumph over the Jews, and was made his colleague in the empire. Domitian, on the other hand, was denied all share in the administration, although he was loaded with empty titles. For twelve years longer he was condemned to brood over his unused talents. The only activity left open to him was poetry-writing. It is not surprising that in after-years the very thought of literature at times filled him with disgust!

¹ Suet. *Vesp.* iv. 5.

² Cf. Suet. *Dom.* i. 3.

It was therefore a self-centered and embittered man who succeeded Titus on his early death in 81 A.D.; and it was Domitian's supreme misfortune that the situation with which he had to deal was one which required the utmost tact. His accession was clean contrary to the theory of the constitution. The basis of the Principate, as Augustus had established it, was the voluntary submission of the Roman Republic to the direction of its most distinguished citizen. Domitian's sole claim to the throne was that of hereditary right. His control of affairs rested upon the loyalty of the armies to the Flavian dynasty. Neither in birth nor in achievement could he be regarded as the *princeps* of the citizen-body. The second-mentioned disqualification Domitian made eager efforts to remove. His devotion to the tasks of administration, his wars, his twenty-two imperatorial salutations, his four triumphs, the cognomina *Germanicus Dacicus Sarmaticus* which he assumed, the triumphal arches which he scattered throughout the city until men jeered at him,¹ all evince a thirst for personal distinction which was largely, no doubt, the result of his long suppression,² but also attests a sense of the weakness of his claim to direct the state. The first disqualification, however, he could do nothing to dispel. He could not alter his birth; and it was a weakness in some respects more dangerous than the other. Not merely was he a *parvenu*; it was his misfortune to be confronted with a *parvenu* aristocracy.

The Roman Republic had never been a democracy. At all periods it had been controlled by a hereditary aristocracy functioning through the Senate. Augustus' "restoration of the Republic" had been a professed restoration of the control of the state to the senatorial order. Under the new régime the Senate proved painfully subservient to the wishes of its master. No desire of the Princeps was too monstrous or too trivial for it instantly to carry out. But the nobility never forgot its traditions. The rapid dying-out of the old families and the recruiting of the order from the ranks of the knights—and even of the provincials—augmented

¹ One morning the word "enough" was found scribbled on the latest of these arches.

² Cf. the verse of Silius Italicus (*Pun.* iii. 607): *At tu transcendes, Germanice, Iuorum.*

rather than diminished its corporate pride. After all, there is no *hauteur* like that of the recently ennobled. It is no accident that the rise of the so-called "stoic opposition," with its doctrinaire emphasis upon senatorial privilege and its romantic veneration of the republican era, was coincident with the decay of the old aristocratic houses and the entry into the senatorial order of new families.

The imposition by the (alas!) irresistible soldiery of the rule of Vespasian upon Rome was bitterly resented by this touchy caste. In their view noble birth was the first requisite of an aspirant to the Principate; and Vespasian was not merely of equestrian birth, he was vulgar, devoid of all fashionable accomplishments and gentleman-like sensibilities. Had he not, even after his elevation into the Senate, soiled his hands with trade? The excellent administration which he provided was no palliative in their eyes. The gorge of every noble Roman rose whenever he thought of his subjection to the upstart. Accordingly conspiracy was rife throughout Vespasian's reign, though always abortive. The courtly breeding of Titus and his strenuous efforts to please all classes in great part allayed the discontent of the aristocracy; but it revived with redoubled venom under Domitian. Domitian's egotism could not fail to give offense. After a few awkward attempts to conciliate good-will, Domitian adopted an attitude more congenial to him, that of arrogant self-assertion. He began to play the *dominus*¹ and to meet the slurs of his opponents by insisting upon his hereditary right to the throne as the head of the Flavian house.

The chief instrument which he employed to inculcate this doctrine was the imperial cult.

The ancients had formed the habit of expressing their political and constitutional ideas in terms of cults long before they learned to employ the abstract terms of law. Both monarchy and aristocracy in the ancient world universally claimed religious sanction. A king was always greeted by his courtiers as a god, a son of a god, or as a favorite of the gods. Noble families usually boasted divine descent. In early times these forms of expression had represented real beliefs. The mystery of the supremacy of one man or family

¹ The term by which slaves addressed their masters, and subjects a king. For references as to the introduction of this form of address at the court of Domitian, *vide* Gsell, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

over others early man could only explain to himself by assuming the ruler to enjoy divine powers or divine favor. By the first century of our era the vitality of paganism as a religion had largely declined; but the religious forms to which it had given birth survived. It was still customary to express constitutional ideas in ritual forms. The complicated system of cults and observances in which Augustus sought to express the idea of the Principate need not here be described. Suffice it to say that it was devised to emphasize the divine descent of Augustus and the divine favor he enjoyed; in other words, his noble birth and his personal prestige. It stopped short only at the attribution of divine honors to Augustus himself.¹ This limitation was dictated by the fact that Rome was still theoretically a republic. The essence of a republic, as Aristotle points out, is that each citizen rules and is ruled in turn. To require a god to submit to the rule of a human fellow-citizen would be shocking and absurd. The recognition of any citizen as a divine being could in reason lead only to one thing, to his elevation as king. Republicanism in the ancient world, no less than monarchy, expressed itself in religious terms, in a denial of worship to any living man. There was nothing inconsistent with republicanism, however, in the worship of a citizen after his death. Graeco-Roman paganism was familiar with the idea of apotheosis. On his decease Augustus was added to the number of the state gods as *Divus Augustus*. A flamen was appointed to direct his worship and a temple erected. In addition, a corporation, the *Sodales Augustales*, was instituted to conduct the rites of the Julian gens, which were now given the status of a public cult, inasmuch as the fortunes of Rome were regarded as bound up with those of the House of Augustus.

Domitian's whole difficulty may be said to be that he could point to no *Venus Genetrix* or other deity as the ultimate progenitor of his family. He could trace his descent only to a certain plain "Sergeant Brown,"² who had escaped from the rout of Pompey's

¹ However, Augustus was worshipped as a god in his lifetime in the provinces and the Greek towns of Italy.

² Suetonius (*Vesp.* ii) traces Vespasian's descent to a certain T. Flavius Petro, a centurion or *evocatus* in Pompey's army at Pharsalia. The name *Flavius* may fairly be translated "Brown"; and like its English equivalent it had a distinctly plebeian ring.

army at Pharsalia and betaken himself to money-making, with considerable success. Vespasian, however, had been deified under Titus, and a new imperial cult had thus been inaugurated corresponding to the new imperial family.¹ This cult Domitian proceeded to develop as a support to his pretensions.

A study of a genealogical tree of the Flavians, such as is to be found in the *Realencyclopädie* of Pauly and Wissowa,² reveals the following significant features. The prefix *divus* (or *diva*) appears before the names of all the descendants of Vespasian who predeceased Domitian,³ even before that of Domitilla, Vespasian's

¹ The doctrine that the House of Vespasian was the imperial family and the employment of the imperial cult to emphasize that idea were not original with Domitian. Vespasian was conscious of founding a dynasty (Pauly-Wissowa, Vol. VI, col. 2676), although the old realist derided the attempts of his courtiers to manufacture for him a divine parentage (Suet. *Vesp.* xii), and had a good-humored contempt for the imperial cult (cf. his dying words, Suet. *Vesp.* xxiii. 4). Titus had Vespasian deified, and Julia his daughter made an *Augusta*. Titus also instituted the custom of including in the state prayers vows and sacrifices for "all the royal family"; cf. the *Acta Arvalium* for 81 A.D.: the Brethren undertake vows *pro salute Imp. Titi Caesaris divi f. Vespasiani Augusti . . . et Caesaris divi f. Domitiani . . . et Juliae Augustae liberorumque eorum . . . si Imp. Titus Caesar Augustus . . . et Caesar divi f. Domitianus . . . vivent domusque eorum incolumis erit*, etc. (CIL, VI, 2059). The full development of the imperial cult, however, was due to Domitian.

² Vol. VI, col. 2537, where full references to the original sources may be found. In one respect the present writer is inclined to differ from the conclusions of the compiler. Philostratus refers to Julia as "one of Titus' daughters" (*Vita Apoll. Tyan.* vii. 7). From this the compiler infers that Titus had more than one child. This inference is at first sight supported by the occurrence of the phrase *liberorumque eorum* in the inscription quoted in the preceding note, and by CIL, VI, 8971: D. M. FLAVI STEPHANI PAEDAGOG. PVERORVM IMP. TITI CAESARIS. But the phrase in Philostratus seems to be merely a loose way of indicating that Julia was Titus' daughter. Moreover, Philostratus is too far removed in time from the Flavian era to be a trustworthy witness on obscure points of Flavian genealogy. He elsewhere (*op. cit.* viii. 25) confuses Vespasian's daughter and granddaughter. The phrases *liberorumque eorum*, *domusque eorum* in the passage quoted from the *Acta Arvalium* are formulaic and need not have any force other than providing for the case of children being born in the ensuing year. The phrase *paedagogus puerorum* is in the inscriptions a set formula, meaning no more than a "paedagogus." Suetonius (*Tit.* iv. 2) implies that Titus had only one child; this and the absence of all contemporary reference to any other child of Titus besides Julia outweigh the evidence of Philostratus.

³ Viz., Titus and Domitilla the children of Vespasian, Julia the daughter of Titus, and Caesar the son of Domitian. Titus, Julia, and probably Caesar were created *divi* under Domitian. The date of Domitilla's creation cannot be made out.

daughter,¹ who died while Vespasian was still a private citizen, and that of Domitian's son, who died in childhood. The cognomen *Augusta*² is appended to the name of the Domitilla just mentioned and to that of Julia, the daughter of Titus, the two female members of Vespasian's house. It appears also after the name of Domitia Longina, Domitian's empress, although technically she was not a member of the Flavian gens, by virtue of the fact doubtless that she had given birth to a *gentilis*.³ On similar grounds Domitilla the Christian martyr, who was the daughter of the Diva Domitilla Augusta just mentioned, was probably created an *Augusta* in the last years of Domitian. Sometime about 93 A.D. Domitian, who was childless, adopted two of her sons. Domitilla thus became the mother of the heirs apparent.⁴ This automatic bestowal of

¹ That Diva Domitilla Augusta was Vespasian's daughter, not his wife of the same name, is clear from Statius *Silv.* i. 1. 97 f.

² The cognomen *Augustus* was always reserved for the reigning emperor; but under the preceding dynasty the cognomen *Augusta* had sometimes been conferred upon female members of the imperial house.

³ The old religious forms of marriage having gone out of use, a wife under the empire was no longer regarded in law as a member of her husband's gens. This explains the fact that the wives of Vespasian and Titus were not created *Augustae*. They were not, properly speaking, members of the *domus Augusta*. Under the Julians, however, the precedent had been established of bestowing that distinction upon mothers of members of the *domus Augusta*. Thus Poppaea, the third wife of Nero, was created an *Augusta* on her giving birth to a daughter, Claudia Augusta (Tac. *ann.* xv. 23; cf. Cohen, *Médailles impériales*, I, 315), while the other two wives of Nero, who bore him no children, never received that distinction. The other Julian *Augustae*, with the exception of Nero's daughter, were all mothers of emperors. Livia, the first *Augusta*, was not merely the mother of Tiberius and the grandmother of Claudius, but had also been adopted by Augustus' will into the Julian gens. Antonia was the grandmother of Gaius and the mother of Claudius. Of the younger Agrippina we are expressly told that she was created an *Augusta* on the adoption of Nero by Claudius (Tac. *ann.* xii. 26). Many of the coins on which Domitia is accorded the title *Augusta* bear on their reverse the legend DIVI CAESARIS MATER (Cohen, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 535 f., Nos. 5-11).

⁴ This is probably the solution of a problem which has perplexed the numismatists. Eckhel (VI, 348) and Mionnet (VI, 85) describe two coins of Alexandria which are inscribed as follows: (1) ΦΑΑΤΙΑ ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΑΑ *Rev.* Ζ; (2) ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΑΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΘΗ *Rev.* ΔΩΔΕΚΑΤΟΤ. The first of these is dated on the reverse "in the year six," and the second "in the year twelve," *sc.*, of Domitian. (Domitian was the only Flavian emperor to reign twelve years.) In our reckoning these years correspond to 85-86 and 92-93 A.D. The omission of the word *θεά* (*diva*) prevents our identifying the Domitilla referred to with Vespasian's daughter, Diva Domitilla Augusta. The word

divine¹ honors upon all the members of the imperial family entitled by custom to receive them was an innovation. Under the Julians deification and the cognomen *Augusta* had been bestowed sporadically, according to the whim of the emperor of the moment.² The intent of the Flavian system was clearly to teach that descent from Vespasian was a sufficient guaranty of the possession of a divine nature.³

A study of the institutions of the Flavian cult reveals a further nuance. Under the Julians the tendency had been to provide a special priesthood and a special shrine for each *divus* or *diva* at the time of consecration.⁴ Under Domitian,⁵ on the other hand, all

ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ (*Augusta*) on the second coin forbids an identification with Vespasian's wife, who was never created an *Augusta*. Hence these coins have been pronounced spurious (Pauly-Wissowa, Vol. VI, col. 2732). All difficulties disappear, however, if we assume that the reference is to the youngest of the three Domitillas. The first two Domitillas died before Vespasian came to the throne (Suet. *Vesp.* 3), whereas the youngest was a prominent person throughout Domitian's reign. About 90 A.D. Domitian was a second time disappointed of an heir (Martial vi. 3). He therefore adopted two sons of Clemens and Domitilla (Suet. *Dom.* 15; Quint. iv. *proem.* 2). In the year when the first coin was issued, Domitilla, who was descended from Vespasian only through her mother, would have no claim to the title *Augusta*. In the year 92-93, however, she may well have been wearing the distinction as the mother of the Princes Imperial.

¹ The cognomen *Augusta* was a quasi-divine distinction. Its nearest English equivalent perhaps is the word "sacred."

² The list of the Julian *divi* is as follows: Julius Caesar, Augustus, Drusilla the sister of Gaius, Livia the wife of Augustus, Claudius, Claudia the daughter of Nero, and Poppaea. For the Julian *Augustae*, *vide supra*, p. 7, n. 3.

³ Quintilian has this advice to offer to poets: *laudandum in quibusdam, quod geniti immortales, quibusdam, quod immortalitatem virtute sint consecuti; quod pietas principis nostri (sc. Domitian) praesentium quoque temporum decus fecit* (iii. 7. 9). The court poets hardly needed the hint. Martial hails the son whom Domitian expected in 90 A.D. as *vera deum suboles* (vi. 3. 2). Statius hails Domitian thus: *Salve magnorum proles genitorum deorum* (*Silo.* i. 1. 74).

⁴ Thus Julius Caesar and Augustus each received a special temple and flamen. Livia was made a special object of adoration for the Vestals. Drusilla had a special shrine and priesthood. Claudius had a temple and a flamen. Claudia had a temple and a priestess. What arrangements were made for the cult of Poppaea is unknown. *Vide* Mommsen-Marquardt, VI, 474; Beurlier, *Essai sur le culte rendu aux empereurs romains*, app. A.

⁵ After Domitian's death Titus was singled out as an especial object of devotion. A special temple (?) was erected to him by Trajan (*CIL*, VI, 946), and a special shrine devoted to him in the *Templum Divorum* (*CIL*, VI, 10234, an inscription of

the Flavian *divi* were worshiped by one common priestly corporation, known as the *Sodales Flaviales*,¹ in two common temples, the *Templum divi Vespasiani*, consecrated by Domitian about 86 A.D.,² and the *Templum Flaviae Gentis*, erected on the site of Domitian's birth-place between 89 and 94 A.D. as the mausoleum of the family.³ Not even Vespasian or Titus seems to have had a flamen appointed

153 A.D.). The *Templum Divorum* is first mentioned under Antoninus Pius. The present writer has elsewhere tried to show that the extant Arch of Titus was not erected until after Domitian's death (*Classical Journal*, December, 1915). Even in Domitian's lifetime the opposition to him frequently found expression in an exaltation of Titus, who was regarded as in every way Domitian's opposite (Dio lxxvii. 2. 5). In the period of reaction which ensued upon Domitian's death it became the fashion to represent Titus as the ideal of an emperor and a man. He is so represented, for example, by Tacitus and Suetonius and the post-Flavian writers generally. Suetonius tells us, however, that Domitian *defunctum* (sc. Titum) *nullo praeterquam consecrationis honore dignatus, saepe etiam carpsit obliquis orationibus et edictis*. It is extremely improbable in view of this express statement and of Domitian's well-known jealousy of his brother that the cult of Titus was in any way emphasized in Domitian's reign.

¹ This corporation is so named in all the references to it which can be regarded as reflecting the Domitianic usage (Suet. *Dom.* iv. 4; *CIL*, XI, 1430; Dessau 1010; and the inscription of Trajan's father referred to in *Hermes*, XLV [1910], 9), as well as in the majority of subsequent references to it in the inscriptions (*CIL*, III, 6813; VI, 1333; XIII, 1806; XIV, 2501; Orelli 364; *Bull. dell' Inst.* [1896], p. 253). In some post-Domitianic inscriptions it is called *Sodales Flaviales Titiales* (*CIL*, VIII, 597, 7062), and it is probably to be inferred from Dessau 1010 that this was ultimately made its official name. (See Gsell's interpretation of this inscription, *op. cit.*, p. 51, n. 1.) It is to be noted that this name for the corporation involves a manifest tautology, "the sodality which has for its objects of worship the Flavian *divi* and one Flavian *divus* (!)." In other post-Domitianic inscriptions it is known as the *Sodales Titiales Flaviales* (*CIL*, VI, 1523, 2189), and even as the *Sodales Titiales* (Henzen 6950, Dessau 1078). These names for the sodality reflect an emphasis upon the cult of Titus which we may be sure Domitian never would have sanctioned, and it is altogether probable that the change in the title was ordered after Domitian's death.

² The *Acta Arvalium* for January, 87 A.D., records a meeting of the Brotherhood in the month of January in *prona aedis Concordiae quae (est prope templum) divi Vespasiani* (*CIL*, VI, 2065). This is the earliest reference to this temple. The next in chronological order is in Statius *Silv.* i. 1. 31 (89 A.D.). Its dedicatory inscription has been preserved for us by the Einsiedeln MS: DIVO VESPASIANO AVGVSTO S.P.Q.R. (*CIL*, VI, 938). These references prove that it was officially dedicated to the founder of the dynasty alone, and that the later name for it, *Templum Vespasiani et Titi*, was not Domitianic. On this temple vide Gsell, *op. cit.*, pp. 102 f.

³ On this temple vide Gsell, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

for his special worship.¹ It is evident that the intention of Domitian, who organized the institutions of the cult, was to emphasize the divinity of the Flavian gens² as a whole, rather than that of its individual members.

When the peculiarities of the Flavian cult are considered, its real purpose becomes clear. It was calculated to answer the criticisms leveled against the rule of Domitian; to teach that the descent of Domitian, if not noble, was divine, and that if his personal abilities did not mark him as the *princeps* of the Roman people, he possessed by inheritance a divine nature which gave him a claim upon the implicit obedience of every citizen. In other words, the real object of the cult was Domitian himself. The official headdress of the *Sodales Flaviales* accurately expressed their real function. It was a gold crown decorated with images of the Capitoline trinity and of Domitian.³

Domitian was prevented from having himself publicly worshiped as a god in Rome⁴ only by the weight of precedent. He went as far in that direction as Roman religion would allow. He exacted public sacrifices to and oaths by his Genius.⁵ Gold and silver statues of him were erected on the Capitol among those of the state gods,⁶ and disrespect to his statue was punished as sacrilege.⁷ When spectators at the games hissed his gladiators, he had them

¹ A Roman flamen is attested in literature or in the inscriptions for every deified emperor between Julius Caesar and Septimius Severus, except for Vespasian and Titus (Beurlier, *op. cit.*, app. A). It seems mathematically improbable that the flamens of these two consecutive emperors should accidentally be passed over in our extant sources. Flamens of both Vespasian and Titus existed, it is true, in the municipia; but municipal versions of the imperial cult often varied from the Roman usages.

² Or, more accurately, of the House of Vespasian; for the right of deification was not extended to the descendants of Vespasian's elder brother, Flavius Sabinus.

³ Suet. *Dom.* iv. 4.

⁴ Like other emperors, he was openly worshiped in the provinces, especially in the East; Gsell, *op. cit.*, pp. 51 f.

⁵ Pliny *pan.* lii. 6; *CIL*, II, 1963-64. It has been conjectured that the reference in Rev. 13:17 (*vide infra*, p. 18) is to an attempt to enforce a rule that all oaths in commercial contracts must be taken by the Genius of the emperor.

⁶ Pliny *ibid.*; Suet. *Dom.* xiii. 2.

⁷ Dio lxvii. 12. 2. Tiberius punished similar acts of disrespect to statues of *Divus Augustus* (Suet. *Tib.* lviii).

executed, on the ground *se despici et contemni . . . suam divinitatem suum numen violari*.¹ On one occasion he is said to have referred to his bed as his *pulvinar*.² He instructed the stewards of his household to begin all written instructions to their subordinates with the words, *Dominus et deus noster hoc fieri jubet*.³ The court poets, who were always painfully careful to reflect his wishes, hailed him as *sacratissimus imperator, deus*, and even as *Juppiter*. They refer to Domitian's "sacred side," his "sacred feet," his "sacred name," his "sacred house," his "sacred banquets," and to the "sacred fish" grown to be served at the latter!⁴

Was Domitian crazy? Are we to regard his insistence upon his divinity as an evidence of megalomania? Not entirely. He was simply seeking to introduce into Rome monarchical etiquette. In ancient times all monarchs were conventionally treated as divine beings, just as in later times all monarchs claimed to rule by divine right. The real import of the Flavian cult is to be found in the fact that it could only be interpreted by contemporaries as a confession on the part of the Senate—with which under the law all its institutions formally originated—that the empire was a hereditary absolutism. It was not a statesman-like proceeding on Domitian's part thus openly to proclaim this theory and to insist upon its ceremonial expression. It argues more vanity⁵ than wisdom, a small man's love of display and lack of political sense. The fact is that Domitian's egotism did at times border on insanity; and of all his mad acts the most senseless was his attack upon the Christians, the most submissive element in the whole population, simply because they refused to conform to the outward and confessedly artificial ceremonial which was the established expression of loyalty.

¹ Pliny *pan.* 33.

² Suet. *Dom.* xiii. 1. *Pulvinar* was the technical name for the couch of a god.

³ Suet. *Dom.* xiii. 2.

⁴ The numerous passages in which the court writers pay divine honors to Domitian may be found collected in Gsell, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

⁵ How egregious Domitian's vanity was is illustrated by his boast that he had bestowed the throne upon his father and his brother! This absurd claim is attested not merely by his enemies (Suet. *Dom.* xiii. 1), but also by his flatterers, Martial (ix. 101. 15) and Quintilian (x. 1. 91).

Unfortunately no contemporary narrative of Domitian's persecution of the Christians exists, although we almost certainly possess documents which were called forth by it.¹ From these and from scattered references in later Christian writers we can only gather: that the Domitianic persecution was an attack upon Christianity as such,² occasioned by the unwillingness of the Christians to conform to the practices of the imperial cult; that it came suddenly upon the church, no emperor having attacked the Christians since Nero; that it broke out in the end of Domitian's reign, our most trustworthy witness says in his fifteenth year (95-96 A.D.); that it spread from Rome to the provinces, at least to Bithynia, Asia, and Syria; that there were many martyrdoms and some recantations; but that it was of brief duration. The two most prominent sufferers were Domitilla and the writer of the Apocalypse. There is also the pretty story of Domitian's examination and dismissal of the two descendants of Jude, the Lord's brother.³

The fullest account of the persecution is that in Eusebius:

Domitian having shown great cruelty toward many and having unjustly put to death no small number of well-born and notable men at Rome, and without cause exiled and confiscated the property of many other illustrious men, finally became a successor of Nero in his hatred and enmity toward God. He was in fact the second that stirred up a persecution against us, although his father Vespasian had undertaken nothing prejudicial to us.

Eusebius then quotes the testimony of Irenaeus that

the Apocalypse was seen not long ago, but almost in our own generation, at the end of the reign of Domitian.

and proceeds:

To such a degree, indeed, did the teaching of our faith flourish at that time that even those writers who were far from our religion did not hesitate to mention in their histories⁴ the persecution and martyrdoms which took

¹ Viz., Revelation, I Clement, I Peter, and Hebrews. It is true that the Domitianic date of everyone of these documents has been questioned at some time or other, that of I Clement most recently, by Professor Merrill in the *American Journal of Theology* for July, 1918.

² Note particularly I Pet. 4:16.

³ A full citation of the sources for the Domitianic persecution, with criticism, will be found in Gsell, *op. cit.*, pp. 293-316.

⁴ It is usually assumed, on the basis of a statement in Jerome's version of Eusebius' *Chronicle* (*sub ann. Abr. 2212*), that Eusebius is here referring to the historian Brutius.

place during it. And they indeed accurately indicated the time. For they recorded that in the fifteenth year of Domitian, Flavia Domitilla, daughter of a sister of Flavius Clemens,¹ who at the time was one of the consuls of Rome, was exiled to the island of Pontia in consequence of testimony borne to Christ.²

With this account in Eusebius the following passages of Suetonius and Dio Cassius are evidently to be compared: Suetonius tells us that Domitian

denique Flavium Clementem patruelem suum contemptissimae inertiae cujus filios etiam tum parvulos successores palam destinaverat . . . repente ex tenuissima suspicione tantum non in ipso ejus consulatu interemit.³

Dio, writing of the year 95 A.D., says:

In that same year Domitian put to death many including Flavius Clemens, who was consul, although Clemens was his own cousin and Clemens' wife Flavia Domitilla was likewise his own kinswoman. The charge brought against both was that of atheism; and on that charge many others who had adopted a Jewish mode of life were condemned, some of them being executed and others deprived of their property. Domitilla however was merely exiled to Pandateria.⁴

In the light of these narratives it is not difficult to place the persecution in its historical setting.

The Flavius Clemens referred to by all three of the authors we have quoted was one of the two sons of Vespasian's elder brother, who perished in 69 A.D. in the last struggle between the troops of Vespasian and those of Vitellius on the Capitol. These two cousins were a constant source of embarrassment to Domitian. On the one hand, they were too near the throne to be overlooked in the distribution of honors; on the other, there was always the danger lest one or other of them should be placed by the discontented nobility at its head and become an aspirant to the empire. Sabinus, the elder of the two, Domitian personally hated.⁵ Nevertheless he felt compelled to take him as his colleague in the first consulship

¹ It is generally recognized that the relationship of Domitilla and Clemens is here misstated; that Domitilla was the daughter of Domitian's sister of the same name and that Clemens was her husband. *Vide* Gsell, *op. cit.*, pp. 297 ff.; Pauly-Wissowa, Vol. VI, cols. 2733 f.

² *Hist. eccles.* iii. 17-18; trans. McGiffert.

³ Suet. *Dom.* xv. 1.

⁴ Dio lxxvii. 14. 1-2.

⁵ Suet. *Dom.* xii. Domitian furthermore was in love with his niece Julia, who was Sabinus' wife.

that he assumed after his accession (82 A.D.). Then a few years later he had him executed for real or supposed treason. Clemens thereupon sought safety in retirement. The fate of Sabinus was naturally no encouragement for him to seek public office.

But there may well have been another reason for Clemens' avoidance of a public career. According to later tradition, he¹ and Domitilla his wife were Christians; and with this tradition the accounts of them in Suetonius and Dio are at least consistent, although in neither account does the word Christian appear. Christianity throughout the first century remained in form simply a variety of Jewish messianism. Its central tenet was the expectation of an immediate return of Jesus to set up his messianic kingdom. Christians therefore had little interest in the affairs of a world which they believed to be evanescent. Their citizenship was in the kingdom soon to descend from Heaven. If Clemens had Christian leanings, what Suetonius calls his *contemptissima inertia* is thus easily explained. The charge of atheism and Jewish manners, which Dio tells us was brought against him and his wife, is also easily explicable. The Gentiles, not altogether incorrectly, regarded Christianity as a Jewish sect; and from their point of view both Jews and Christians might easily be mistaken for atheists. Both religions denied the existence of the gods whom all the rest of the world recognized, and the absence from both cults of sacrifice² and other customary forms of ritual would suggest to the casual observer that they worshiped no gods at all.

If Clemens and Domitilla were Christians, the outbreak of the Domitianic persecution can plausibly be accounted for.

In 90 A.D. Domitian was again disappointed of a child,³ and seems to have become finally convinced that a natural heir was to be denied him. He therefore, in or before the year 93, adopted two

¹ The earliest express statement that Clemens was a Christian is that of George Syncellus (i. 650. 19) in the eighth century; but Domitilla was claimed by the Christians as a martyr before the time of Eusebius (*vide* the passage quoted in the text). The fact that one of the earliest Christian cemeteries was located on her land and called by her name supports the assumption that Domitilla was a Christian.

² The Temple at Jerusalem, of course, had been destroyed in 70 A.D. This had long been the only place at which the Jews practiced a sacrificial ritual.

³ Martial vi. 3.

of the children¹ of Clemens and Domitilla as his sons, giving them respectively the names Vespasian and Domitian. It was no longer possible that their parents should remain in obscurity. They were recalled to court. Domitilla, as the mother of the two heirs apparent, was created an *Augusta*. She became, indeed, the chief lady of the court; for Domitia the empress was estranged from her husband, and Julia, Domitian's beloved niece, was now dead. Clemens was designated as Domitian's colleague in the consulships of 95 A.D.

The eminence to which Clemens and Domitilla were thus raised was in the highest degree perilous. Domitian as his reign wore on became yearly more dangerous to those about him. In 93 A.D. he returned from what was to be his last campaign. Thenceforward he lived in his gorgeous house on the Palatine in savage loneliness, surrounded only by sycophants and confronted by a treacherous aristocracy which hated him to a man. By the death of Julia he lost the only friend whom he cared for and could trust. His one absorbing interest was to detect and punish conspirators. Like Tiberius, he felt that "he held a wolf by the ears."² Suetonius gives us a vivid picture of his temper at this closing period of his life: *Pavidus semper et anxius minimis etiam suspicionibus praefer modum commovebatur*.³ Clemens by reason of his birth was an inevitable object of Domitian's suspicions.

The storm broke upon the pair in Clemens' consulship; and if Clemens was in any degree a Christian, it is not difficult to discern why. As consul he was in an impossible position. Almost his first official act would be to offer vows and sacrifices to various heathen deities, including the Flavian *divi*, for the safety of the emperor. Thenceforward at every turn he would be met by obligations connected with state worship and particularly with the imperial cult. There was, it is true, in the Christian church a liberal party which recognized a certain amount of conformity with

¹ Clemens and Domitilla had seven children (*CIL*, VI, 8942). This indicates that they were guiltless of the vices which were so prevalent in the high society of their day.

² The writings of Tiberius were now his sole reading; Suet. *Dom.* xx. Cf. Suet. *Tib.* xxv. 1.

³ Suet. *Dom.* 14; cf. Dio lxxvii. 14. 4.

the customs of the existing society as a practical necessity, including even those customs which had a religious reference. The cult of deities which had no existence, it was argued, was meaningless and therefore harmless.¹ We may assume that Clemens adhered to this wing of the church; but he could hardly avoid giving offense when called upon to celebrate the rites of the official religion. The slightest trace of disinclination on his part or of contempt for the imperial cult could not fail to arouse Domitian's jealous ire. The attention which Domitian bestowed upon the imperial cult shows that he was a ritualist in temper, keenly sensitive to outward forms. Had he lived in a later age, he would have ordered to instant execution a Quaker who insisted upon wearing his hat in his presence, without inquiring whether he were really a disloyal subject. Clemens' parentage must have laid his conduct especially open to misinterpretation. The fact that his apparent disrespect to the emperor was merely due to his religion, when discovered, would be no palliative in Domitian's eyes. Domitian's was a nature which could brook not the slightest opposition. He was already engaged in a persecution of other "philosophies" which taught the supremacy of conscience.² An investigation of the new religion would not allay his anxiety. It could only reveal that the Christians were a world-wide semi-secret organization which was looking for the rise of a new empire; and that they were in the habit of ascribing to the world-ruler whom they expected the very titles which in the East, whence the movement had originated, Domitian was accustomed to have ascribed to himself: "King," "Savior," "Son of (a) God," "Image of God," "God made manifest."³

All Domitian's tyrannical and cowardly instincts were stirred to action. As soon as Clemens had laid down his consulship—a

¹ I Cor. 10:23 ff. The preceding verses, which teach a stricter doctrine, are perhaps a later insertion intended to correct the apparent latitudinarianism of this passage. It is apparently a similar latitudinarianism which the writer of the Apocalypse is combating in his letters to the Seven Churches of Asia (Rev., chaps. 2, 3).

² On Domitian's persecution of the philosophers *vide* Gsell, *op. cit.*, chap. ix.

³ βασιλεὺς, σωτήρ, υἱὸς θεοῦ (*divi filius*), εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ, θεὸς ἐπιφανής. *Vide* Kennedy, "Apostolic Preaching and Emperor Worship," *Expositor*, VII (1909), 289 ff.

consul during his term of office was immune from prosecution—he was tried and executed. The nature of the charge against him might well seem to sensible men a *levissima suspicio*.¹ Domitilla was banished to an island.² It was discovered that others of the Roman nobility were infected with the same taint. The informers accordingly found a new type of accusation; and slaves and freedmen were encouraged to spy upon their masters.³ Cupidity as well as terror urged Domitian on.⁴ His own extravagance, added to that of Titus, had squandered the accumulations of Vespasian, and the treasury was empty. The charge of “living a Jewish life” supplied him with a convenient excuse for confiscations. Vespasian had instituted a capitation tax of two drachmas a head upon the Jews. This imposition Domitian recently had been exacting with the utmost rigor. It was easy to insist that the Christians were subject to it, and to punish them as tax-evaders.⁵

The number of the victims cannot be determined; but we learn from Dio that a good many nobles lost their lives or their property.⁶ It is not impossible that M. Acilius Glabrio, who was executed about this time, is to be reckoned among the Christian martyrs.⁷ That the persecution was not confined to the nobility, but that it extended also to the humbler folk, the slaves and freedmen who made up the bulk of the Christian community, may be regarded as certain.⁸

In the provinces, with or without direct orders from the emperor, a regular inquisition was set up. Pliny's famous correspondence

¹ *Vide* the passage from Suetonius quoted above, p. 13.

² Probably to Pontia, not to Pandateria; *vide* Gsell, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

³ Cf. Dio lxxviii. 1. 2, quoted below.

⁴ Suetonius suggests that Domitian was *super ingenii naturam inopia rapax metu sacrus* (Dom. iii. 2).

⁵ *Praeter ceteros Judaicus fiscus acerbissime actus est; ad quem deferabantur qui vel improfessi Judaicam viverent vitam vel dissimulata origine imposita genti tributa non pendissent.* Suet. Dom. xii. 2. Under those who “lived a Jewish life, without confessing that they were Jews,” the Christians would naturally be included.

⁶ *Vide* the passage quoted above, p. 13.

⁷ Gsell, *op. cit.*, pp. 294 ff.

⁸ It certainly affected the circle from which I Clement emanates.

with Trajan in the year 112 A.D. shows that at that time the profession of Christianity was in the eyes of the law a crime, and that the customary method of detecting a Christian was to require the suspect to offer incense to the pagan deities, specifically to the image of the emperor.¹ We learn further from the same source that this legal principle and this test were as old as the reign of Domitian.² Apparently all Christians were now obligated to participate in the worship of the emperor, even those whose private station would ordinarily have rendered them exempt. The enigmatic language of the thirteenth chapter of the Book of Revelation points in the same direction. In that chapter we are told that the second beast—by whom we are perhaps to understand the Governor of Asia—had (or was to have) an image of the first beast (the emperor ?)³ made;

and he had power to give life unto the image of the beast, that the image of the beast should both speak and cause (*v.l.* and he will cause) that as many as would not worship the image of the beast should be killed. And he causeth all, *both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond*, to receive a mark in their right hand or in their foreheads; and that no man might either buy or sell, save he that had the mark or the name of the beast or the number of his name.⁴

This passage suggests at least that an attempt was being made, or was anticipated, to enforce the emperor cult upon all classes of society.

The trial, however, was brief. The custom in the end of Domitian's reign seems to have been that "ordinary" consuls should hold office until the middle of April.⁵ The execution of Clemens therefore probably took place in May, 95 A.D. On September 18 of the

¹ Pliny *ep.* x. 96-97. In the provinces, as has already been noted, the living emperor was worshiped.

² Cf. the phrase *non nemo etiam ante viginti, sc. annos* (Pliny *ep.* x. 96. 6). *Viginti* here is probably to be interpreted as a round number. The reference is probably to 95-96 A.D. The reading *viginti quinque* is merely a modern emendation and is probably to be rejected.

³ The writer owes this explanation of the passage to an unpublished paper of Professor Case. Professor Case, he understands, while accepting the view of Moffatt, Bousset, and others that the author is predicting a persecution which he thinks of as about a decade away (*vide* chap. xvii), is inclined to hold that the author's conception of that persecution is based upon the procedure of the Domitianic persecution, which he regards as a foretaste of the greater attack to come.

⁴ Rev. 13: 15-17.

⁵ Gsell, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

following year Domitian fell under the dagger of one of Domitilla's servants, and her sufferings were avenged. A reaction against Domitian's policies ensued, and this probably included a cessation of the persecution.¹ The later Christian tradition was that the persecution was short;² and we are told by Dio that Domitian's successor, Nerva,

released those who were under trial for *impiety*, recalled the exiles, and put to death the slaves and freedmen who had conspired against their masters. He would no longer permit such to bring any charge against their masters or to accuse them of *impiety* or a *Jewish mode of life*.³

It is clear from Pliny that the principle that Christianity was an illicit religion still persisted; but it is also clear that prosecutions became very rare. Pliny, although he was a lawyer of wide experience, confesses that he had never come into contact with any.

There is no reason to believe that the Domitianic persecution was marked by any such picturesque horrors as those which marked the Neronian. Domitian and his representatives seem to have been content with confiscations and the ordinary methods of execution. But in point of historical importance the two persecutions are scarcely comparable. Nero had punished the Christians as incendiaries, and there is no reason to believe that the church in the provinces was seriously molested. Domitian sought to suppress the Christian religion as such throughout the empire. Down to 95 A.D. the relation between the church and the empire had been one of mutual tolerance. The imperial officials had regarded the Christians as an inoffensive, if somewhat irrational, sect and had protected them against the mob violence to which they were constantly exposed. Accordingly the Christians had regarded the empire as a divinely appointed instrument in the world for the suppression of crime and the restraint of Antichrist. Loyalty to the

¹ If the contention that the Arch of Titus is a monument of this reaction (*vide supra*, p. 9, n. 2) be sustained, this beautiful little structure gains in interest for all Christians.

² Tert. *apol.* v; Heges. *apud* Eus. *hist. ecc.* iii. 20; Lactant. *de mort. persec.* iii; Oros. *hist.* vii. 10. Tertullian and Hegesippus imply that Domitian himself put a stop to the persecution; but this seems improbable.

³ Dio lrviii. 1. 2. Coins of Nerva are extant which bear the legend FISCO JUDAICI CALVMNIA SVBLATA (Cohen, *Nerva*, pp. 54-55).

emperor and strict obedience to his behests had been inculcated by their leaders as a religious duty.¹ Now it was suddenly realized on both sides that God and the emperor were rivals for the ultimate allegiance of men. The fact is that the year 95 A.D. is a date of supreme importance in human history. It marks the beginning of a conflict between religion and the state which can never entirely disappear until "the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ." In the story of that conflict the struggle between the empire and the papacy in the Middle Ages is one chapter; the Great War just concluded is another;² and dare we hope that the issue is forever buried, even in our own free country, when one of our most influential dailies prints at the head of its editorial column the sentiment, "Our country! In her intercourse with foreign nations may she ever be in the right; but *our country, right or wrong.*"

¹ Rom. 13:1-7; II Thess. 2:7; I Pet. 2:13-17.

² The moral issue which lent to the Great War the dignity and intensity of a crusade grew out of the German contention that where the moral law and the interests of the state conflicted, the latter must have precedence.

THE CISTERCIAN ORDER AND COLONIZATION IN MEDIAEVAL GERMANY¹

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"Mundus enim cenobiis et monasteriis plenus est: Quid igitur necesse est, tanta fieri monasteria?" ("The world is full of monks and monasteries: to what use?")²

Until late in the Middle Ages thought ran in very definite channels, and men's minds had little inclination to strike out on new paths or to change old, established practices. It never seems to have occurred to the mediaeval mind that the solution for the evils of monasticism might be not more but less monasticism. Instead, as one after another of the monastic orders fell away from its original ideals and became corrupt, new orders were founded, and the need of supplementing the ancient rule of St. Benedict resulted in the multiplication of monastic customs. Benedict of Aniane amplified the Benedictine rule; then followed the customs of Cluny. Gradually these customs received many additions. The most detailed compilation was made by the monk Bernard about 1065.³

Cluny in its administrative organization had adopted and adapted the strong features of feudal government and built up a

¹ The standard work upon the German Cistercians is that of Franz Winter, *Die Cistercienser des nordöstlichen Deutschlands*, Gotha, Vol. I, 1868; Vol. II, 1871; Vol. III, 1871. For more recent literature see Werminghoff, *Verfassungsgesch. der deutschen Kirche im Mittelalter* (2d ed., Leipzig, Teubner, 1913); Krüger, *Handbuch der Kirchengesch.*, 1, 2, sec. 19, 5 (Tübingen, 1911-12).

The economy of the German Cistercians has been made the object of a special study by E. Hoffmann, "Die Entwicklung der Wirtschaftsprinzipien im Zisterzienserorden während des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts," *Historisches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft*, Band 31 (1910). See also Dolberg, "Zisterzienser-Mönche und Konversen als Landwirte und Arbeiter," *Studien und Mitteilungen aus dem Benediktiner- und Zisterzienser-Orden*, Band 13 (1892), 216-28, 360-67, 503-12.

² Herbordus, *Dialogus*, I, 18 (Jaffé, *Monumenta Bamberg*, V, 716).

³ For details of this process see my article in the *American Journal of Theology*, XXII (1918), 395-425, and references there given.

widespread and compact monastic system in Europe. The great abbot of Cluny was a monarch among monks, and the priors his vassals, bound to him by ties of fealty and overlordship stronger than those in the feudal régime, yet not unlike them.

From the time of its foundation Cluny had peculiarly appealed to the sentiments and interests of the feudal aristocracy. Most of the members of the Order, and all of its abbots, were of noble blood. It carried into the cloister some of the dearest ideas of the feudal age, like homage and chivalry. In promoting the peace of God, Cluny idealized warfare. In espousing the Crusades it at least partially translated the brutality and violence of the feudal age into an idea.

But there are few gains without some losses. Toward the end of the eleventh century Cluny seemed to have terminated its great historical mission, and a reaction developed against its tendencies. The congregation was reproached for too close an identification with things feudal; for too much sympathy with and too much condonation of the evils of the feudal régime; for pernicious political activity and aspirations toward political control. The wealth and luxury of the Cluniacs were imputed to them for unrighteousness.¹

A new wave of religious emotionalism flowed across Christian Europe in the late eleventh century.² Before 1200 two new religious orders saw the light in France. These were the Carthusians, founded in 1084 by St. Bruno, and the Cistercians, founded in 1098.³ In the first quarter of the twelfth century (1120) Norbert established the Premonstratensian (or Norbertine) order of canons.

When the first monks of Cîteaux compiled their book of customs, or *Liber Usuum*, while the fundamental regulations governing the ascetic and isolated life were borrowed from St. Benedict, they

¹ For the austerity of the early Cistercians see an article by D'Arbois de Jubainville, "De la Nourriture des Cisterciens," *Bib. de l'école des chartes*, serie 4, IV, 271-82.

² For some of the phenomena of this movement see my article on "Church and State in Mediaeval Germany," *American Journal of Theology*, XXII (1918), 395-425.

³ Bruno was a native of Cologne and Norbert of Xanten. But although both were German-born the movements they generated first took root in France. For literature see Werminghoff, *op. cit.*, sec. 39; Luchaire, *Manuel*, 90-93, 100-101.

also used some version of the customs of Cluny, but made many changes and additions. The great innovation of the Cistercians was their form of government; and the other new orders followed them in adopting an annual general chapter and an organized system of visitation. Even Cluny deigned to imitate them. Two reforming abbots of Cluny, Peter the Venerable and Hugh V, drew up statutes which manifest the influence of Cîteaux. In the twelfth century the customs of Cîteaux began to eclipse the customs of Cluny not only in Benedictine houses but in the orders of regular canons as well. The *Book of Customs* of the canons regular of St. Victor at Paris was largely borrowed from the customs of Bernard of Cluny, but it also shows Cistercian influence, and the government of the congregation resembled that of Cîteaux. The *Institutiones* of the Premonstratensian canons were taken almost entirely from the *Liber Usuum* and *Charta Charitatis* of Cîteaux.¹

Like Cluny before it, the Cistercian Order reflected the feudal institutions of the time. But it was a different kind of feudalism, being more fluid and less centralized.

The original *regula* of Benedict provided an admirable constitution for the single monastery, but no plan for the supervision of one monastery by another. The mediaeval advance in monastic organization consisted in the authoritative supervision of subordinate or "daughter" foundations by the superior or primal monastery of the Order. The abbot of Cluny exercised such authority over Cluniac foundations, as well as over monasteries which, at the instance of the secular lord of the land, had been reorganized by Cluny.

The Cistercian Order represents a less monarchical or more decentralized subordination, on a plan similar to the feudal principle of sub-infeudation, whereby the holder of the fief owed his duties to his immediate lord, who in turn owed duties to his own lord, still above him. Thus in the Cistercian Order the visitatorial authority over each foundation was vested in the immediate mother rather than in the primal abbey of Cîteaux, from which the

¹ The historian of the Cistercians has to deal with three kinds of documents: chronicles of the order, the constitutions, and the catalogues of the abbeys. Martène and Durand have published large portions of them in their *Thesaurus Novus*. But their compilation is incomplete. Among omitted statutes of the chapters general are those of 1283 to 1288, 1307 to 1317, 1324 to 1329, 1331 to 1386, 1495 to 1501. Janauschek (*Originum Cisterciensium*, 2 vols., Vienna, 1877-79) has made a searching examination of the catalogues and determined the date and situation of every Cistercian foundation. Cf. *RQH*, XXIII, 265-69.

intervening mother abbey had gone forth. This plan was formulated by Stephen Harding's *Charta Charitatis*, the charter of the Cistercian Order, and a monument of constructive genius.¹

Each cloister was responsible, financially and otherwise, for the colony which it sent out—the daughter-cloister. The abbot of the mother-monastery had to visit the cloisters which his abbey had founded once a year; and, what was equally important, the heads of the “daughter” foundations were required to make annual visits to the “mother” cloister, not only in order to keep the administrative contacts vital, but also to inspect the farms and thus to gather new ideas of monastic economy.

The general council of twenty-five abbots met every year. It was composed of the five abbots of the first five houses, and of four others from each of the five “provinces” or governments into which the whole field of Christendom was divided. Below this larger assembly were the chapters-general, which were held each year and were attended by all the abbots within the circuit. A certain leeway, however, was permitted abbots dwelling in remoter countries. Thus the Spanish abbots were required to come only every two years; the abbots in Hungary every three years; those from Scotland, Ireland, and Sicily every four years; those in Scandinavia and Livonia every five years, and those in Syria only every seven years.²

Not many years elapsed after their foundation before each of these new monastic movements spread beyond the Rhine. The least active of these new orders in mediaeval Germany was the Carthusians. Except the houses at Steitz in Styria, in Cologne, in Basel, and that of St. Mariae-Paradeis at Danzig, there were no important representatives of La Grande Chartreuse in Germany.

The Norbertines were more numerous.³ They had houses throughout all the bishoprics in Lorraine, at Cologne, in Alsace,

¹ The quotation is from Taylor, *Mediaeval Mind*, I, 361. Giseke, *Ueber den Gegensatz der Klunyacenser- und Zisterzienser-Program d. Pädagog*, etc. (Magdeburg, 1886), has developed this subject. Cf. Vacandard, *Vie de St. Bernard* (2d ed., 1897), chap. iv, and Zöckler, *Askese und Mönchtum* (2d ed., Frankfurt a.M., 1897), 406-15. The *Charta Charitatis* is in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. 166, cols. 1377-84.

² Winter, I, 174.

³ See Krüger, *Kirchengesch.*, 1, 2, sec. 19, 7, for literature.

in Franconia, in Swabia, in Bavaria, in Saxony, in Bohemia and Poland, and even in the territory beyond the Elbe River newly conquered from the Slavs. Thirty years after its foundation there were forty houses of Premonstratensian canons in Germany, and by the end of the twelfth century there were sixty

More widespread still than the Norbertines were the Cistercians. At the death of Abbot Stephen Harding in 1134, Cîteaux, after thirty-six years of existence, numbered seventy monasteries, of which fifty-five were in France. By 1150 the order counted no less than fifty houses in Germany alone, and by 1200 the number had increased to almost one hundred.¹

Morimond, the fourth foundation of Cîteaux, in 1122, sent the first Cistercians into Germany, where they founded Altencamp near Reinsberg in the diocese of Cologne. From Altencamp sprang directly or indirectly a swarm of new foundations which spread over all North Germany—Saxony, Mecklenburg, Brandenburg, and Pomerania, the last three being territories newly wrung from the conquered Slavonic peoples.²

Altencamp's first offshoot was Walkenried in the bishopric of Mainz (1128), which in its turn founded Schul-Pforta near Naumburg in 1132 and Sittichenbach near Halberstadt in 1141. Schul-Pforta in 1163 founded Kloster Leubus near Breslau, and Altenzelle in the bishopric of Meissen, Dunamunde near Riga between 1204 and 1208, and Falkenau by Dorpat in 1234. Leubus in 1222 founded Heinrichau near Breslau, and Kamenz before 1248. Sittichenbach about 1183 established Lehnin in Brandenburg, Buch near Meissen about 1192 and Grünhain by Naumburg about 1235. In 1234 Lehnin founded Paradies near Posen, and in 1260 (?) Chorin in Brandenburg.

No less active in expansion than Altencamp was the Cistercian monastery of Wolkerode near Mainz, which within eight years after its own establishment in 1130 founded Waldsassen near

¹ For Cistercian houses in Upper Italy see Lugano, *Rivista Storica Benedettina*, July-December, 1911. For their agency in combating heresy there see Cantu, "Les Hérétiques italiens," *RQH*, I, 469 f.

² For the history of this conquest see my article, "The German Church and the Conversion of the Baltic Slavs," *American Journal of Theology*, XX (1916), 205-30, 372-89.

Regensburg, and continued with Reiffenstein (diocese of Mainz) about 1175, Lokkum near Minden before 1183, and Dobrilugk near Meissen in 1165. Waldsassen in 1143 founded Walderbach by Regensburg, Sedlitz near Prague in 1192 (?), and Mascov at the same time, the latter being afterward transferred to Osseg. Lokkum between 1186 and 1189 founded Reinfeld near Lübeck. Amelungsborn, founded in the diocese of Hildesheim by French Morimond, before 1141 itself founded Riddighausen by Halberstadt in 1145 and Doberan near Schwerin in 1170. Riddighausen in turn, in 1243-54, founded Isenhagem near Hildesheim. Doberan in 1209 founded Dargun in Schwerin. At the same time Hardehausen near Paderborn, also of French origin (1140), founded Scharnebeck near Verden about 1143, Marienfeld near Münster in 1185, Bredelar near Paderborn in 1196, and Michaelstein near Halberstadt about 1148, the last being one of the very few Cistercian houses in Germany which had no offspring.

In 1127 two Franconian nobles named Bern and Riwin, with an abbot and twelve monks from Morimond, founded a monastery at Ebrach. Ebrach in turn founded Reun and Heilsbronn (1132), Langheim (1139), Nepomuk (1145), Aldersbach (1146), Bildhausen (1157). Reun founded Sittich in 1136 (?) and Wilhering before 1146. Langheim founded Plass in 1145 and Schlägl about 1200. Aldersbach in 1258 founded Fürstenfeld. Wilhering in 1259 founded Hohenfurt. Plass founded Graditz in 1177 and Welcharad between 1202 and 1205.

Altenberg, created in 1137 directly out of Morimond through French Cistercians by the endowments of the German counts Eberhard and Adolph of Altena in the county of Berg, propagated the order of Citeaux in Northeastern Germany. It founded Wongrowitz in the diocese of Gnesen in 1143, Lad in the same locality in 1146, Marienthal near Halberstadt before 1146, Zinna in Brandenburg about 1170, Heina near Mainz between 1144 and 1188. Wongrowitz in its turn founded Obra near Posen in 1237; Marienthal founded Hude near Bremen about 1200.

A daughter of Morimond in the diocese of Passau, namely Heiligenkreuz, founded Zwetl in Austria in 1138, Braumgartenberg in 1141-42, and Lilienfeld in 1206. Georgenthal, also founded

by a colony of French Cistercians from Morimond in the diocese of Mainz, had no offshoots. Weiler-Betnach, near Metz, which Morimond founded in 1133, itself founded Victringen in Carinthia in 1142 and Eusserthal and Werschweiler in the diocese of Speyer in 1130 and 1171. Victringen founded Landstrass near Aquileia in 1234. The Cistercians of Beaupré, a daughter of Morimond near Toul, created in 1135, founded Baumgarten near Strasburg in 1148.

Another foundation of Morimond, Bellevaux, either directly or indirectly founded Lützel near Basel; Neuburg (1137), Maulbronn (1148), and Herrenalb (1149-52) in the diocese of Speyer; Bronnbach and Schönthal in the bishopric of Würzburg (1152, 1157); Pöris near Strasburg (1138); Salem and Raittenhaslich in the diocese of Salzburg (1134, 1226); Wettingen and St. Urban near Constance (1158, 1195); Kaisheim near Augsburg (1135), and Stans near Brixen (1273).

In Lorraine, Saint Benoit-en-Voivre, L'Isle-en-Barrois, Vaux-en-Ornois, Hohenforst, and Clairlieu, all were the offspring of Morimond.

Compared with Morimond, St. Bernard's famous abbey of Clairvaux was less active in Germany. Directly or indirectly Clairvaux founded La Chalade near Verdun (1130), Eberbach near Mainz (between 1130 and 1140), Schönau near Worms (1142), Otterberg near Mainz (1144), Arnsburg (1174), Godts-Dael near Liège (1180), Bebenhausen near Constance (1191), Disobodenberg near Mainz (1259), Winterbach, later called Himmerode (1133), Heisterbach and Marienstatt near Cologne (before 1193 and 1250 respectively), Klaarkamp (1165) and Bloomkamp (1191) in the diocese of Utrecht; Adwert and Gerka near Munster in 1192, Kappel near Constance (1185), Ruhekloster in Schleswig (1192), Esrom in Denmark, Dargun (1172), Colbaz (1175), Eldena (1199), and Oliva (1186) in Livonia.¹

A geographical apportionment of these statistics shows that not only all of older Germany, but an amazing extent of the newer

¹ These data are derived from Hauck, *Kirchengesch.*, IV, 325 ff. For Cistercian influence in the introduction of French Burgundian architecture into Germany see C. Enlart, *Archéologie Française*, I, 475-76. Uhlhorn (*Leitschrift d. hist. Vereins für Niedersachsen*, 1890) has a monograph upon Cistercian activity in Lower Saxony.

Germany toward the northeast and the southeast, was settled by Cistercian colonies during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The order was so well established in Livonia that in 1204 Innocent III took occasion highly to praise it. By 1209 the Cistercians had several prosperous colonies in Russia.¹

This disposition on the part of the Cistercians in Germany to seek out places of settlement in the eastern colonial lands rather than to establish themselves within the older historic regions was not due, as sometimes has been supposed, to the fact that the Benedictines and Cluniacs, who had come so long before them, had engrossed all the good soil of Germany. The pious generosity of the faithful could still be counted upon for endowments.² The Cistercians and Premonstratensians in Germany in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries felt the push of colonization and shared the pioneer spirit of the Saxon race at this time.³ While the ancient Benedictine Order had become a decadent monasticism and had run to seed, these younger orders felt the throb of youth, and the spirit of adventure was strong in their midst.

It is a very striking fact that as the Elbe was the frontier between the Old and the New Germany, so it was a dividing line between these new orders of monks and the Benedictines.⁴ Except for Bohemia and Poland not a Benedictine foundation existed east of the Elbe River save a few convents of nuns.⁵ The old order of

¹ Winter, I, 219.

² As an illustration, in 1300 Albrecht of Brandenburg gave the cloister of Colbaz his estate of Ereursdorf on the Warthe. It included the villages of Cladow, Zanzin, Heinersdorf, Merzdorf, Neuendorf, Ratzdorf, Hohenwalde, Tornow, Beyersdorf, Vietz, Loppow, Pyrehne, Stennewitz, and Gennin (Winter, II, 43). When the Cistercians came to the island of Rügen in 1188 and founded Eldena, Count Jaromir gave them five villages and a salt pan (*ibid.*, I, 135).

³ This observation holds true of France also in the twelfth century, where the Cistercians were great colonizers of waste and unsettled places. See Marion, *Bib. de l'école des chartes*, série I, IV, 549-60; D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Études sur l'état intérieur des abbayes cisterciennes*, etc., Paris, 1858. Cf. *Bib. de l'école des chartes*, série 4, V, 381-84.

⁴ W. Hoppe, "Kloster Zinna," *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. ostdeutschen. Koloniallandes u. d. Cistercienser-ordens* (2 maps), Leipzig, 1914.

⁵ Ledebur, *Vorträge sur Gesch. der Mark Brandenburg* (chapter on "Das Klosterwesen in der Mark Brandenburg"); cf. the words of Lavissee, *La Marche de Brandebourg*, 210-12.

things had passed away. With the conversion of the Slavs even missions had become obsolete. The great Northeast had been conquered, and the land lay open to settlement and exploitation. The future of the Cistercians and Premonstratensians lay along the line of agriculture, forest and swamp redemption, cattle-raising, and trade. Their monasteries in this New East were farm schools, not mission stations nor places where letters and the arts were cultivated. They left "higher" culture to the Benedictines, who vegetated within cloisters and fastidiously shivered at the very thought of the rough life of the German border.¹

Land was given the Order generously.² Lavish grants were common in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.³ Once possessed of the land, the cost of upkeep was not great, for the Cistercians were exempted from all taxes on land, whether unimproved or improved, as well as from taxes upon their flocks and herds and work animals.⁴

The reason why the Cistercians in Germany gravitated toward the new colonial lands as places of settlement is largely to be found in the ideals of the Order. They reproached the Cluniacs and Benedictines for the glaring publicity of their daily life, and of prostituting the ideals of isolation and asceticism to worldly ends. By preference the Cistercians sought out remote and inaccessible places of habitation, and the border lands of Germany in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries afforded "ample room and verge enough."

¹ See Herbordi, *Vita Ottonis, ep. Babenb* (ed. Pertz), Book II, cc. 11 and 30 for some interesting comments. And for the character of German frontier life, my art on "East German Colonization," *Proc. Amer. Hist. Assoc.*, 1915, 137-41; "The German Church and the Conversion of Baltic Slavs," *American Journal of Theology*, XX (1916), 379-80.

² Hadrian IV freed the Cistercians from obligation to pay the tithe as long as they labored with their own hands and themselves tilled the glebe (Winter, I, 92).

³ Gerdes, *Gesch. des deutschen Volkes*, II, 579.

⁴ Alexander III, in a letter to the bishops of Metz, Trier, Verdun, and Liège, wrote: "Admirati, sumus quod cum fratribus Aureaevalis sicut aliis omnibus Cisterciensis Ordinis a patribus et praedecessoribus nostris concessum sit, et a nobis nunc postmodum confirmatum ut de laboribus quos propriis manibus aut sumptibus excolunt, nemini decimus solvere teneatur."—Lamprecht, *Deutschwirtschafisleben*, Vol. I, Part 1, 121.

Moreover the rule of Cîteaux imposed actual manual labor upon members of the Order and discountenanced the work of serfs as an abominable evasion of the principle that physical work was good for the soul as well as for the body. Its puritanism even went so far as to prohibit the possession of feudal fiefs in order that the monasteries might be kept aloof from feudal entanglements. The more secluded the spot, the harder the struggle against nature, the more alluring was the locality to the Cistercians. A novice of Clairvaux wrote enthusiastically of finding the monks there employed "with hoes in the garden, forks and rakes in the meadow, sickles in the harvest fields, and axes in the forests."¹

It was not long, however, until with the Cistercians, as with the earlier Benedictines, the hard manual labor in every house came to be performed by lay brothers, and the monks only labored vicariously. The rule of St. Benedict had established an absolute equality between the monks and those who were not priests. It had permitted the introduction into the monasteries of laymen who, without being "religious" in the sense in which that word is used by the Church of Rome, yet lived there and were called *oblates*. Among these "religious" two classes were distinguished: those capable of theological instruction were educated as priests and in time became full-fledged monks; the rest (*illiterati*, *idiotae*) formed an inferior category of monks. Finally a fourth class of *conversi*, or lay brothers, were admitted as house and farm servants (*famuli*). Thus by the twelfth century, when the Cistercian Order was founded, the word *conversi* had completely changed its original meaning and designated only lay members of the monastery.

The Order of Cîteaux restored the primitive signification of the word *conversi*, but applied it to the *illiterati* and *idiotae*, that is to say to the monks who, without being priests, nevertheless had made profession of it and according to the spirit of the Benedictine rule were "religious" like the priests.

Thus constituted, the *conversi* acted as a medium between the monastery and the outside world. They were monks subject to all the obligations and observances imposed upon the *illiterati*, but they could not become priests. Their special function was with

¹ Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, 182, col. 711.

reference to the material affairs of the monastery. They farmed the granges, they did the heavy work in the interior of the abbey, and they plied those crafts which were necessary to the material life of the community. The *conversi* also acted as commercial agents, going to market with the produce of the abbey lands.¹

This combination of the ideal and the practical made the Cistercians eagerly sought after as colonizers in the waste lands.² They were as truly pioneers in the eastward expansion of the German nation as were the Saxon, Eastphalian, Westphalian, and Thuringian settlers, who at the same time were flocking from the more thickly populated regions of older Germany into the newly conquered and sparsely peopled lands beyond the Elbe.³ They cleared the forests, they reclaimed the swamps, they drained the marshes, they built levees and dikes to confine the streams, and they made roads and bridges. When the redemption of the wilderness was accomplished they brought new settlers in from the "Old West," conducting these emigrants upon the journey and seeing that they were comfortably housed along the road in the numerous monasteries of the Order en route, which served as taverns or hostels.⁴

The founding of Kloster Leubus in 1175 is the initial date in the history of Silesia. In that year Boleslav the Lanky, of Poland (1163-1201), aiming to colonize the upper valley of the Oder, invited the Cistercians to settle there. It was the farthest eastern post of German culture in the twelfth century.⁵

¹ The economic activity of the *conversi* has been made the subject of a valuable study by Eberhard Hoffmann, *Das Konverseninstitut des Cisterzienser-Ordens in seinem Ursprung und seiner Organisation*, Fribourg, Switzerland, 1905.

² In general, for this colonization, see Winter, I, 137 f.; Hauck, *op. cit.*, IV, 326 f.; Lamprecht, *Deutsche Gesch.*, III, 386 f.; Delberg, *Studien und Mittheil, der Ben. Cisterc.*, XIII, 218 and 512; Michael, *Gesch. des deutschen Volkes*, 91-120.

³ Winter (I, 124) is quite justified in giving the German Cistercians a high place in the history of German east colonization.

⁴ Winter, II, 179; Lamprecht, *D.G.*, III, 387; Wendt, *Germanisierung d. Länder östlich der Elbe*, II, 70.

⁵ The first substantial study upon the beginnings of Silesia was made in 1898 by Schulte, "Zur Gesch. der ältesten deutschen Besiedlung Schlesiens" (cf. *Hist. Zeitschrift*, XXXIV, 291 f.). Most valuable is Seidel, *Der Beginn der deutschen Besiedlung Schlesiens*, Breslau, 1912. Cf. Thoma, *Die kolonialisatorische Tätigkeit des Klosters Leubus im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1904.

As farmers the Cistercians surpassed the Cluniacs.¹ A brother of the Order, writing at the beginning of the fourteenth century, describes in detestable verse but with genuine and justifiable enthusiasm the work of the Cistercians in civilizing Silesia. He pictures the country as a land of forest and fen inhabited by wretchedly poor and lazy Poles, who used the forked trunk of a tree for a plow, drawn by a pair of scrawny cows or oxen. The people lived without salt or metal or shoes and were pitifully clothed. Nowhere was a town to be found. Markets were held in the open air, where barter took the place of coin.²

Although determined partisans of the papacy in the conflict between the popes and Frederick Barbarossa, owing to the influence of French Cistercianism over them, the lords of Germany, even when themselves of Ghibelline persuasion, were favorable to the German Cistercians, for they appreciated the nature of their services as colonizers. But Frederick I himself was less wise.

When Roland, the redoubtable chancellor of Hadrian IV, succeeded to the pontificate and became the formidable Guelf pope Alexander III, the emperor countered by putting up as anti-pope the cardinal Octavian, who took the name of Victor. The Cistercians naturally sustained Alexander, and for that reason Frederick decreed the exile of the Order from Germany.³ Where the Hohenstaufen arm could reach, their lands were as-

¹ Sackur, *Die Cluniacenser*, II, 406.

² Nam sine cultore tellus jacuit nemorosa,
Et genus Polonie pauper fuit, haut operosa,
Sulcans in sabulo lignis uncis sine ferro
Etvaccis bobus nisi scivit arare duobus.
Civitas aut oppidum per terram non fuit ullum,
Sed prope castra fora campestris, broca, capella,
Non sal, non ferrum, numismata nonque metallum,
Non indumenta bona, sed neque calciamenta.
Plebs habuit ulla, pascebat sola jumenta.

—*Monumenta Lubensia* (ed. Wattenbach), 15.

For the backward agricultural economy of the Wends in the twelfth century see Helmoldus, *Chron. Slavorum*, I, 12, 14, and 87 (88); Heinrici, *Chron. Lyvonie*, II, 7.

³ Quam ob rem iratus Cesar proposuit edictum, ut omnes monachi Cisterciensis ordinis, qui consistebant in regno suo, aut Victori subscriberent aut regno pellerentur. Itaque difficile relatu est, quot patres, quanti monachorum greges relictis sedibus suis transfugere in Franciam (Helmoldus, *op. cit.*, I, 90); *Annal. Palad.*, 1162, SS. XVI, 92; Giesebrecht, *Kaiserzeit*, VI, 412. The decree of exile took place after the Council of Würzburg in 1164 (*ibid.*, V, 474; VI, 445).

simulated to the royal fisc, their granges sacked, and the monks themselves driven out of the land, not to return until 1177, when peace was made between papacy and empire. Then the Cistercians came back in flocks to Germany, where they were popularly hailed as *Friedensengel*, or angels of peace.¹

One is tempted to think, unless he knows past history, that the policy of conservation of natural resources is a wholly modern movement; that intelligent engineering perished with the Romans until it was revived in the sixteenth century; that the study of soils and geological conditions, the appreciation of economic botany, animal husbandry, plant culture, etc., were utterly unknown until relatively recent times. Swamp reclamation, crude ditching and draining, forest clearing, and a simple, if not wholly primitive, agriculture are usually believed to have been the limits of man's exploitation of natural resources in the Middle Ages.

But the history of the labors of the Cistercian monks in Germany in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries belies this snap judgment. Almost without exception the Cistercian cloisters in mediaeval Germany were located in swamp or marsh regions, so that a system of drainage had to be worked out. The ruins of many of their foundations in North Germany still retain traces of these improvements. In the Harz and the hill country of Thuringia the tourist will come upon these remains.

The swamps were drained, and the redeemed land (known as polders in Holland) was made fit for tillage and grazing. The water was impounded in reservoirs by dams and walls and used for both irrigation and milling purposes. The ditches were used as fishponds.²

As interesting as their use of engineering was the German Cistercians' effort to utilize the forests. Much of the face of the country was covered with dense forest. But instead of the former haphazard way of making clearings without reference to the value of the soil underneath, the Cistercians studied both the timber and the soil. They knew, or discovered, that where hardwoods

¹ Winter, I, 91.

² Winter, II, 169. At Luttenbach, near Münster, water from the hills was conducted in underground conduits to freshen the orchard, to drive a mill, and to fill the fishpond.

grew there good land was to be found. They never wholly denuded the forest but left patches of standing timber.¹ Moreover they studied plant life for food purposes: seed germination, grafting of fruit trees, and mayhap even cross-fertilization. We know that in 1273 Doberan had a glass-roofed house for purposes of plant experimentation.²

When a brother went on his wanderings he always took with him plants and seeds and slips of trees and brought home whatever herbs and seeds he thought might flourish in the locality of his monastery. In this wise the culture of the grape was extended from the Rhinelands into Central Germany. The monks of Altencampen imported the prized vine slips of the vineyards of Basigny around Morimond to Cologne, whence other shoots were taken to Walkenried in Thuringia, and thence to Pforta and Leubus.³

The particular history of a few of the more notable Cistercian enterprises in mediaeval Germany may be of value as illustrative of the nature and extent of their labors. One of the most famous of their achievements was the creation of the Goldene Aue, or Golden Meadows.

The traveler who today traverses by railroad the fertile region from Naumburg to Artern, which passes through Memleben, with the ruins of the old Benedictine monastery there, where Otto the Great died, would not know that the broad tract, waving with corn in the summer wind, lying between Rosaleben and Artern, was once one of the most terrible swamp lands in all Northern Germany. For these Golden Meadows are in the very bottom of the Thuringian Basin.⁴ Until the coming of the Cistercian monks hither in the middle of the twelfth century, this region was a wilderness of bog, morasses, and tree stumps.⁵ In prehistoric times a

¹ Winter, II, 171.

² Winter, II, 175. It was on the Baltic between Rostock and Wismar.

³ Winter, II, 173-74.

⁴ For the geographical formation of the Thüringisches Becken see Kretschmer, *Historische Geographie von Mitteleuropa*, sec. 24.

⁵ There is a valuable study on this subject, namely, R. Sebicht, *Die Cistercienser . . . in der Goldenen Aue* (Halle, 1887); printed in *Ztschft. d. Harzvereins f. Gesch.*, Vol. XXI.

lake had been here. The lake had now degenerated to a huge marsh whose sluggish waters found a partial exit through the little river Helme into the Unstrut and thence into the Saale. It was in the shape of a three-pointed star, one extension reaching from Sachsenburg to Meuthen, another, Untere Helmerieth, from Brücken to the Unstrut, and the third, Obere Helmerieth, from Brücken to Sundhausen.¹

In 1144 Count Christian of Rothenburg a-d. Saale gave a portion of this boggy area near the village of Görsbach to the Cistercians of Walkenried, and later much enlarged the tract by subsequent grants. At the same time the Archbishop of Magdeburg exempted from payment of the tithe all the land which they might redeem. Within four years there was meadow where once there had been morass only. The monks then turned their attention to the lower Rieth. In the last years of his reign Frederick Barbarossa, who had learned to esteem those whom he had once persecuted, gave permission to Jordan, a monk of Walkenried, to drain the whole region of the lower Rieth. The emperor gave Walkenried a *Hofstülte* (a manor court and farm buildings), with two hides of land, together with area sufficient for the erection of a mill, to which the water was carried by a canal. Not many years afterward the monks of the Goldene Aue² had mills in operation at Riethof, Bernigen, Görsbach, Windelhausen, and Kaldenhausen.³

In Brandenburg the monks of Zenia had absolute control of the water power roundabout their monastery, with which they ran their mills. In 1269 they purchased the village of Burchstall, near Prettin, which had to be protected by levees. It was the monks of Zenia who discovered the valuable limestone quarries near Rüdersdorf on the Spree, now in the environs of Berlin, and constructed a grange there for exploitation of the stone.⁴

¹ Winter, II, 190-93. For other literature on the Goldene Aue see Knüll, *Hist. Geogr. Deutschlands im Mittelalter* (Breslau, 1903,) 93; Lamprecht, *Deutsche Gesch.*, III, 371-72; Schulze, *Kolonisierung*, 130.

² The term "Aue" first appears in the *Walkenried Urkundenbuch*, I, 10, 14 (Winter, II, 191).

³ Winter, I, 193.

⁴ Winter, II, 275.

Count Adolph III of Holstein (1164-1203), whose father had been a pioneer in promoting Dutch and Flemish colonization of the marshlands of Lower Germany,¹ in 1186 established a colony of Cistercians from the monastery of Lokkum, near Hanover, which had originally been founded by Henry the Lion, in the marshes of the Trave River between Lübeck and Oldesloe. Before the end of the century this fenland became known (and is still locally known) as "Die Heilsaue."² The Cistercian monastery of Dün-amunde, at the mouth of the Dwina, owned the island of Ramesholm in the estuary, and erected a mill there in 1226. Dargun in Mecklenburg-Schwerin, founded by Bishop Berno in the ancient land of the Wendish Circipani, after the Wendish crusade of 1147, was much interested in fishery in the Baltic; in 1270 it was given freedom from tolls for twelve fishing smacks.³

As early as 1154 Wolkenrode, in the Thuringian forest, owned mills at Germer and at Graba, and in 1282 is found negotiating for three additional mills. From the numerous references to Wolkenrode's arable lands and her constant endeavor to acquire new fields it is evident that this monastery was largely engaged in the milling business.⁴ In 1229 a farm was purchased at Mühlhausen (the very name is significant) with the proviso that the Cistercians should have the monopoly of the making of beer and the sale of cereals in that locality.

The German Cistercians were both millers and maltsters on a large scale. Sittichenbach had mills on the Salzke, Veatersleben, and Cöllme rivers;⁵ Amelungsborn was given a mill by Count Nicholas von Werle near Prieborn, on the Warnow, in former Wagria;⁶ Michaelstein in 1292 secured several mills

¹ See my article, "Dutch and Flemish Colonization of Lower Germany in the Middle Ages," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXIV (1918), 159-86.

² *Sidonis Epistola*, in appendix to Schmeidler's edition Helmold, 244. The charters are to be found in Hassen, *Regesten*, Nos. 163-64.

³ Winter, II, 227. For the history of Klostergründung in Mecklenburg and Pomerania in the twelfth century see Wiggers, *Kirchengesch.* (Mecklenburg, 1840), and especially Sommerfeld, "Gesch. der Germanisierung des Herzogtums Pommern . . . bis zum Ablauf des XIII. Jahrhunderts," 4, in Schmoller's *Forschungen*, XIII, Heft 5.

⁴ Winter, II, 186 f.

⁵ Winter, II, 196.

⁶ Winter, II, 230.

around Güstrow in the same region and bought the whole town four years later for 380 marks.¹ In 1295 Neuencampen for the sum of a thousand marks purchased 25 hides of land, a mill, and the fishing rights in the lake, and in the year following it acquired mills at Kuppentin, Ahrenshagen, Serrahm, and Bök.² About 1205 Walkenried bought the village of Thalheim on the Wipper, with its vineyards, mills, and tract of arable land.³ In 1302 Marienrode bought the mills between Barfelde and Gronau; in 1304 the mills at Jermisen on the Leine, with its fishing rights also; in 1308 the mills at Lasen; in 1313 those at Egenstadt; in 1343 the mills at Barfelde itself. In 1231 Leubus received permission to establish as many mills as it pleased on the Oder.⁴

Reinfeld in Holstein is a typical example of a Cistercian milling corporation. In 1237 four hides of land and a mill in Badow were bought; in 1258 another mill at Börzow, for 244 marks; in 1275 a *conversus* was sent to Nelitz to manage a mill there. In 1272 mention is made of a house in Parchem (near Neu-Brandenburg) which Reinfeld was using as a granary.⁵ The Count of Schwerin at one time, being hard up for funds, sold the milling monopoly of the city to the local Cistercians for the sum of 1,264 marks. It is interesting to notice that the deed mentions both water-mills and windmills.⁶ Doberan in Mecklenburg bought the mills at Parchim and Plau for 885 marks in 1282; between 1287 and 1292 those at Güstrow for 2,050 marks; in 1298 the mill at Guvien for 310 marks, the deed in each case giving the monks a milling monopoly.⁷

By monopolistically controlling such a local need as a mill the Cistercians compelled the cultivation of grain in the neighborhood roundabout. The farmer had no other way to dispose of his produce; and in order to prevent establishment of other mills which might compete with them in localities where they did not enjoy complete monopoly the monks "cornered" the water rights.

¹ Winter, II, 232.

² Winter, II, 189.

³ Winter, II, 243.

⁴ Winter, III, 31.

⁵ Winter, II, 219; the sources are in *Mecklenbg. Jahrb.*, XIV, 78.

⁶ Winter, II, 220; *Mecklenbg. Jahrb.*, IV, 80.

⁷ Winter, II, 223.

The cloisters at Mecklenburg and Neuencampen successfully did this and farmed out the water rights for a good revenue.¹ The damming of the streams sometimes worked serious damage to adjacent property owners. For example, as a result of the damming of the Plöne River, the Madü See (a lake 12½ mi. long and 1½ mi. broad in Pomerania) rose eight feet and inundated many farms roundabout it.

Wherever natural salt springs occurred the Cistercians were not slow to get their hands upon them. The Abbot of Altencampen, on a visit to the Abbot of Neuencampen in 1298, discussed with him the exploitation of the salt pan at Lüneburg. Already Reinfeld, Doberan, and Scharnebeck were working "claims" there, and between 1326 and 1329 Amelungsborn entered into the competition. In 1301 Riddigshausen paid 140 marks for right to work the salt pits at Magdeburg.² By the late middle of the fourteenth century nearly a dozen Cistercian cloisters were working the Lüneburg salt deposits.

In addition to grain-farming and milling the German Cistercians went in much for stock-raising. Hay and other fodder was raised and cut for cattle, meat was pickled or salted down, bacon smoked, sausage made, and the hides dressed and tanned. From these enterprises shoe-making, saddlery, and wool-carding naturally developed. In the far north of Germany along the Pomeranian coast and on the island of Rügen, where the cultivation of crops was limited by the cold, the great forests of beech trees afforded mast for feeding swine. In 1241 Barnuta, a brother of Wizlaw I, gave the little island of Koos, which was covered with beech and oak, to the monastery of Hilda in Rügen.³ Lokkum had a hog farm on the Büchenberg, near Detmold, where there were 133 swine.⁴

The German Cistercians seem to have carried animal husbandry to a high degree. In 1300 two armed nobles invaded the premises at Walkenried and drove off numbers of the horses and cattle there. In 1302 the Count of Wernigerode and Gebhard von Arnstein robbed the cloister at Domherrn of horses, oxen, sheep, and grain.

¹ Winter, II, 30.

³ *Mecklenbg. Jahrb.*, VI, 35.

² For these data see Winter, III, 31.

⁴ Winter, II, 214.

In 1309 Walkenried was again plundered.¹ Johann von Beberstadt robbed Rüfenstein one night and took away 34 horses. A few years later it was again despoiled by the vagabond baron Dietrich von Echleben, and in the scuffle two of the lay brothers were killed.²

Horse-raising seems to have become an important business among the Cistercians.³ As early as 1157 we find complaint that they had more horses than could be disposed of. Fixed regulations prevailed governing their sale. All purchases had to be made within the monastery walls, and no colt was sold until it had grown four teeth. The contract of sale provided that the animal was to be used for "Nutz-thieren, nicht zu Rennern, Ritterpferden oder Prachtrossen."⁴ Himmelspforte, in the Barmin region, had on one of its large farms 80 head of cattle, over 60 hogs, and more than 800 sheep.⁵

Even in older parts of Germany, like the Rhinelands, where a more intensive agriculture prevailed, the German Cistercians improved upon conditions and introduced new methods of farming. As early as 1140 their stock farms along the Rhine were famous, if we may believe the story told of Eberhard von Altena. It is told of him that in remorse for the number of men he had slain in war with the Duke of Brabant he wandered away from home and after much traveling arrived at the Cistercian monastery of Morimund near the Rhine, where he became a shepherd and swineherd. A servant of the Count, who by accident visited the cloister, recognized his former master and exclaimed: "Graf Eberhard hütet die Schweine von diesem Klosterhof."⁶

¹ Winter, III, 7-8; *Walkenrieder Urkundenb.*, II, 1, 72. The cattle trails around Walkeroode, which were long in use, testify to the ranch nature of this monastery. See Möller, *Die Erwerbungen und Besitzungen des Klosters Volkerode*, 188.

² Winter, III, 8.

³ How the horse was introduced among the Baltic Wends is a matter that is not solved. Hauck (IV, 121) thinks that horses were originally brought from France by the Cistercians. This opinion seems a far-fetched one to me, for they could have much more readily been acquired from the Saxons.

⁴ Winter, I, 108.

⁵ Winter, II, 282; Riedel, *Codex Diplom. Brand.*, XIII, 8.

⁶ Winter, I, 39.

From the numerous allusions to fulling mills and weaving, as well as flour mills, it is evident that the German Cistercians also were heavily interested in sheep-raising. We have just seen that Himmelspforte had a flock of 800 sheep.¹

The industries of the monasteries, like the farm work, were performed by the lay brothers. Schmoller, in his classic monograph upon the weaving industry in Strassburg, gives high praise to the Cistercians for their promotion of this technical employment. But they not only promoted industry; they also helped to develop better commercial methods through regulations which governed the sale of raw wool, restraint of reselling at higher price, precautions taken against sale of imperfect or shoddy goods, etc.²

In Pomerania, Mecklenburg, Brandenburg, and the *Plattland* generally of Northern Germany flax was extensively grown and was manufactured into a sort of canvas cloth. This industry was an old one among the Baltic Wends which the incoming Germans adopted and increased.³ The peasantry wove a rough, unbleached homespun in their cottages, which they brought to the market, or the guild, to sell.⁴ But they had neither the skill, the apparatus, nor the technical methods for the making of high-grade textiles such as the monasteries were able to turn out through possession of fulling mills, dyeing processes, better looms, and, above all, better operatives.⁵

Grape-culture and wine-making was also an extensive industry of the German Cistercians, especially in the Rhine and Neckar valleys.⁶ If the grape could not be grown in the locality of the monastery, ground was acquired elsewhere. In Tübingen, where

¹ Winter, I, 134 f.; II, 184 f., 204, 206, 221, 282. Wendt, *Germanisierung d. Länder östlich d. Elbe*, II, 63-64, 66-67.

² Schmoller, *Die Strassburger Tucherei und Webersunft*, 361 f. In the twelfth century the woolen-cloth trade of the Cistercians in the upper Rhine-Danube regions was important.

³ Helmold, *op. cit.*, I, 12, 14, twice refers to bales (*resticuli lini*, *restes lini*) of linen cloth among the Wends.

⁴ Müller, *Zur Frage des Ursprungs der mittelalterlichen Zünfte*, 19.

⁵ Schmoller, 363. Fine woolen garments became the dress of the better classes, while rough linen was worn by the lower classes.

⁶ For this and what follows see Winter, II, 172 f.

the hills made grape-growing easy, the arbors were thick. Before 1193 Walkenried had planted the vine at Bodenrode and built a press and a wine cellar; later on it built a new cellar at Thalheim near Frankenhausen. In 1202 it purchased a vineyard near Würzburg for 150 marks. Each of these establishments was superintended by an expert lay brother. Walkenried had so many vineyards around Würzburg that in 1206 it purchased a site in the town, built a cellar, and opened a store for the sale of wine.¹

At Pforte, where the valleys of the Saale and the Unstrut united, scarcely an acre of the surrounding hills was without its vineyard. We find reference made to vineyards at Borsendorf, Gernstadt, Hecherdorf, Odesrode, and elsewhere. The long cloister which extended from the monastery to the bridge at Almerich was covered with vines. It cannot be precisely ascertained what the extent of Pforte's wine industry was, but the fact that in 1202 Pforte disposed of two hundred tuns of wine in Flanders is interesting.²

The grape was more widely cultivated in mediaeval Germany than it is today. It was grown even in Brandenburg and Saxony.³

In Thuringia, as in French Normandy, apple-growing and cider-making was a profitable activity of the monasteries. Here Kloster Georgenthal was famous for its orchards. In 1227 it accepted in liquidation of a debt from a local knight the manors of Haingrupe and Hundsborn, both abounding with apple trees.⁴ Pforte likewise had apple orchards as well as vineyards. To quote Winter: "Man behauptet wohl nicht zu viel, wenn man sagt, dass vor den Cistercienser im Wendenlande kaum eine edlere Gemüse und Obstzucht zu finden war."⁵

The Cistercians, like other monks before them, soon abandoned the original puritan ideal of performing manual labor with their own hands. Most of their land was either rented or else worked by "lay brothers."⁶ The rent was paid partly in money, partly in

¹ Winter, II, 172; he refers to *Walkenrieder Urkundenb.*, I, 36, 48, 79, 84, 388; II, 188, 205, and Lenckfeld, *Antiq. Walk.*, I, 437.

² Winter, II, 173.

⁴ Winter, II, 184.

³ Winter, II, 269-70, 292.

⁵ Winter, II, 173.

⁶ Lamprecht, *D.W.L.*, II, 1506; Seidel, 12; Winter, III, 156.

produce. These dependents of the cloister were subject, like serfs of lay proprietors, to various manorial dues, such as the Zinn (French, *cens*); they paid a death due or heriot, which was graduated according to circumstances. If the deceased were married to a serf woman not belonging to the cloister, his heir had to pay one half of the estate to the monastery. If, however, the wife of the deceased were also a dependent of the cloister, only his best garment had to be surrendered. If the deceased had been a property owner, the house had to be given up as fee to inherit the land; if there were no dwelling upon the land, then half the land. The arm of the mediaeval church was long and its heart hard.¹

The monks, as said above, soon abandoned manual labor as unbecoming to their social status. Farm work and all heavy labor were performed by the lay brothers, or *fratres barbat*, sometimes also called *conversi laici*, a semi-monastic caste between the monks on the one hand and the outer world on the other. They were taught the creed, the paternoster, and the "Ave Maria"; they were forbidden to marry, and silence was enforced among them. They were entitled to food, clothing, and shelter from the monastery in return for which they labored long and hard either on the farms, in the forests and quarries, or in the shops. They were a species apart from the agricultural and industrial serfs.² They were not unlike Mexican peons today, or cotton-mill operatives in some of the southern states. In summer these lay brothers labored from sunrise to sunset in the fields or dairy or forest or quarries. In winter they were employed in woodwork, tanning hides, making shoes, brooms, stone-cutting, etc.

It is a law of evolution that development is from the plain to the complex, from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous. As the economic system of the Cistercians prospered modifications ensued. In course of time it was found impracticable for the lay brothers to do all the work, and a new type of dependent grew up (*Familiares, mercenarii, Lohnarbeiter*). These dwelt outside of

¹ Gerdes, II, 579.

² Winter, I, 101; Hauck, *Kirchengesch. Deutschlands*, IV, 335 f. Müller, *Zur Frage des Ursprungs der mittelalterlichen Zünfte*, distinguishes these serfs as his "third type."

the monastery walls, though on monastery land. The original plot of ground was given to them, but any additional plot had to be leased. The *Lohnarbeiter* took no vows, nor was he bound to the glebe like an ordinary serf. If he was dissatisfied with the terms he was free to remove, although in practice he probably was seldom able to do so for the reason that he was often in arrears for the rent, so much so that his lot outwardly differed little from that of the real serf.¹

In addition to these servile or semi-servile dependents, there was another and higher class of what might be called pensioners (*familiares, Klosterfamilien*). These were people who in their old age had wished to come to the monastery to live, and who had bestowed upon it their property, receiving an annuity from the cloister. Gerdes says that they were recruited from the class of small free proprietors and lesser gentry, who found it hard to protect themselves against the pressure of the great feudality and sought the protection of the church in this way.²

The administrative officials of the monastery, below the abbot, were the chief steward or bailiff (*Gross Kellner*) who looked after the management of the farms (he was the only official who had the right to talk); the treasurer or bursar; the *vestiarius* or robe-master, who looked after the care of the garments of the monks and had under him tailors, shoemakers, and weavers; the *mansionarius*, or superintendent of buildings; the baker; and the blacksmith.³

The farms of the monastery were not a contiguous tract, but formed a complex of scattered possessions, frequently several miles apart, on each of which was a village of peasantry and a resident petty bailiff or steward.⁴ These holdings were acquired in one of four ways: they might have been formed by natural agglomeration of people around the cloister; they might have been former free villages which had been reduced to dependency (this was especially true of the Wendish villages); they might have been landed gifts made by local proprietors; or they might have been purchased by the monks.

¹ Gerdes, II, 375.

² Winter, I, 14.

³ Gerdes, II, 575-76.

⁴ Winter, I, 108; II, 288.

In the first category would fall many monastery holdings in Pomerania and other recently conquered Slav regions. Of the second type Walkenried affords an example, all the more interesting because it is not one of subjugation of the poor cowed and beaten Wend, but because it was wrested by war from its owner. Another case is that of the village of Kennate near Leesen, possession of which the Cistercians coveted on account of its copper deposits. After two years of strife (1224-25) they succeeded, and the former Kennate became Mönchenhof.¹ In 1232 Duke Martislaus of Mecklenburg presented Doberan with three Wendish villages. In 1260 the monks purchased the village of Bork, southwest of Colburg, for ninety marks; and in 1290 they bought the villages of Gross and Klein Jestin for 1,925 marks.²

In addition to these farms there were the granges, usually single and often isolated farms, sometimes situated on private lands or in a private forest, the exploitation of which the monks had acquired. The grange at Wintirbach in Lorraine was worked by four *conversi* and nine servants; we do not know the area of it, but there were 28 head of cattle and 20 goats upon it at one time.³ Riddigshausen in Saxony had three granges at Remtheim, Mascherode, and Ahlum.⁴ Buch about 1352 is found using its grange at Amelgostewitz as a central storehouse and trading-post. Here were a monk who acted as priest and manager, a cook, 2 lay brothers, a farm bailiff, a shepherd, a throng of dependents, and 24 plow horses.⁵

It is clear that the Cistercian monasteries in Germany were formed for agricultural exploitation; they expended little on churches or other edifices; few of them maintained any school;⁶ they were even indifferent to ministering to the villagers, or to conversion of the few Wendish heathen groups that might have been found in the border lands of Germany.⁷ Instead they farmed, especially the staple cereals, as wheat, rye, and barley, and monopo-

¹ Winter, II, 195.

⁴ Winter, II, 208.

² Winter, II, 221.

⁵ Winter, II, 292.

³ Lamprecht, *D.W.L.*, I, Part 2, 690.

⁶ The school at Leubus was the earliest.

⁷ Seidel, *Der Beginn der deutschen Besiedlung Schlesiens*, 14, note (Breslau diss., 1912).

lized the milling rights of the community; they cultivated the grape and made wine; they raised flax for linen and sheep for wool; they were orchardists; they were ranchers and stock raisers.

It is interesting to observe the changing economy. In the beginning of the Cistercian movement in Germany the monasteries were wholly occupied in agriculture; then they branch out gradually into industry and finally become engaged in commerce. At the same time, in the course of these changes, the physical radius of the monastery's action enlarged.

Before 1157 no inmate was permitted to go beyond one day's journey from the cloister for the purchase or sale of commodities.¹ In that year the rule was relaxed so that a four days' journey was permissible. At this time the economy of the monastery yet was predominantly agricultural. But a little later we see the effect of the production of a surplus in the seeking for a market. Instead of mere barter or exchange of commodities which the monks possessed for those which they needed, a money economy came to prevail, and real trade ensued. The cloisters along the Baltic are discovered in the thirteenth century to be shipping their goods by sea to Lübeck and the Danish ports.²

By 1241 Eldena had the right to hold a weekly market in Rügen. Lübeck and Schwerin were both important Cistercian trading centers; Rostock was another. Doberan trafficked with Mecklenburg.³ As early as 1229 the Cistercians in Livonia must have tapped the trade of Russia, for in that year Pope Gregory IX ordered the Bishop of Riga, the Abbot of the Cistercian monastery there, Dünamunde, and the provost of the city to discontinue trade with Novgorod unless the Russians ceased molesting the

¹ Winter, I, 108.

² Winter, I, 114. No taxes were levied on ships (Winter, I, 135). The necessary articles that Leubus could not get were brought by ship. Yearly two ships were sent to Pomerania for herrings, and twice ships are cited as coming to Guben and Leubus with salt (Winter, VI, 151). In 1224 Vizlaw I, count of Rügen, promised protection to the herring industry; the salt to pack the fish in was sent from North Germany to Rügen (Bächtold, *Der norddeutsche Handel im 12. und beginnenden 13. Jahrhundert* [Berlin, 1910], 244). For account of the fisheries here see Bächtold, 243, which gives the account of Otto of Bamberg.

³ Bächtold, 241-43; Winter, I, 219.

Finns, who had lately embraced Christianity.¹ In this century we find grain and wine shipped from the Baltic ports to Norway, and wheat sent from Lübeck to Holland. Some of this produce must have come from the Cistercian foundations in Mecklenburg.²

All the market grants made to the German Cistercians date from the middle of the thirteenth century, when their cloisters were at the height of their power and affluence. In 1282 the Margrave of Brandenburg gave the market right to Danum, Neumark, and Wollin.³ Leubus and Tribnitz in Silesia were given land on which to establish a joint market for both of them;⁴ Altecelle in Meissen was exempted from the payment of any market dues. In 1221 Dobrilugk (Nieder-Lausitz) converted the village of Falkenburg into a market place for trade with the Wends. Marienthal in Saxony owned a strip of land outside a gate of Magdeburg on which it opened a market.⁵

The development of their wine trade illustrates the stages already noted in economic change. In 1134 no wine could be disposed of to outsiders. By 1181 the vineyards of the Cistercians had become so flourishing that their surplus was seeking a market where it could be found. Some of the cloisters even peddled drinks, or, in other words, ran a saloon. In order to avert scandal a booth was built outside of the walls, where a lay brother dispensed the beverage. But seventy-six years later, in 1257, we find wine sold openly within the precincts of the cloister, it being stipulated, however, that the sale should not be accompanied by any unseemly words or conduct; dicing was particularly forbidden.

It is an interesting question, and one which cannot be answered satisfactorily, as to how far the commerce of the German Cistercians radiated. Did they trade with Venice? We know that the republic was an assiduous exporter of raw materials like metals, wool, wax, hemp, grains, wood, dried fish, etc., to the Orient,

¹ Bächtold, 253.

² In a Norse saga of 1186 we read: "Nicht minder danken wir allen Männern, die uns Leinwand, Flachs, Wachs und Kessel zuführten. . . . Was die Deutschen angeht, die hierher in Fülle und mit grossen Schiffen gekommen sind, und Butter und dürre Fische . . ." Quoted by Bächtold, 265; also in Dahlmann, *Gesch. von Dänemark*, II, 349.

³ Winter, II, 251.

⁴ Winter, II, 283.

⁵ Winter, II, 297.

especially to Egypt. It may be doubted whether any Cistercian monastery, at least in Northern Germany, was ever in direct trade connection with Venice. But indirectly some of their wares must have found their way down to the Adriatic.

It is almost impossible to estimate the revenue of any monastery, even when its receipts for a given year are known, because of the difficulty of estimating the purchasing power of money at that time. Winter has estimated the revenue of Georgenthal in Thuringia in one year to have been 480,000 marks.¹ The canons of Marien-Magdalenen at Hildesheim owned a forest of ten hides in extent at Nienstedt in the parish of Gronau which they traded off to the Cistercians for some land which was already arable. Later the new acquisition yielded 300 marks, with which the Cistercians helped the bishop out of his financial difficulties.²

That the German Cistercians soon came to live on the fat of the land is evidenced by the following complaint of the abbey of Leubus (1280) concerning the incessant begging of the community roundabout or the blackmailing tactics of the neighboring nobles. We may read in the *Monumenta Lubensia*:

Scarcely a month passes by, nay, scarcely a day in which it is not necessary for the abbot to give away something. His monastic garb does not protect him. This one implores, that one threatens. One demands money in mark and pence, another grain, the one bread, the other hay and he takes at the same time 100 head of sheep. . . . There is hardly a thing to be thought of that is not demanded of the cloister . . . the third begs for wood, the fourth for hay, the fifth wants to hear the beautiful choral music, the sixth demands that his horse be shod; the seventh would like to have his jug filled; the eighth demands fish; the ninth requests a measure of large cheese; the tenth seed-cake; the eleventh apples; the twelfth comes year after year to get cloth for his clothes . . . the thirteenth wants a pair of socks or shoes; . . . but it is far worse when the huntsmen come with their servants and dogs. . . . They are as hungry as wolves and a loaf of bread for one of them is too small. One demands a drink and swears that he will lay waste the cloister; another goes to the cellar door and demands wine, and, cursing, says that he will give not a penny to Christ, still less to the monks . . .³

¹ Winter, II, 184.

² Winter, II, 213.

³ Ed. of Wattenbach, 29-30; translated in Winter, III, 4-5.

WEARING THE HAT

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If it were necessary to furnish a text for this more than lay sermon, it could be found in II Macc. 4:12, "and he caused the noblest of the youth to wear the hat." You will remember the circumstances, how Seleucus was succeeded by the wicked Antiochus Epiphanes, how the renegade priest who took the worse than pagan name of Jason bribed the king to give him the high priesthood instead of his brother, how he showed his Hellenic sympathies by setting up a gymnasium under the acropolis, instituted that ancient Greek anticipation of our S.A.T.C., the epheboi, followed the usual Hellenistic custom of exchange of citizenship by registering the men of Jerusalem as Antiochenes, how he destroyed the ancestral institutions and brought in new and illegal customs, and made the noblest of the epheboi to wear the hat. With this we have the very acme of Hellenization, the advance to the attack of a foreign religion, for the priests lost all enthusiasm for the service of the altar which they hastily abandoned for the enjoyment of the illegal sport of the palaestra when proclamation was made that the discus game was about to begin. We have here a furious indictment of Hellenism, and—here is the anomaly which colors the whole of Jewish history—it is epitomized from the account written by a man bearing this same pagan name of Jason; it is written in Greek so good that the full force is lost unless we carefully translate the technical language with the meaning it held for the Greek world roundabout; it was written to glorify a family which, by the time of its composition, had definitely taken its place in the Hellenistic concert of nations.¹

¹ This paper was originally presented before the Chicago Society of Biblical Research, November 16, 1918, and is confessedly no more than a sketch of the Jewish history during a certain period and from a certain point of view. Limitations of time and space have accordingly prevented discussion of many details of interest. The point of view has been developed during eight years of the teaching of ancient history

The wearing of the hat has always, from the days of Alexander to the present, marked the West from the East. However much the higher classes of the present-day Orient may adorn themselves with European clothes, one rarely indeed sees a true oriental wearing the hat. It is still the symbol, as it was to the unknown author of II Maccabees, of complete Europeanization.

The period of contact between the classic civilization and the Jews has always been of the most intense interest to students of the past. As the period between the Testaments, as the preparation for Christianity, as the background for developed Judaism, it has attracted countless investigators. The increased interest in the Hellenistic world and in the Roman Empire which has characterized the last two generations has led the greatest writers in these fields to study the relationship of the classic world to the Jews as a most important element in administration and in civilization, and one for whose study we are fortunate in having an unusually large amount of first-hand source material. These results are now in process of assimilation by biblical scholars, and the consummation of the process will undoubtedly change in many respects views now current among narrower specialists.

One looks in vain for similar studies from the standpoint of general oriental history. Our study of the Orient has tended to cease with the downfall of the Semites; at the best the Persian Empire has held our attention until the coming of Alexander. Thereafter we have labeled the history as classical until our interest has been revived by the coming of the Arabs. A few specialists in Syriac literature have prevented us from forgetting that Rome had a rival to the East, but in the actual thinking

at the University of Missouri. Each semester, in a general course in that subject, the Jews were used as the best illustration, through wealth of source material if not exactness in type, of the limitations of Hellenization and of the inevitableness of the oriental reaction. During the same period the general subject of the seminary in ancient history, conducted primarily for the benefit of students of the classical world, was the interrelation of East and West. In succeeding years the entire field was canvassed in detail and thus the background of the present article secured. In the emphasis on the more purely secular elements there is naturally a considerable distortion in proportion and emphasis, but no more than has been the result of a too great emphasis on the religious, and the two will tend to balance each other in the mind of the future historian.

processes of the average scholar it has been assumed as a matter of course that Luke 2:1 should be taken literally, that all the inhabited world was in reality under the sway of Caesar Augustus. The sources for Parthian history and, in only slightly less degree, for the Sassanid Persian, are in large part Greek or Latin, and of a type which has no attraction as literature. The classical scholar has no interest in it, the non-classical is barely aware of its existence. For other sources we must plow through reams of wearisome sermons in Syriac, extract the grains of truth in romances woven by Arab or Persian historian, decipher the almost hopeless Pehlevi in sacred books, inscriptions, or coins. And withal we must have the oriental point of view. No cause for surprise, then, that Rawlinson has had no successor to his *Sixth and Seventh Monarchies*, that little of the preliminary work necessary to a new history has been done. The present writer has no intention of undertaking this work; he cannot even pretend to such knowledge of the Jewish literature as can make a beginning for such a study; he can only hope to point out what seem to be certain possible openings with promise of fruitfulness.

In the first place, then, let us consider the political conditions under which the Jews found themselves when our period opens. In the days of their independence they had been located between two great empires, and had been forced to play a very precarious game in preserving the balance of power. In spite, however, of this difference in nationality, they had been a part and on the whole a satisfied part of the world-civilization which embraced alike the nations on the Nile, the Tigris, and the Euphrates. The coming of the Iranians meant no great change culturally, for the Persian government was tolerant; there was no persecution of religion or even of nationalism. The natural result was that new conceptions came in easily and found lodgment in the most orthodox of circles. This unity of civilization was reinforced as never before by the political condition. Under the rule of the Persians the civilized world came nearer to being under one control than ever before or since. We think of the Greek world as being independent, while as an actual fact the greatest cities were Persian; the remainder were in the Persian sphere of influence;

their policies constantly determined by their attitude toward the one power of the time. What is more to the point in our present study, the entire oriental world and all Jews, however scattered, came under the Persian sway and recognized a common master.

The importance of this factor cannot be overestimated. It meant a welding together of all Jews, however scattered, into one cultural and political whole, with an obvious unity, whatever the difference in detail. In Palestine itself, rulers and people alike were in close touch with their non-Jewish neighbors, and not the influence of an Ezra or a Nehemiah could bring them away.

No difference was made by the conquests of Alexander, whose idea was not, as so often assumed, the forcing of Hellenism on the oriental world. Politically he took over completely the oriental conception of empire, and to a large degree he was oriental in his social conceptions as well. The turning-point is rather marked by the premature death of the great conqueror, though no one recognized it at the time, and though the political theory which ruled the Macedonian states was still that of the earlier empires. His successors, however, would have none of Alexander's further schemes of orientalization. Although they allowed perfect freedom of worship and of customs; though an Antiochus I might speak in the old language to the gods of Babylon, it was mere form. However they might differ in details, the Macedonian kings were all strong proponents of the policy of Hellenization. Not that they persecuted; that would have been too crude; and if the rulers were Macedonian, their advisers were Greek, the subtlest race the world has seen. The Hellenized simply had the favor of the rulers. The language of the court and of administration, of business and of society, was Greek. Commerce with the wider world thrown open by the advance from the West was possible only in Greek, and the Phoenician metics who have left their inscriptions in their native language in Athens and the Piræus had paved the way.¹ The cities had been turned into Greek imperial colonies where the leading spirits spoke and thought Greek. A new and less austere life might be lived in these urban surroundings and the younger generation inevitably fell under the spell. Nor was the appeal alone to

¹ *CIS*, II, 115 ff.

the libertine, as all will testify who have felt the charm of Homer and Herodotus, of Sophocles and Aristophanes, of Plato and Theocritus. No wonder that Hellenization went on apace, that the very gods brought themselves into the fashion by identification with Greek deities, surrendered their names to be received back as attributes, rebuilt their temples on the model of the world-famous buildings of Athens, changed their liturgy to resemble that of the Olympians, translated their ancestral laws into the terms of Greek philosophy.

How could the Jews do otherwise? The very first of the fathers who received the Torah from the last of the Great Synagogue is known to us only by the name of Antigonus, and Antigonus was the name of Macedonian monarchs who had been worshiped as god-kings.¹ That later and anti-Hellenistic Judaism permitted his name to occupy this position of supreme importance is ample testimony to the possibility of Hellenization in the very line of Torah descent. The first Onias did not think it unfitting a high priest to claim relationship with Sparta.² If the translation of the Septuagint was carried out in Egypt, the legend specifically states that the elders who translated the law came from the most pious circles in Palestine. Long after the Maccabean revolt, some time later than 132 B.C. and in 114 B.C., respectively, the wisdom of Sirach and the Book of Esther were translated by Palestinian Jews who came to Egypt. In the former case we have obviously a man not far from the Pious, though more worldly; in the latter we have a priest and Levite named Dositheus; his son is Ptolemy, also the name of a god-king, and the translator is a citizen of Jerusalem named Lysimachus, the son of Ptolemy. Clearly, Hellenism is not dead when pious Jews were named from such worshiped rulers.³ When we find a later Onias appearing as a euergetes of his city, kedemon for his fellow-nationalists, zealot for the nomoi,⁴ we instinctively think of the phraseology of the Greek stephanos inscription and as inevitably recall that decree from Athens which is almost a literal translation into Phoenician of a Greek "crown-

¹ Pirke Aboth, I, 3.

² I Macc. 12:7.

³ Cf. Freudenthal, *Hellenistische Studien*, pp. 127 ff.

⁴ II Macc. 4:2.

ing" inscription.¹ Onias is specifically labeled as the head of the anti-Greek party, yet when in danger of his life he had no scruple in fleeing to sanctuary at Daphne, the most immoral of all Syrian shrines, and the chronicler sees nothing out of the way in his action.² Nor does he see anything out of the way in the state support of sacrifices at Jerusalem by Seleucus IV.³ Considering the small amount of source material from this period, the illustrations are striking. They indicate beyond cavil that the men who were recognized as rightful and righteous leaders of the people were by no means averse to taking over much of Hellenic culture. Nor can we blame them, certainly not those the very words of whose master have come down only in Greek dress, whose most sacred books were written in Greek or have come down only in Greek translation, whose theology is so largely conditioned by Plato and his successors.

The reaction against Hellenism in the Near East was in the first instance political. The almost immediate slipping away of India had little effect on the lands around the eastern Mediterranean, and perhaps we can predicate little more from the first revolt of Parthia in the middle of the third century before the Christian Era. So rapid was the progress of the Parthians when once fairly started on their advance that its reverberations must strangely have stirred the orientals of the West. To those who are seeking fresh identifications of late prophecies, this is respectfully commended as a subject for investigation! The failure of Antiochus the Great to recover his lost provinces in the East was of tremendous significance. But of still greater significance is the fact that just at the time, perhaps in the same year that Antiochus Epiphanes ascended the throne of the Seleucidae, there became king in Parthia that Mithradates who was destined to rob the empire of its fairest provinces. These successes were won after the death of Antiochus and so after the Jewish insurrection, but there will be no cause for astonishment if some day we shall discover a causal connection between the accession of Mithradates and the Jewish revolt of a few years later. By the time the Maccabees revolted,

¹ Renan, *Rev. Arch.* (Ser. III), XI, 5; *IG*, IV, 1335b.

² *II Macc.* 4:33.

³ *II Macc.* 3:3.

Mithradates had begun his long career of conquest, and vast movements were obviously impending. We need not assume that the Parthian king sent an embassy to Mattathias urging him to revolt. Revolt of East against West was in the air. Hellenization was doomed in India and in the trans-Caspian areas; it was fighting a losing battle in Bactria, where its rulers were abandoning their Hellenic dress, including the hat so emphasized on the earlier coins, writing on those coins barbarous Greek or using the native characters, their very feature no longer showing the Greek type of countenance. There went through the East the same tremor of expectation which passed through those very regions after Japan defeated Russia, when Muslims in their coffee-houses gravely discussed the supplanting by an Asiatic and a non-Christian power of the mighty Christian empire they had so long feared. And just as Pan-Islam and Pan-Turanism and Pan-Arabism followed, so in the ancient Near East there was a stirring among the dead bones. The East was slowly awakening to the fact that the Hellenistic civilization was after all alien, that it represented a yoke that must be cast off.

One of the fallacies widely spread among us because of the use of the bipartisan system in Anglo-Saxon countries is the belief that there must always be two opposing parties. As an actual fact, up to this time there seems to have been but one party of any effective position, that of the moderate Hellenizers. It certainly did include all the respectable elements of the Jewish nation, the nobles, the administrators, the intellectuals, the youth who wore the hat, and, since the high priests were the administrative heads, in so far as nationalism was recognized by the empires, the priestly class as well. Ezra and Nehemiah seemed to have left no successors, at least among the leaders. Yahweh had become Hellenized as well as Marduk or Atargetis. If Yahweh really were the same as Zeus, then a descendant of Aaron might perfectly well take the name of Jason, a pretender to the high priesthood Menelaus, for these too had most certainly been favorites of that same Zeus.

We need not be surprised at such a phenomenon. Much has been written more or less wisely as to the unchanging character of the Jew. Actual history has another story to tell. Almost we are tempted to apply the biological analogy, to assume that the Jewish

people has been composed of two fundamentally different races, one looking west, the other east, one easily assimilated to western culture, the other impossible of assimilation. Almost we are tempted to assume that, according to the Mendelian law, these two elements are united in unstable equilibrium, constantly throwing off groups which are stably Eastern, others which are stably Western, still others which remain unstable and continue to pass through the same process. Biological analogies are at best dangerous and at worst notorious. This suggestion is fanciful to a degree, and yet we do know that the original population of Palestine was highly mixed and that this process, or something like it, has been going on throughout all later history. Consider, for example, the irony of a situation in which Pan-Turanism, the union of such races as Turks, Hungarians, Finns, and Tatars, boasts as its chief advocate a man with the Hungarian name of Vámbéry who was originally named Bamberger and is by descent a Jew!¹

A second party was nevertheless in the process of formation. If Ezra and Nehemiah had found no successors among the leaders, there were still men who cherished their ideals with more enthusiasm than the men who believed that the Law could be reconciled with Hellenism. Its growth was that of a popular movement and, like all such movements which have found their origin among the common people, its beginnings are and doubtless always will be obscure. We all the more must regret this obscurity, for a considerable portion of the literature in our older sacred books comes from these Hasidim, and if we could but date their beginnings we could likewise date their written productions. Their effusions are found especially in the great service-book we call the Psalms, and however they may have been worked over in the process of fitting them to be the service-book of the nation, many of them still retain sufficient traces of group consciousness and even of personal feeling to make it clear that they point to a very definite situation. And that situation is pre-Maccabean. We have, accordingly, in the Hasidean Psalms, the first beginnings of a movement against the all-overwhelming Hellenism. These groups of Pious were, however, of a purely religious character. There was

¹ R. W. Seton-Watson, *Racial Problems in Hungary*, p. 187.

a distinct lack of nationalistic consciousness, a failure to see the political implications of the movement.

This full implication was first seen by a simple priest of the conservative countryside, Mattathias of Modin. But it was not forced upon his attention until there had come about something like the religious persecution which we so often state was alien to the ancient classical world. So far as the Greeks and Romans are concerned, this is notoriously true, that there never was persecution for religion as such, but merely prosecution, such as in principle we countenance today for offenses against the state, its dominant political theories, the public welfare as shown by the ancestral laws, the common morality.

In our study of the persecution of the Hasideans, too much emphasis has been laid on the somewhat bizarre character of Antiochus IV. We may doubt whether he was more inclined than his predecessors to Hellenize his subjects; we may certainly doubt whether he was any more conscious of his godlike character as king than Alexander, Ptolemy the Savior, Antiochus the God. In so far, then, as we have persecution and not prosecution, we have something un-Greek. The real cause, unless we completely misread our primary sources, must be found in the internal conditions of the Jewish nationality, in the hatred of the Hellenized leaders for the Hasidean lower classes.¹ Struggle always drives men to the logical extremes of their thoughts; it made the Hasideans more pious, it forced the Hellenizers to complete the identification with Zeus Olympius, and to associate with Yahweh, mentioned under this name, the god-king Antiochus Epiphanes, "the God Made Manifest." Once again there was worship of king and deified nation as there was before of Ashur and Yahweh, as there was to be in Aelia Capitolina of Rome and Augustus. In this picture the author of I Maccabees is less true than his fellow, with his naïve belief that the process of Hellenization began in the reign of Antiochus IV, that it was due to separation from the nations round about, a separation possible on the part of the extreme Pious, not of the nation as a whole, who were in the closest contact with the

¹ Cf. especially Radin, *Jews among the Greeks and Romans*, pp. 130 ff.

surrounding peoples. Nor is he correct in making the persecution almost exclusively that of the king; the second book shows the part played by the Hellenizing Jews. May we suspect that there was a further element in the situation, that the Hasideans were pointed out by their opponents as pro-Egyptians, as longing for the Ptolemaic rule, of which many of them still retained a vivid memory?¹

The Hasidim were not only or primarily representatives of the first faint stirrings of reaction against the West. They were pietists, even pacifists, we might call them now, and they relied on passive resistance. The men who died in their innocence that they might not profane the Sabbath by fighting on it may merely have formed the extreme wing; they truly represented the general feeling of the group.² Mattathias represented a different ideal, that of direct action. He and his sons were successful to a degree. For the moment there was a certain fusing of parties, and all but the extreme Hasidim came over to his side and were willing to fight under the banner of Judas. The term Hasidim might even come to be used for the party of Judas as a whole.³

Never was there a sadder example of deflected ideals. Mattathias began the fight for freedom against all that was Hellenic. Barely had he begun the war when he died, and scarcely had he been buried when his son Judas began to show himself the practical politician. After his first great victory at Beth zur, he sent ambassadors to arrange a *modus vivendi* with Lysias, the regent of Antiochus V, and was willing to receive the pretender Menelaus as go-between.⁴ The supposedly pious author of II Maccabees has not concealed the further compromising fact that shortly after the failure of this attempt at settlement, another was undertaken through Nicanor. Note how this compromise was evidently between the two Jewish parties as well, for one of Nicanor's ambassadors is Mattathias, a sufficiently Jewish name, not to speak of the presence of the high priest Alcimus. The agreement was formally approved by the Jewish people, and as formally executed. The anti-Semitic camp followers were sent away, and a friendship

¹ Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. des Séleucides*, p. 276.

³ II Macc. 14:6.

² I Macc. 2:29 ff.

⁴ II Macc. 11:17 ff.

developed between Judas and Nicanor. Through the urging of the latter, the former married and settled down to live the common life. That this failed through Alcimus, who was not successful in securing recognition as high priest, could not lessen the sin of Judas in the minds of the faithful. Our author, or rather his source, pointed the moral by contrasting the case of the elder Razis who, in the former times of "non-intercourse" with the Gentiles, had been in danger of his life through his attachment to the true Judaism. The "former times of non-intercourse" is without doubt sharply contrasted with the "common life together" of the various opposing groups for which the Pious held Judas responsible. A little later the epitomist answers this implied criticism by the statement that Judas was the protagonist in behalf of his fellow-citizens, that he retained throughout life his youthful desire to do good to his fellow-nationalists, but this only brings into the sharper contrast the two points of view. Razis risked his life for Judaism; Judas for Judaea. Both in the author's opinion deserved credit for *eunoia*, but they represented two different points of view.¹

When we turn to I Maccabees, we have difficulty in fitting together the events mentioned by both, but the general picture is the same. No less than the second book of that name, the first has its "tendency" the more insidious because it is hidden under a seemingly naïve matter-of-fact chronicle style. Both alike were composed after the break between Hasmoneans and Pharisees had reached open war; both have as their chief motive the glorification of the Maccabees and so of their descendants now occupying the throne; both tend to depreciate their opponents; both are religious, different only in the relative weight assigned to this feature of their heroes, but this is a difference which may easily be exaggerated. One loves to narrate marvels, the other avoids excess of religious expression. In both, the religion is that of the sturdy fighting man so often seen as hypocrisy by the man of peace, with its combination of an unreasoning acceptance of the main outlines and an ignoring of essential detail and an often unethical conduct. Most emphatically pietism and pacifism are far from

¹ II Macc., chaps. 14 f.

the thought of both.¹ How unfair even the author of the first book can be is shown by I Macc. 5:61 ff.: "There was a great overthrow among the people because they hearkened not unto Judas and his brethren, thinking to do some great exploit. *But they were not of the seed of those men by whose hand deliverance was given unto Israel.* And the man Judas was glorified." Note also how he does not approve of the priests who wish to show themselves good men and true by fighting, and how their death in battle is referred to their lack of sense in going to war. How exclusive is this concentration of both authors on the Maccabees is shown by their ignoring of the Hasidim. In the second book they appear but once, as partisans of Judas. In the first they are mentioned twice. Once they are united with the Maccabees and have success. In the second passage they break away from him, return to the legitimate high priest Alcimus, and of course receive their reward in being treacherously killed by him. The moral is obvious—with the Maccabees, success; without them, death.

This last passage is instructive. Alcimus attempts to win over all, even Judas, but he and his brethren will have none of him and of his deceitful words of peace. However, many did desert Judas and there did gather unto Alcimus a "synagogue" of the scribes, who sought out righteousness. Now this is perfectly clear; these

¹ Space will not permit a discussion of the numerous and complicated problems connected with the two books of Maccabees. It will be observed from the text that a comparatively conservative viewpoint prevails, and that the second book is given even more authority than the first. In general, the point of view has some relation to that of Niese, *Hermes*, XXXV, 268 ff., 453 ff., and like his has been secured in the attempt to work out an actual history of the events in question, the only method of testing source results. This does not mean that the data are taken without criticism, but that, following the standard rules of historical research, the investigation of an intermediate source is comparatively unimportant as compared with the test which must be given each fact as it stands isolated and in relation to other known facts. Thus tested, even the letters, often composed from report and suffering from errors which have not been improved by incorporation in a written history, may be used to tell a story which is consistent with the general picture. In II Macc. 11:17 ff., for example, the acts behind are so little creditable to Judas and so disagree with the narrative in which they are embedded that we must assume they would not have been inserted unless they were already in existence and were believed to be true. Note especially that this letter material is primarily political in character and does not fit the more religious work in which it has been incorporated.

scribes came to Alcimus because it was only just that the legitimate high priest should rule them. It was only natural that first of all the children of Israel came the Hasidim, for they said, "There has come with the troops a man from the seed of Aaron, and he will do no wrong to us." Alcimus was willing enough to swear to them, but shortly after killed sixty in a single day. The author of the book very appositely quotes Psalm 79:2 f.: "The flesh of thy saints and their blood they poured out round about Jerusalem and there was no one to bury them." By his time this passage had come to be scripture, and he quoted it in reference to the Hasidim in the usual custom of finding in the Sacred Book something to meet the situation. How surprised he would have been had it been suggested to him that this psalm actually referred to these very same Pious and in all probability had been composed but a few years before the Maccabean revolt!

The episode is equally illuminating as proving how impossible it was for each of the parties to understand the other. To the Hellenist Alcimus, the Pious could only be enemies of his group to the point of actual warfare; peace should be promised to them only long enough to plan their destruction. He never dreamed that they might be content to settle down quietly under his rule. In spite of themselves, it became clear to the Pious that the usurping Judas, with all his faults and with no ancestral right to lead them, was after all zealous in his fashion for the Law; the rightful heir was hopelessly alien to their dreams. The people as a whole came to see that there was no truth, that is, knowledge of the Law, nor power of giving true judgment. This misunderstanding cost Alcimus dearly when the Seleucid troops were withdrawn and he stood alone.

The Hasidim were forced, therefore, to follow the Hasmoneans, but they could not forget that they had no legal status, and that they were none too strict. The end of Judas' reign saw still another proof that he looked west and not east, his embassy to Rome. Whether Judas realized all the implications of the action may be in doubt; his contemporaries knew perfectly well what it meant, but he could not have brought himself into the most remote client relationship with the great power of the West without recognizing

that he was dealing with another and the greatest of the states professing the Hellenic civilization, for this was the very time when Hellenism had taken Rome by storm. There is curious confirmation of this suspicion that Judas was not ignorant of the Hellenic sympathies of the body to which his ambassadors were to go, for both had Greek names, the more surprising in that their recorded ancestors had Hebrew, for Eupolemus was the son of John the son of Accos, and the other, Jason, was the son of Eleazer.¹ We may fancy as we will that one was the famous Jewish historian whose Greek writings on the Jews and the kings of the Jews have been preserved through Alexander Polyhistor and Eusebius,² that the other was the author of the source of II Maccabees. Such names could have been borne only by Jews who were in large part Hellenized; the names tell their own story. The opponents of Judas might be properly called Lawless; his own followers were by no means all Pious.

Judas was followed by Jonathan, with the position of archon and hegemon. He was frankly an opportunist, ready to fish in troubled waters. He soon made his peace with Bacchides and in a rival settlement at Michmash "judged" his fellow-nationals. With the arrival of Alexander Balas, Demetrius gave him virtual autonomy, and Jerusalem under the sway of the Hellenist Sanhedrin became his. Alexander made a still more attractive bid, ordering him to become high priest, and Jonathan dutifully obeyed. The office had been in abeyance for seven years, since the death of Alcimus, and might be said to have lapsed, but doubtless there were many who might claim descent from Aaron, whereas Jonathan was but the son of a simple country priest. Taking the situation at its best, Jonathan would have had difficulty in securing the support of the Pious. Add to this his purely worldly policy and social intercourse, even to eating with the heathen, and it is clear that the more extreme Jews could not accept his rule. This troubled Jonathan but little, for after he had declined the further offer of Demetrius, that Jerusalem should have the same right of sanctuary as the Phoenician states, should be called holy and

¹ I Macc., chap. 8.

² Huet. *Demonstr. Ev. Prep.* IV. C.2, is quoted by Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.*, III, 208, as the first to hold this view.

inviolable, Alexander made him strategos and meridarch. The state, then, had the organization of a high priest and strategos at the head, of a gerusia of the ethnos, the priests as a separate class, and the people as a whole.

This assembling of the constituent parts of the government occurs in the letters sent with the embassy to Sparta and to Rome, and again we have to note the names of the ambassadors. Perhaps it is a son of that Jason who formerly went to Rome that we have in the equally Greek, or rather Macedonian, Antipater, who is the junior member, while the senior member is Numenius, the son of Antiochus. Families where the names of such god-kings as Antipater and Antiochus were in free use, where as in Numenius' the worship of the new moon was hinted at, were better adapted to furnish ambassadors to Hellenistic powers than to win the support of the Pious.

The capture of Jonathan left Simon to be appointed hegemon by the people. Demetrius confirmed Simon in his position as high priest, and, in addition to the usual favors, granted aphasis, that is, freedom. The expression is ambiguous; doubtless it was intended to be so in the original Greek, but to Simon and his nation it meant but one thing. In the triumphant words of our author, "The yoke of the Gentiles was lifted up from Israel, and the people of Israel began to write in their agreements and contracts 'First year of Simon, high priest and strategos and hegemon of the Jews.' " Soon after, this was sealed by the surrender of the citadel which for almost a generation had permitted the Hellenizers to dominate Jerusalem.

As reward, the people in the third year made a decree in Simon's favor which instinctively makes us think of the Greek inscription, in spite of the double tradition through which it has passed. It was issued by the great assembly of priests and laity, of the archons of the nation and the elders of the land. Simon is called high priest and perhaps something else. A long recital of the good deeds of the Maccabees follows, and it ends with the heaping up of honors to Simon, that he should be hegemon, high priest, general, ethnarch of the Jews and priests, prostates over all. It would be

² Cf. the Ben Hodesh (בן חודש) of Citium (כרית) in Cyprus, the Athenian *metic* who translated his name as Numenius in the bilingual, *CIS*, II, 117.

interesting could we translate back into equally technical Hebrew these purely Greek titles. Particularly worthy of note is the refusal to allow any sort of assembly without him.¹ Quite the most interesting thing about the whole transaction is the political theory behind it. There is not a hint of divine right. Its model might have been Rousseau's *Social Contract*, for, while all power is granted to the ruler, its source is still felt to be the Jewish people, in its three estates of clergy, nobles, and commons. Only when we realize the theory which ruled the political thought of the Hellenistic world do we realize the uniqueness of this conception. The monarch in the Hellenistic state was a god-king and as such he had absolute control of the state, not as an official but as a proprietor. Such a conception traced its direct ancestry from the elder oriental empires. We are the more astonished, therefore, to find in this same Orient a theory which is so opposed to both the theories held by thinkers of the Greek world of their day.

The same title of high priest was taken by John Hyrcanus on the death of his father. In his very first year Antiochus VII, who had already recognized his predecessor as high priest and ethnarch, made an attempt to subdue him. From our present point of view, the most interesting event was in connection with the Feast of Tabernacles, when Antiochus took advantage of the truce to send in rich gifts to be sacrificed in the temple. The implication was clear that the present Seleucid ruler was no Epiphanes and had no desire to attack the Jewish faith. It was a direct bid for the support of the Hasidim and Hyrcanus saw the point. In fear that he lose all but the nationalists, he at once made peace. He also decided that for the future he would depend on his mercenaries. With these he might destroy his enemies round-about, Idumaeans and Samaritans, and thus the yoke of the heathen was altogether cast off.² Nevertheless, we must not make the mistake of looking upon this as a religious crusade, to assume that he was a Jew first in religion and then in nationality.³ How little emphasis he laid on his religious position is shown by his break with the truly Pious, now called the Pharisees, and by his

¹ I Macc., chap. 13.

² Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 236 ff.

³ As Bouché-Leclercq, *Seleucides*, p. 408.

complete acceptance of the point of view of the Sadducees, for these, in spite of the fact that they included the official heads of the religion, were worldly in all their thinking. So sharply separated did the Pharisees come to be that they urged Hyrcanus finally to cease to act as high priest and content himself with the position of secular leader. Hyrcanus replied by changing his titles, as shown on the coins, from "Johanan, high priest *and* the people of the Jews," to "Johanan, high priest *and head* of the people of the Jews."¹ With such a denial of the co-ordinate authority of the people, kingship was but a step away.

The Pharisees, too, were now fully organized in their fraternities. If they were still little more than the Pious under another name, if they still played a small part in politics, they had at least taken a definite political attitude, and they were in open opposition to the Hasmoneans. Their hopes of a present earthly king destroyed, they began to dream. Some were modest enough, looking forward to the time when a genuine descendant of Aaron should be high priest, a descendant of David be king. As they copied the sacred scrolls so often destroyed or mutilated during the persecution of the preceding generation, they consoled themselves by penning in the margins promises that David should again reign in Jerusalem, "which I have chosen to place my name," "for my servant David's sake," "that David my servant may have a lamp always before me in Jerusalem." Or less frequently they inserted longer passages such as "If thou wilt walk in my statutes and execute my ordinances and keep all my commandments to walk in them, then will I establish my word with thee which I spake unto David thy father, and I will dwell among the children of Israel."²

Such were the pious hopes of the intellectuals, the scribes who meditated in the Law day and night. There were other spirits which could not be content patiently to wait the fulfilment of promises which depended merely on passive action. For them were more magnificent dreams, fragments of which we have in our apocalyptic literature. He who would understand the political

¹ Cf. G. Hill, *Cat. of Greek Coins of Palestine*, pp. 188 ff.

² I Kings 8:11-13; cf. Olmstead, *AJSL*, XXX, 1 ff.; XXXI, 169 ff.; XXXIV, 145 ff.

thought of the time must indeed study long the concepts behind the wildest of the apocalyptic frenzy. So far as the parties condescended to play a part in practical politics, both were alike in hating the Hasmoneans and in looking forward to the happy day when they would be supplanted by the rightful rulers in church and state.

They had need of all their patience, for instead of the appearance of the expected Davidic king, the successor of Hyrcanus, Aristobulus, made the inevitable transition to kingship. Once more, we should be careful to understand just what this action means. It does not mean that the Jews became an independent people. If Aristobulus thus cast off the last trace of Seleucid suzerainty, his predecessors long ago had almost unconsciously slipped into a position of clientage to the mighty Roman republic. By this time it required no great ability as a statesman to realize that all the client rulers, whatever their titles, were but puppets in the hand of the least of the Roman aristocrats. The title of king, then, meant merely the assumption of a higher position of honor in the political world dominated by Rome, as that of Philhellene meant the acceptance of a position among the Hellenistic states of the East. How fully this position had been accepted by his father is shown by the names he gave to his sons, Aristobulus, Antigonus, Alexander, names consecrated by generations of Macedonian rulers who had been acclaimed as king-gods.

While the Maccabees had been fighting for an independent kingdom in the break-up of the Seleucide empire, two other empires, Rome and Parthia, had been approaching from either side, and the subject nationalities which for the moment had sensed independence soon found that in reality they had but secured a more or less concealed dependence on one or the other. When these two powers came to a somewhat unstable equilibrium with the boundary of their respective spheres of influence along the line of the Euphrates, the Near East was divided almost equally between them. The Jews were likewise halved and the Jewish people entered upon the second phase of that conflict between East and West which was yet more terribly to divide them and bring upon them a yet more fearful fate.

ARE PAUL'S PRISON LETTERS FROM EPHESUS?

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Among the Pauline letters, Colossians, Philemon, Ephesians, and Philippians are on their own showing written from prison. The purpose of this paper is to inquire where, and incidentally when, the imprisonment occurred during which their composition falls. Since "Ephesians" is not regarded by the present writer as from Paul's pen, the inquiry will concern only the other three. In any case, "Ephesians" offers no data for the solution of the problem beyond those already given in Colossians, and offers too many problems of its own to cast light on others.¹ The question where Colossians, Philemon, and Philippians were written is not easy to answer. Contrary to common assumption, they do not themselves give any information on this point. It is generally assumed that they all three come from the same imprisonment; this is pretty certainly the case, as will be indicated below, and in default of evidence to the contrary may be taken for granted.

The last chapter of Colossians indicates that Paul is a prisoner as he writes ([4:3] *δέδεμαι*, [10] *ὁ συναιχμάλωτός μου*, [18] *μημονεύετε μου τῶν δεσμῶν*), and 1:24 (*χαίρω ἐν τοῖς παθήμασιν κ.τ.λ.*) must have the same reference. So in Philemon ([1 and 9] *δέσμος*, [10 and 13] *ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς*, [23] *ὁ συναιχμάλωτός μου*, and vs. 22 has the same implication). These phrases are all general, and do not indicate anything of the nature or circumstances of the imprisonment, still less of its cause, its date, or its place. Who holds Paul a prisoner, on what charge, for how long, under what conditions, we are not told by so much as a word. Of course the recipients of the letters knew these things. The case is similar with Philippians. The first chapter indicates in four passages that Paul writes from

¹ "Der Epheserbrief kommt in dieser Beziehung nicht in Betracht: er ist so allgemeinen Inhalts dass er überhaupt keine Anhaltspunkte für den Ort seiner Abfassung enthält" (E. Haupt, *Die Gefangenschaftsbriefe* [Meyer, 7/8 ed., 1902], Einleitung, p. 71).

captivity ([1:7] ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς μου, [13] τοὺς δεσμούς μου φανεροὺς γενέσθαι κ.τ.λ., [14] πεποιθότας τοῖς δεσμοῖς μου, [17] τοῖς δεσμοῖς μου.). The situation is serious (1:30, 2:19, 2:23 f.; 4:14); there is a prospect that the apostle may be put to death (1:20-23; 2:17), and the whole tone of the letter is that of a possible or even probable last farewell. As Bacon felicitously puts it, the writer "is only smiling through his tears,"¹ even in the most hopeful passages. But where and when he found himself in this grave peril is nowhere indicated, not even in the references to the "praetorium" (1:13) and to "Caesar's household" (4:22). These two phrases have been thought to fix Rome beyond peradventure as the place of writing, but this assumption has been shown to lack foundation. "Praetorium" as the name of a place means the headquarters of the *praetor*, the general of the army or the military governor. As a matter of fact, we know of no place or building in Rome so called but do find the term in frequent use for the official residence of the provincial governors, indeed for any fine country house. The gospels (Mark 15:16; Matt. 27:27; John 18:28, 33; 19:9) use the word of Pilate's headquarters in Jerusalem, and Acts 23:35 of Herod's residence in Caesarea, where Paul was actually held prisoner. If *praetorium* is to fix the place of writing Philippians, it speaks for Caesarea. But the term is obviously used in this context, not of a place at all, but of a group of men, the "praetorian guard." While the main body of these picked troops was stationed in Rome, a detachment of them formed the bodyguard of each provincial governor, and we have direct inscriptional evidence, for example, of praetorians at Ephesus.² It would be distinctly more feasible for Paul's bonds to become "manifest in Christ throughout the whole praetorian guard" stationed at such a provincial capital as Ephesus, numbering perhaps a couple of hundred men, than among the whole body of praetorians at Rome, numbering some nine or ten thousand. As for "Caesar's household," it means, of course, the entire force of slaves and attendants of every sort, attached in any capacity to the imperial *ménage*, whether at the time resident

¹ B. W. Bacon, *The Making of the New Testament* (1912), pp. 89 f.

² Cf. the later commentaries *ad loc.* and the material in the appendix to J. T. Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus* (1877).

in Rome or elsewhere. Such persons, in a foreign city, would naturally come together in some form of association, and again we have, as it happens, inscriptional evidence from Ephesus showing such *collegia libertorum et servorum domini nostri Augusti* existing there.¹

These two phrases, then, do not speak decisively for Rome, or even fix the balance of probability in its favor. Yet they have had much influence in forming the traditional view that the imprisonment in question was that in Rome, this view further owing much to the fact that Paul's Roman imprisonment was more notable and better known than any other, since it came as the climax of his arduous career and ended with his death. The only other known prison period that can be compared with it in importance is the two-year detention in Caesarea, and the claims of this period have been urged, for part or all of the "prison letters," by a large number of scholars. Most have assigned to Caesarea only Colossians and Philemon, with Ephesians if genuine;² a few also place Philippians here.³ But as between Caesarea and Rome, the balance of probability is very strongly in favor of Rome, as was demonstrated long ago by H. J. Holtzmann, after careful weighing of all the data.⁴ And for Rome the majority of students decide.

But it is a mistake to think that we are forced to choose between these two places. Paul had been in prison before the arrest at Jerusalem, which began the four or more years of captivity in Caesarea and Rome. In the "sorrowful letter" to Corinth, written from the arduous mission in Ephesus, he passionately compares himself with the Judaist apostles who are working to discredit him—"with all my labours, *with all my lashes, with all my time in prison*—a record longer far than theirs. I have been often at the point of death" (II Cor. 11:23 [Moffatt's translation]). The Greek

¹ Wood, Appendix No. 20; citations also in Dibelius, *ad loc.*

² So Schultz, Schott, Wiggers, Laurent, Reuss, Meyer, B. Weiss, Schenkel, Hilgenfeld, Hausrath, Krenkel, Pfeiderer, Lipsius, Haupt, Feine, Clemen, Sabatier, Rackham, and others. The argument is well put in English by E. L. Hicks, "Did St. Paul Write from Caesarea?" *Interpreter* (April, 1910).

³ So Thiersch, Böttger, Paulus, Spitta, O. Holtzmann, Macpherson.

⁴ Holtzmann, *Kritik der Epheser- und Kolosserbriefe* (1872), pp. 279-84.

here is expressive: ἐν κόποις περισσοτέρως, ἐν φυλακαῖς περισσοτέρως, ἐν πληγαῖς ὑπερβαλλόντως, ἐν θανάτοις πολλάκις. So, a little later, writing the "reconciliation letter" to Corinth from Macedonia, after his departure from Ephesus, he recounts the hardships he has been enduring as a διάκονος θεοῦ: "by great endurance, by suffering, by troubles, by calamities, *by lashes, by imprisonment*; mobbed, toiling, sleepless, starving" (II Cor. 6:4 f. [Moffatt]). A little later still he writes back to Ephesus from Corinth greetings to "Andronicus and Junias my kinsmen and *my fellow-prisoners*" (Rom. 16:7). These are the only definite allusions to imprisonments in Paul's own words, outside the prison letters; it is noteworthy that they are all written during or just after the long and extraordinarily difficult mission in Ephesus, so incompletely recorded in Acts. There is a strong presumption, especially in the allusion to Andronicus and Junias, that one at least of the imprisonments referred to occurred during that Ephesian stay. The catalogue of hardships in II Cor. 6:4 f. is of course a general picture of what Paul endures as a Christian missionary, yet its specific application is not to his present stay in Philippi, where he is visiting briefly among his best-loved friends, but to the preceding period of propaganda work. The immediately preceding time is the three years in Ephesus, and Paul would hardly go back of that for material to describe the conditions under which he is carrying on his work. So II Cor. 11:23 is written from Ephesus and depicts hardships endured in the past and present (cf. vs. 28, "besides those outside matters, there is that which presses upon me daily, anxiety over all the churches"). The indication that suffering, stripes, imprisonment, marked the Ephesian mission is strengthened by reference to I Cor. 15:32: "I fought with beasts at Ephesus," which is almost certainly to be taken literally. So definite and specific a statement has no appearance of a figure of speech and could scarcely have been so understood by any reader. A condemnation *ad bestias* would involve preceding arrest, imprisonment, and doubtless stripes. Still more significant is the scarcely ambiguous language of Rom. 16:3 f.: "Salute Prisca and Aquila, my fellow-workers in Christ Jesus, who for my life laid down their

own neck."¹ This language can scarcely mean anything else than that the apostle had been in danger of execution, but had somehow been saved by Prisca and her husband at the hazard of their own lives. This certainly implies arrest, imprisonment, condemnation; and a hardly bought release, and the almost inevitable locality for the episode is Ephesus, where Prisca and Aquila live, where Paul has just been spending three strenuous years in their company. The reference can hardly go back to the days when they were together in Corinth (Acts 18:1-18); the language is too fresh and vivid for that. The occasion might be the *θηριομαχία* of I Cor. 15:32, as Max Krenkel argues, or some later crisis.

That long stay in Ephesus conceals many tragedies of which the account in Acts gives no notice. We may mention the Galatian tragedy and the Corinthian tragedy with its various correspondence and journeyings. But more especially we recall, besides the *θηριομαχία*, the terrible *θλίψις ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ* of II Cor. 1:8-11, with its burden *καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ὑπὲρ δυνάμιν*, with its *ἐξαπορηθῆναι καὶ τοῦ ζῆν*, with its *ἀπόκριμα τοῦ θανάτου*, with its unexpected divine rescue (*ἐρύσατο*) *ἐκ τηλικούτου θανάτου*, which the grateful Paul can compare only to an *ἐγερσις τῶν νεκρῶν*. This very powerful language is not wholly transparent, but it clearly posits some experience in Ephesus like arrest, imprisonment, condemnation to death, unexpected deliverance at the last moment; it fits admirably the suggestion concerning Prisca and Aquila in Rom. 16:3 f. Of this *θλίψις* there is no account in any other letter, nor does Acts mention it; obviously the Acts narrative must be greatly supplemented. All the language of II Corinthians, chapters 1-9, is colored by this terrible experience. The emotion and gratitude of the "reconciliation letter" are not due exclusively to the good news that the Corinthians have come to their senses. The *γάρ* with which 1:8 begins indicates that verses 3-7 have in mind the same experience. How moving is their language! Paul is still trembling under the shock of the danger so narrowly escaped. *παράκλησις*, "comfort," occurs ten times in these verses, *παθήματα*, three times, *θλίψις*, twice, and *θλίβω*, once, *οἰκτιρμός* and *σωτηρία* and *ὑπομονή* and *πάσχω*, each once.

¹ Cf. an interesting parallel to this phrase in an inscription from Herculaneum, cited by A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* (Eng. tr., 1910), p. 120.

Something terrible had befallen Paul in Asia; he had been facing death, not from sickness, not from accident, but from the hostility of men, in short, after imprisonment and the prospect of execution. Further words of this letter (4:7-18) are very graphic; they describe Paul's experience in Ephesus. Again the heaping up of danger and opposition until every earthly hope of escape seems gone, and the almost miraculous deliverance by the power of God (4:7b = 1:9b, the same situation is in mind), *θλιβόμενοι, ἀπορούμενοι, διωκόμενοι, κατα βαλλόμενοι*, always bearing about in the body the *νέκρωσις* of Jesus, always delivered *εἰς θάνατον*, the outward man decaying, enduring the *παραντίκα ἐλαφρόν τῆς θλίψεως*—all this sketches a picture which surely includes imprisonment and such a situation as that out of which Philippians, for example, is written; so in 5:1-9, a passage whose eschatological expression has always been likened to that of Phil. 1:23. Paul has been facing the dissolution of his earthly house and the transition to the house not made with hands, longing (as in Phil. 1:23, to depart and be with Christ) to be clothed upon with the heavenly habitation, to be at home with the Lord, contemplating the judgment seat of Christ. Then the magnificent *apologia* of II Cor. 6:4-10: “. . . in endurance, afflictions, necessities, distresses, *stripes, prisons*, riots, toils, sleepless nights and hungry days . . . through dishonor and evil report, as impostors and unknown, dying (and lo! we live), beaten, put to grief, beggars, penniless.” Is not this precisely such a situation (*ἀνάγκαι, στενοχωρίαι, κόποι, νηστείαι, πτωχοί, μηδὲν ἔχοντες*) as that to which the Philippians ministered with their gift, and out of which the Philippian letter was written? Is not 6:9 f. the exact equivalent of Phil. 4:11-13, *μηδὲν ἔχοντες καὶ πάντα κατέχοντες* another phrasing of *ἐν παντὶ καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν μεμύημαι καὶ χορτάζεσθαι καὶ πεινᾶν καὶ περισσεύειν καὶ ὑστερεῖσθαι*? In 7:4 f. the *θλίψις* is carried over from Ephesus even into Macedonia; still no relief for the flesh, still *ἐν παντὶ θλιβόμενοι*, still *ἐξωθεν μάχαι, ἔσωθεν φόβοι*, not all due to the exigencies of the Corinthian situation. II Cor. 8:1-5 is grateful testimony to the generosity of the churches of Macedonia; is it far-fetched to see in this warm praise some reaction on benefits to Paul personally, as well as on contributions to the collection? Cannot verse 2 be equated with Phil. 4:10b? Of

course the *prime* reference is to the collection, including contributions from Thessalonica and Berea (Acts 20:4) as well as from Philippi. But may not the special warmth of this acknowledgment, unparalleled in any similar references, be due to Paul's grateful memory of their goodness to him not long before? The collection is being raised in Philippi, apparently, at the time this "reconciliation letter" is written.

It seems, then, very clear from II Corinthians, chapters 1-9, that a period of *θλίψις*, including imprisonment and the prospect of death, had been undergone by Paul while still in Ephesus. It was *such* a situation as that out of which Philippians was written, that during which the Philippians won Paul's gratitude by *συνκοινωνήσαντές μου τῇ θλίψει* (Phil. 4:14). Colossians and Philemon might come from an earlier stage of the same period, since they are commonly supposed to come from earlier in the same imprisonment from whose later stages Philippians is written. The "sorrowful letter" (II Cor., chaps. 10-13) was written from Ephesus during the troubled time, though apparently not during a period of imprisonment, as there is no indication of such in the extant text, and Paul is contemplating a visit to Corinth (12:14, 20 f.; 13:1 f., 10). But chapter 11 castigates precisely the same Judaistic teachers as does Phil. 3:2-5, 18 f. (cf. 11:18, *καυχῶνται κατὰ σάρκα*, with Phil. 3:3 f., and 11:21b-23a with Phil. 3:4b-5, *ὑπερ ἐγώ* with *ἐγώ μᾶλλον*). And II Cor. 11:23-28 vividly pictures such experiences of hardship as belong to Paul's life as a missionary, some of which characterize the Ephesian period and form the background for such a letter as Philippians. Similar experiences are cited in 12:10, "weaknesses, injuries, necessities, persecutions, distresses." I Corinthians and Galatians are written shortly before the *θλίψις*, from Ephesus; they reveal many of the elements which appear in the prison letters and offer many parallels of phraseology. Romans, written not long after the Ephesian *θλίψις*, has likewise many parallels of thought and expression, the most notable, however, being in chapter 16.

The passage II Tim. 4:16-18 seems to be a bit of genuine historic material (whether written by Paul or not) and may perhaps refer to the same imprisonment as that of Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon. The whole passage 4:9-18 (or even vss. 9-22, though

vs. 20 is a little awkward) might, on this view, have been written at about the same time as the "reconciliation letter" (II Cor., chaps. 1-9), and from the same place, Philippi, perhaps to Timothy at Ephesus. The cloak might have been left with Carpus at Troas on the way from Ephesus to Macedonia (II Cor. 2:12). Alexander the coppersmith may be the cryptic Ephesian Alexander of Acts 19:33. Verses 16-18 may refer more explicitly than II Cor. 1:8-11 to the *θλίψις* in Ephesus; "no one took my part, but all forsook me" equates well with Phil. 2:21, "all seek their own," and the suggestions of Phil. 1:15-17. Erastus may have remained at Corinth, his home (Rom. 16:23), after completing the trip to Macedonia begun in Acts 19:22 in company with that Timothy to whom this information is now supposedly being given. Erastus is still in Corinth when Romans, chapter 16, is written. If Paul went directly from Ephesus to Troas he would hardly touch Miletus, and so could not leave Trophimus of Ephesus (Acts 21:29) behind at Miletus sick. But if from Ephesus the party made a hurried trip to Colossae (Philem. vs. 22?), they might have come back to the coast at Miletus, and so to Troas and Philippi. This datum, however, is difficult. "Come before winter" would be meant, on this hypothesis, to bring Timothy from Ephesus to Corinth, where Paul had planned to spend the winter after his departure from Ephesus, and actually did so (I Cor. 16:6; Acts 20:3, 6). Both Timothy and Trophimus would seem to have joined Paul in Corinth, for both are found in his company when he leaves Corinth for the last journey to Jerusalem (Acts 20:4). Of the ten persons in Paul's company in the prison letters (Timothy, Epaphroditus, Epaphras, Onesimus, Aristarchus, Jesus Justus, Tychicus, Luke, Mark, Demas) the last four appear in II Tim. 4:10-12 in notices which form very natural sequence to those of the prison letters. Mark, for example, who in Col. 4:10 was going on a mission in Asia Minor, is now to be brought back thence. The sending of Tychicus to Ephesus is natural; his home was there and he is being used just at this time (Col. 4:7) as a messenger. He has carried the letter to Colossae, and is now off on another mission. Demas is named in Col. 4:14 and Philem., vs. 24, among the *συνεργοί*, but with no such commendatory word as all the others receive.

Demas has forsaken Paul, having loved the present age. It must be kept in mind that any assignment to definite situations of the probable or possible genuine Pauline passages in the Pastorals is extremely precarious; yet whatever be the origin of II Tim. 4:9 ff., it is at least possible that the traditional opinion which makes verses 16 f. refer to the same imprisonment as that of Philipians is correct and that the imprisonment took place at Ephesus.

There are a few extra-canonical indications of an Ephesian imprisonment. Clement of Rome (5:6) says of Paul, *ἐπτάκις δέσμα φορέσας*, on which Funk remarks, "Fortasse Clemens vocem *ἐπτάκις* sensu vocis *πολλάκις* usurpavit." Probably, but the word does not go beyond Paul's *περισσοτέρως* in II Cor. 11:23. The second-century *Περιοδοὶ Παύλου* seems to have contained an account of an imprisonment and *θηριομαχία* of Paul in Ephesus, probably based on I Cor. 15:32, or at least related to it. Hippolytus, in his commentary on Daniel, written in the earliest years of the third century, remarks (iii. 29 [4th ed.; Bonwetsch, 176]): "If we believe that when Paul was condemned to the wild beasts, the lion that was loosed upon him lay down at his feet and licked him, why should we not also believe what happened in the case of Daniel?" The fourteenth-century church historian Nicephorus Callisti has the tale in full, taken from older sources now lost, though probably not from the *Περιοδοί*, perhaps not from the *Acta Pauli*, which are the ultimate sources. "They who described *τὰς Παύλου περιόδους* related also very many other things which he suffered and at the same time accomplished, both now and at the time when he was present in Ephesus. Nicephorus goes on to tell how Jerome the *ἀρχων* in Ephesus threw Paul into prison and condemned him to the lions. In the night Eubula and Artemilla, wives of prominent Ephesians, come to him seeking baptism. They are all miraculously transported to the seashore, where Paul baptizes the women, returning then to his prison. Exposed to the lions, no one of them will touch him. A miraculous hailstorm kills many of the spectators and beasts. Jerome, hit by a hailstone, is converted and baptized. The lion that was especially sent against Paul runs away to the mountains, and Paul departs to Macedonia and Greece,

thence to Troas, Miletus, and Jerusalem.¹ The Acts of Paul and Thecla tell of a somewhat similar happening in Iconium, and other parts of the extant *Acta Pauli* have imprisonments in Sidon, in a mine, in Philippi, in Rome. It is clear that second-century tradition spoke of repeated imprisonments of Paul, and located one of them in Ephesus, although this may be no more than an explication of I Cor. 15:32.

A further second-century witness to the tradition of an Ephesian imprisonment is found in the so-called "Monarchian" prologues to the epistles of Paul, apparently of Marcionite origin. The prologue to Colossians contains this phrase, "Apostolus *jam ligatus* scribit eis *ab Epheso*," which is a clear statement that Colossians was written from Ephesus while Paul was a prisoner. Corssen supposes the writer to mean that Paul was carried from Caesarea to Rome via Ephesus, but this seems very unlikely.² In fact, we have here explicit evidence of second-century belief that Paul had been in prison in Ephesus and there had written at least one of the prison letters, and that from circles specially concerned with the apostle and his works. It is perhaps worth mention that among the ruins of Ephesus is shown a building called, apparently as far back as can be traced, "the prison of Paul."³ This implies an ancient local tradition, to which, of course, not much importance can be attached, but which may add some slight weight to other indications of the same sort.

So far, then, we have evidence that Paul was several times imprisoned (II Cor. 6:5; 11:23; II Tim. 4:16-18; Clement of Rome; *Acta Pauli*), and that in particular there was in Ephesus an experience of *θλῖψις*, including imprisonment and danger of death (Rom. 16:3 f., 7; II Cor., chaps. 1-9; Monarchian Prologue to Colossians; local Ephesian tradition), an experience which would

¹ Nicephorus, *Church Hist.*, II, 25, *ap.* Migne: P.G. CXLV, cols. 821-24. The passage is reprinted in Carl Schmidt, *Acta Pauli* (1904), pp. 111 f., and is given in English translation by B. Pick, *Apocryphal Acts* (1909), pp. 2 f. Robinson, Bacon, and Maurice Jones write as if this episode were a part of the extant acts of Paul and Thecla.

² P. Corssen, in *ZNTW*, X (1909), 38, 44; cf. Bacon, in *Expositor* (August, 1915), pp. 241 f.

³ A cut of this is given at the head of Martin Dibelius' "Commentary on Ephesians," *Handbuch zum N.T.*, III, Part II (1911), 95.

furnish the appropriate background for the prison letters, one of which is definitely stated (Monarchian Prologue to Colossians) to have been written from Ephesus by the apostle as a prisoner. This evidence is, to be sure, of different degrees of value; taken as a whole it deserves reflective consideration.

There is further internal evidence to be cited. At the time Paul made the journey to Jerusalem which ended in his arrest, he was definitely through with missionary work in the east. He had made all his plans to carry out his long-cherished hope of seeing Rome and using Rome as headquarters and basis to evangelize Spain and the west. This plan he states with so much definiteness and finality to the Romans (1:10-15; 15:19-29) that we may be sure it was no purpose of the moment to be easily abandoned. He is conscious of having "fully preached the gospel of Christ from Jerusalem and round about even unto Illyricum," always taking virgin territory that he might not build upon another man's foundation, and "now having no more any place in these regions" of the east. Acts 19:21 expresses the same purpose, and in Acts 20:25-32, in words taken from the "we" source, Paul says a sad and solemn farewell to his chief church in Asia Minor, the church where he labored longer than anywhere else in the whole east. He assures them that they shall see his face no more; he is taking his final leave of them. If Ephesus is not to see him again, we may be sure that no church in Asia or the east generally is again to be visited. To be sure, Paul was not permitted to go on at once from Jerusalem to Rome; he went to Rome only after two years and more, as a prisoner who had appealed to Caesar. Yet we should suppose that his purpose would still be the same. Surely, during those endless two years in Caesarea, he had been fretting his heart out because he was held back from that long-desired work in the west. Surely it is most unlikely that from Rome, the very headquarters he had chosen for his western mission, he would go back to that territory which he had earlier "fully covered," where there was "no longer any place" for him. The whole purpose of his rapid evangelization of the province of the empire is to reach the whole *orbis terrarum* as completely as possible before the parousia; he is debtor to the world. Every passing year makes the time shorter and his task more urgent.

That is all the more reason why, after enforced idleness of several years, he should immediately, in case of release, hasten to the unevangelized western field. It would be most astonishing under these circumstances if he should think only of going back to the old churches of his earlier foundations, to Asia and Macedonia and Achaia, where many other teachers were now at work, harrowing again well-tilled soil. The prison letters take for granted that as a matter of course, if he is released, the apostle will turn at once to Asia and Macedonia. Phil. 1:24-27 has in mind a continuation of missionary work in the east, not simply a visit to Philippi. Paul is not to "hear of their state" when "absent" in Spain. There is no explanation, no hint of a changed purpose, not even any suggestion of a long journey undertaken for the express purpose of reaching these places, still less of an unexpected revisiting of places to which he thought he had bidden farewell forever. Rather, the expectation of visiting Colossae (Philem., vs. 22) and Philippi (Phil. 1:24-27; 2:24) is expressed as something simple and natural, as if these places were near the place of imprisonment and to them the apostle would be coming, in the natural course of events, as soon as set free. Especially is this true of the words to Philemon: "Prepare me a lodging, for I hope that through your prayers I shall be granted unto you." One has the impression that Colossae is nearer the place of writing than is Philippi, for the expectation of coming to Philippi is not spoken with such definiteness—"whether I come and see you or be absent, I may hear of your state." This exactly fits the hypothesis that the letters are written from Ephesus. What would be more natural than that, on being released from arrest in Ephesus, Paul should run over to see the new churches in the Lycus Valley, of whose founding prospects he had just been hearing from his friend Epaphras, where he had a hospitable friend Philemon, who had apparently invited him to come and whose reception of Onesimus the apostle was anxious to see for himself? It was a short journey, easily made. What, on the other hand, is more unnatural than that Paul, set free in Rome, should give up his Spanish plans and say lightly to a friend in a church of another man's founding, in the heart of Asia Minor, *1,200 miles away*, "Get ready the guest-room"?

But, further, the plans indicated in the prison letters *correspond exactly* with Paul's movements when he left Ephesus. Acts 19:21 states Paul's purpose, during the latter part of his stay in Ephesus, of going from there to Macedonia and Achaia, i.e., to Philippi and Corinth. In Acts 20:1 f. this purpose is carried out. The statement is very concise; Paul's own words in II Cor. 2:12 f.; 7:5 corroborate it in detail. There is in neither source any indication whether he carried out the projected visit to Philemon at Colossae; in any case this would not take much time, and owing to his anxiety to get the news from Corinth he would not linger there, but turn back to Troas. A week would cover a journey from Ephesus to Troas via Colossae, with a brief visit in the latter place. Such a journey might very easily include touching at Miletus (as already suggested above), thus accounting for the statement in II Tim. 4:20 that Trophimus was left at Miletus ill. All this is, to be sure, hypothetical. Paul's plan of visiting Macedonia, specifically Philippi, after leaving Ephesus, is stated not only in Acts 19:21 but by the apostle himself in I Cor. 16:5; II Cor. 1:16; since Phil. 1:25-27; 2:24 states the same plan, and Acts 20:1 f.; II Cor. 2:12 f.; 7:5 state that it was carried out, there is a strong presumption that Philippians (as well as Colossians) dates from the Ephesian period.

Some light may be thrown on the matter by examining the list of friends named as being with Paul when the prison letters are written. Philippians names only two, Timothy and Epaphroditus (1:1; 2:19-29). Timothy is also named in Colossians and Philemon, as are Epaphras, Tychicus, Onesimus, Aristarchus, Luke, Mark, Jesus Justus, and Demas. All these nine names occur in both letters, save that Tychicus¹ and Jesus Justus fail in Philemon, verse 12.

Epaphroditus of Philippi (who is *not* the same as Epaphras of Colossae) is named only in Philippians. He could, of course, have come from Philippi to any town where Paul was imprisoned. But

¹ Tychicus could of course greet Philemon in person at Colossae. It has been suggested (by Zahn, *Introduction to N.T.* [Eng. tr.], I [1909], 451, and Amling in *ZNTW*, X [1909], 261 f.; cf. also Dibelius, *ad loc.*) that in Philem., vs. 23, the phrase *ἐν Χρῆστῳ* was originally a reference, or contained a reference to Jesus Justus.

it is vastly easier and more natural for him to come to Ephesus than to Rome. The preceding gifts of the Philippians had been sent short distances, to Thessalonica (Phil. 4:16) and to Corinth (II Cor. 11:9), whence they might easily hear of the apostle's distress and speedily relieve it. Philippi is 600 miles air-line from Rome. By the travel route of that day it was about 830 miles: 370 from Philippi to Dyracchium (Durazzo) over the Via Egnatia, 100 across the Adriatic from Dyracchium to Brundisium, and 360 from Brundisium to Rome. Lightfoot, whose figures these are, calculates that the journey would take a month.¹ There is a great deal of traveling back and forth for places 800 miles or a month's journey apart. First the Philippians get word of Paul's situation in some detail, and in particular of his need. This must be through a messenger. Is it really plausible that in Rome, surrounded by a large church to which he had recently written the Epistle to the Romans (Rom. 12:13, "communicating to the necessities of the saints"!), where he had had means enough at his disposal to hire a house for two years, the apostle fell into such dire need that it could not be relieved there, but is heard of and after some delay relieved by a church 800 miles away? If Paul had been in real destitution, he would have perished before the Philippian help could have reached him! "The very grave turn for the worse" in Paul's affairs in Rome, universally assumed to account for Philippians, not only lacks the slightest evidence, but is of all things in the world most unlikely. The difficulty is increased by the fact that after the Philippians knew of his need, and had taken thought for it, they were unable for a time, through some limitation (*ἡκαρπίσθη* [4:10]), to send relief. As soon as circumstances permitted, they dispatched the gift, by the hand of Epaphroditus (Phil. 4:18; 2:26), who remained with Paul as "fellow-worker and fellow-soldier" (2:25) until he fell sick. News of his illness is carried back to Philippi (2:26), causing anxiety there. Report of this anxiety is brought back to the sick man, which, in turn, worries him (2:26). Thus there are four journeys between the place of Paul's

¹ Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 38, n. 1. Ramsay (article "Roads and Travel in the New Testament" in the extra volume of Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*) counts 381 miles from Dyracchium to Philippi, which would make 841 from Philippi to Rome.

confinement and Philippi.¹ Paul decides to send Epaphroditus back home, since he is homesick, and though Epaphroditus is apparently a convalescent he starts off for Philippi, carrying the letter. All this is absolutely natural and intelligible if Paul was in prison at some place like Ephesus, from which Philippi could be reached in a few days, but very improbable if the two places are from 800 to 900 miles apart. Epaphroditus witnesses for Ephesus.

Timothy joins with Paul in the salutation of all three letters. Paul expects to send him after Epaphroditus to Philippi "very soon" (*ταχέως* [2:19]), and expects him to come straightway back again, "that I may be of good comfort when I know your state." And Paul hopes himself to be able to come "very soon" (*ταχέως* [2:24]), but apparently only after Timothy's return from Philippi. All this *ταχέως* language and program is very difficult to conceive between Rome and Philippi, Timothy making a round trip of nearly 1,700 miles, absent some two months, while Paul, acquitted, awaits in Rome his return, and yet himself to come "very soon" whither Timothy is gone! From Ephesus across to Philippi is a journey which fits these data perfectly; it is the journey which Paul actually made after leaving Ephesus (Acts 20:1) and which Timothy had made shortly before (Acts 19:22, a verse which is surely out of its proper connection, and belongs after the events of vss. 23-41). Not only was Timothy in Ephesus with Paul, and sent from Ephesus to Philippi, but he had earlier been sent from Ephesus to Corinth (I Cor. 4:17) and was expected back in Ephesus (I Cor. 16:10 f.). When Paul goes to Philippi, Timothy is with him there and joins in the salutation of the "reconciliation letter" to Corinth (II Cor. 1:1). Clearly, then, he was in Ephesus with Paul at the time required by our hypothesis. He has further associations with Ephesus: in Rom. 16:21, the following winter, he sends greetings back to Ephesus; I Tim. 1:3 associates him with that city; and II Tim. 1:15-18; 4:19 places him there. Timothy witnesses for Ephesus.

¹ Lightfoot (*Philippians*, p. 37) tries to eliminate two of these. He assumes that Aristarchus parted with Paul at Myra (Acts 27:5 f.) and went at once to Philippi with the news that Paul was being carried to Rome. The Philippians thereupon sent off Epaphroditus with the gift, which thus arrived in Rome about as soon as did Paul, who had been delayed by shipwreck. Further, Epaphroditus' anxiety is due to the fact that he knows the people at home will worry when they hear of his illness; there has been no report that they are worrying. This is violence to Paul's words.

Epaphras, a Colossian, is with Paul (Col. 1:7 f.; 4:12), called in Philem., vs. 23a, "fellow-prisoner" (συναιχμάλωτος); the word is used of Aristarchus in Col. 4:10 and of Andronicus and Junias in Rom. 16:7, and quite certainly means that Epaphras was actually under arrest (αἰχμάλωτος is quite literally "captive," or "prisoner of war"). In Acts 19:29 there is a significant statement of something that happened *in Ephesus* at just the time of Paul's difficulties there—"having seized (συναρπάσαντες) Gaius and Aristarchus, Macedonians, Paul's συνέκδημοι." Epaphras of Colossae was also Paul's συνέκδημος and might naturally be arrested later on, if Paul himself was. It is far more natural that Epaphras should have come from Colossae to Ephesus, the metropolis of Asia, some 170 miles away, than that he should have come all the way to Rome, some 1,200 miles. There is no particular reason why *in Rome*, at this date, peaceable Christian friends of Paul like Aristarchus and Epaphras should be put under arrest. The picture of Acts 28:16-31 has certainly no such suggestion, nor is there any indication anywhere that would make such a procedure plausible. It is too often forgotten that Paul was not himself in Rome as a prisoner of the Roman government; he is there in custody, awaiting the issue of his own voluntary appeal to Caesar. But Rome had never arrested him as an offender, never charged him with any crime, nor even made any complaint against him. In Jerusalem a Roman officer had saved him from being lynched by a Jewish mob, and in order to save his life had kept him under guard for a time. The indifference and cupidity of Felix prolonged Paul's detention intolerably until, tired of waiting, he made his appeal for imperial decision, only to hear the judgment, coming with fine irony, too late: "This man might have been set at liberty, if he had not appealed unto Caesar"! It is repeatedly insisted in Acts that Rome had no charges to make against Paul; in the strict sense he was not a Roman prisoner, for Rome had never actually put him under arrest (cf. Acts 25:25, 27; 26:31). The conditions under which he was taken to Rome (Acts 27:1-3) and settled there (28:16, 30 f.) do not make it plausible that a friend who came to visit him would be forthwith arrested. But Acts, chapter 19, describes most circumstantially a situation *in Ephesus* under which

companions of Paul might be and *actually were* arrested for no reason save their connection with him, specific mention being made of Aristarchus, Epaphras' mate as "fellow-prisoner" of Paul in the prison letters. The whole Epaphras episode irresistibly suggests Ephesus. Who was this man and why had he come to Paul? He was apparently a convert of Paul's during the apostle's Ephesian mission. Having himself received the gospel, he becomes one of Paul's helpers who were evangelizing the whole province of Asia (Acts 19:10, 22, 26; I Cor. 16:19; II Cor. 1:8; Rom. 16:5), while Paul was for the most part working in the city itself. Apparently Epaphras carries the gospel to his home town of Colossae and to the neighboring churches of the Lycus Valley, a πιστός διάκονος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, as Paul calls him (Col. 1:7), i.e., Paul's representative or proxy in this region. Epaphras has returned to Paul, whom he finds under an arrest which he himself is soon forced to share. He brings news of his work, of the churches which he has founded, and of their growth and development (Col. 1:4); he brings also their greetings and good wishes (1:8). Forced by arrest to remain, he is ἀγωνιζόμενος over his newly founded churches, that they may develop as they ought (4:12 f.); if he had been free he obviously would not have prolonged his absence. All the language of the letter indicates that Paul has for the first time heard of the founding of these churches; it is his immediate reaction to the news. He introduces himself to the Colossian Christians as one who, a stranger to them, is just cultivating their acquaintance (1:23b—2:5). He has just written a similar note to the church in the more important neighboring town of Laodicea (4:16). The phrasing of Col. 1:7 f. implies that no long interval separates the ἐμάθετε and the καὶ δηλώσας. The whole language of the letter implies that the churches are new, that Epaphras has just reported his own recent work. All the references to his work (particularly that in 1:7 f.) are absolutely incompatible with the supposition that the events in question lie five or six years back, whether known or unknown to Paul in the interim. All the moral counsels of the letter, beginning with 1:10, detailed in 3:12—4:6, especially the somewhat formal outline of Christian conduct in the domestic relationships, are such as fit an infant community, just learning to

live worthily of the gospel. The injunctions of Col. 3:5 f. posit a new group, the object of much curious questioning from pagan neighbors and friends. Anyone who will read the letter from this point of view, noting especially the language of Col. 1:4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 21 f. (ποτέ . . . νυνὶ δέ), 23; 2:1 f., 5, 6, 7; 3:7 f. (ποτέ . . . νυνὶ δέ), 9 f. (ἀπεκδυσάμενοι . . . ἐνδυσάμενοι), cannot escape the impression that a new church is addressed. Practically every one of the verses just cited contains a direct allusion to the Colossians' conversion; all this is the language of fresh and vivid reaction upon that happy event, not references back to it years later. Every reader of Colossians would have this impression if his mind were not dominated by the traditional notion that the letter was written from Rome at the end of Paul's life. Epaphras witnesses for Ephesus.

Aristarchus is with Paul (Col. 4:10; Philem., vs. 24) as *συναιχμάλωτος*. We have already seen that this word quite certainly means a real prisoner, and that Aristarchus was actually arrested in Ephesus at precisely the time required by this hypothesis (Acts 19:29). On the other hand, we do not at all know that he was in Rome when Paul was. The spring after the Ephesian *θλίψις* he was in Philippi with Paul, and went with him to Jerusalem as a delegate of his home church at Thessalonica (Acts 20:4-6). He sailed with Paul from Caesarea (Acts 27:2) on a boat that was bound for "places on the coast of Asia"; there is no indication that he was a prisoner, or that he went farther than Myra (27:5) with Paul, who was transshipped there. Indeed, the indication is that he did not, since his presence is so specifically mentioned before Myra, but is never alluded to afterward, in the very full and detailed "we-narrative" of the rest of the journey. Aristarchus was probably going home to Thessalonica. This is argued even by Lightfoot, who thinks the letters were written from Rome and must therefore bring Aristarchus later from Thessalonica to join Paul in Rome.¹ Aristarchus witnesses for Ephesus.

Tychicus (Col. 4:7) was with Paul and goes to Colossae with the letter. All that we know of him is that his home was in Asia, i.e., obviously in Ephesus, as he is grouped with Trophimus of

¹ Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 35.

Asia (Acts 20:4), who is an Ephesian (21:29). "Asia" in Acts 20:4 clearly means Ephesus, as it does, for example, in 19:22. The only other references to Tychicus are II Tim. 4:12 ("Tychicus I sent to Ephesus"), Eph. 6:21 (a repetition of Col. 4:7), and Titus 3:12 (which adds nothing). But, as an Ephesian, Tychicus witnesses for Ephesus.

Onesimus, Philemon's runaway slave, was with Paul (Col. 4:9; Philem., vs. 24). Of him Paul says (Philem., vs. 10): "I begat him in my bonds," which may be merely chronological ("I converted him since my arrest") or may perhaps more probably imply that Onesimus had himself been under arrest in the same prison with Paul; meeting the apostle under these circumstances, the slave had been won for Christ. If this be the fact it speaks decisively for Ephesus, for the conditions of Paul's detention in Rome were not such that a vagabond like a runaway slave who had been taken up by the police would be put to share his quarters. At least during the earlier part of this period Paul was living in his own hired house. But the whole Onesimus episode speaks for Ephesus. It is doubtless true that the dregs of humanity *Romam sicuti in sentinam confluxerant*, but Rome was not the only great city of the ancient world of which this was true, as it is equally true today of Paris, London, and New York. It is true of the metropolis of any country; it was assuredly true of Ephesus. It is doubtless possible that the fleeing slave, especially if he had robbed his master (Philem., vs. 18?), might make the long and expensive journey of 1,200 miles by land and sea to Rome, risking capture by the Roman *fugitivarii*, who lay in wait to arrest such runaways and hand them over to a terrible fate. It is possible; but is it probable that he would pass by Ephesus, the metropolis of his own country, 170 miles away, easily and quickly reached? "Where would a poor slave get the money to make this journey, which today would perhaps be paralleled if a boy from a St. Louis family ran away to London or Paris? And how would Paul get the means to send him such a long journey back? . . . Ephesus, on the other hand, would be a most natural destination for the escaping slave. He would make for the nearest town. . . . Onesimus' horizon would not be large. He would want to go far,

but Ephesus, of which he must have known and heard not a little, would surely be his limit. He could go the whole distance on foot. He would not need to beat the expense or risk the exposure of embarking on board a ship. He would have been more or less familiar by hearsay with Ephesus, the greatest city of Asia, while none of his fellows are likely ever to have been in Rome."¹ It would be a six weeks' journey from Rome to Colossae. Yet Paul, though a prisoner, not knowing how his appeal is to result, expects to hear how Onesimus is received by Philemon: "Yea, brother, let me have joy of thee in the Lord! Refresh my heart in Christ!" (vs. 20). He promises to repay any charges the slave may have incurred by his flight. However unlikely it may be that Philemon would send Paul any such bill, or that Paul expected him to do so, yet it is hardly probable that Paul would have so written if by the very situation he might not live to keep his pledged word, "I will repay it," indeed, might never hear again from Colossae, but die ignorant of the result of his daring experiment in sending the fugitive back to his master. He could not hear for three months at least, and what, in Rome, might not happen in three months! Psychologically, Rome is improbable as the place from which Colossians and Philemon are written. Before taking such a chance, would not Paul more naturally have written to Philemon of Onesimus' conversion, asking whether he would receive him back as "more than a slave, a brother beloved"? The great question might even rise whether the market value of the ἀχρηστος and ill-named Onesimus was such as to make it profitable to send him back 1,200 miles, a journey involving considerable expense. From every point of view, Onesimus witnesses for Ephesus.

Luke was with Paul (Col. 4:14; Philem., vs. 24). Of him almost nothing is known. But he was in all probability the writer of the "we-passages" in Acts, and therefore pretty certainly with Paul in Ephesus, for Acts 19:23-41 is so circumstantial as to bear every evidence of being taken from that source. The spring following the Ephesian θλίψις he was in Philippi with Paul (Acts 20:5), but there is no reason to believe him stationary in Philippi, since the "we" was dropped in 16:17. There is an old tradition that he

¹ Robinson, p. 184.

died and was buried in Ephesus, and his ruined tomb is shown there. On the whole, Luke witnesses for Ephesus.

Mark was with Paul (Col. 4:10; Philem., vs. 24). He did much traveling about, and was last seen going with Barnabas to Cyprus (Acts 15:39). He is starting off on a trip to central Asia Minor, specifically to Colossae. He seems to have been known in Asia (I Pet. 5:13), and in II Tim. 4:11 he is supposed to be in or near Ephesus. The tradition that associates him with Rome in his later days is probably correct, but it has no certain basis in these prison letters, and only an uncertain one in I Pet. 5:13. That he was in Rome *with Paul* is nowhere stated; Mark's evidence, very slight at best, favors Ephesus.

Of Demas and Jesus Justus (Col. 4:11, 14; Philem., vs. 24) nothing can be said, save that Demas is mentioned in a letter supposed to be sent to Ephesus (II Tim. 4:10). In default of any information about them, we could locate them equally well in Rome or Ephesus. Thus, of the ten companions of Paul named in these letters, four (Timothy, Aristarchus, Tychicus, Luke) seem quite certainly to have been in Ephesus with Paul, three (Epaphroditus, Epaphras, Onesimus) could have been there much easier than in Rome, the other three could have been there as easily as in Rome, while for no one of the ten is there *any evidence* (save inference from these letters) *that he was in Rome*, at least in Paul's time.

Psychologically, all three letters are much more intelligible if sent from Ephesus. They have an air of nearness and intimacy which is unlikely from 800 or 1,200 miles away. It is not so natural that Paul should write to churches in the east which he had never seen, like Laodicea and Colossae, from that distance. Language like that of Col. 1:3 f., 9, 24; 2:1 f., 5; 4:3 f., 7-9, is too intimate for so great a distance. These are not letters which will be six weeks in reaching their recipients. On Col. 4:13 Dibelius comments: "Wer sich die Situation vergegenwärtigt, wird nach diesem Vers unwillkürlich dazu neigen, den Abfassungsort des Briefes in der Nähe von Kol. zu setzen, also nach Ephesus . . . oder Cäsarea." Col. 2:1 expresses Paul's anxiety for those churches "that have not seen my face in the flesh." Written from Rome, this would mean all the churches of the world, not of his foundation; written from

Ephesus, it means those Asian churches which grew out of the work of his helpers during his Ephesian mission (Acts 19:10), two of which are here specified, which makes the remark perfectly natural and congruous. The letters all show too much knowledge of the situation in the churches addressed and presuppose too much knowledge by the churches of Paul's circumstances, as well as too much intercourse, to be written from so distant a place as Rome. Phil. 1:12-14 indicates that the Philippians knew about Paul's general situation (*τὰ κατ'ἐμέ*) and were concerned for the issue. Paul assures them that, contrary to their expectation (*μᾶλλον*), the issue has been favorable to the cause. Paul knows about details in Philippi, for example, the quarreling women (4:2). Phil. 2:19 must be written to a place that can be quickly reached. The message that Timothy is to bear to Philippi is likely to be the news that Paul is sentenced to death (2:17); under such circumstances would he send Timothy off 800 and more miles, on a journey which would keep him absent two months, "that I may be of good comfort when I know your state"? It would be most unlikely that Timothy's return would find him alive, to be cheered by any good news from Philippi. To be sure Paul is here too "smiling through his tears"; that he might live to welcome Timothy back is but a hope, yet if he were sentenced to die, Timothy would assuredly not go off on a two months' trip until all was over.

In Col. 1:24 Paul speaks of his *παθήματα*, not hitherto alluded to, as something already known to his readers; he does not explain the circumstances, just because they are already known. The reference is probably primarily to his imprisonment, but this is first mentioned in 4:3 ("for which I am also in bonds"), then in 4:10 ("Aristarchus my fellow-prisoner"), and finally in 4:18 ("Remember my bonds"). No one of these three references states the fact of his imprisonment as a matter of information, but all allude to it as to something already familiar, just as Philem., vss. 1, 9, 10, 13, 22, 23, assume that Philemon knows all about the circumstances. *Παθήματα*, however, is a strong word to be used for imprisonment alone; it connotes such *θλίψις* as Paul endured in Ephesus, to which we find direct reference in Gal. 6:17, the *στίγματα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματί μου*, which come from the *πληγαί, φύλακαι* of II Cor. 6:5,

perhaps also from the *θηρωμαχέω* of I Cor. 15:32. These are the most probable antecedents of the "sufferings" of Col. 1:24. In II Cor. 1:5-7 Paul uses this very word *παθήματα* thrice of those Ephesian experiences whose shadow falls so dark across all the joy of the "reconciliation letter." Col. 1:24-29 connects Paul's present sufferings directly with his missionary preaching. This might of course be said of his imprisonment in Rome, since his original arrest in Jerusalem, three or four years earlier, had been the outcome of his work as a Christian apostle. But it could be said with very much more truth and meaning of an imprisonment in Ephesus, after an arrest on the charge of "persuading and turning away much people" from the official cults of that city, an arrest growing out of the protest of the silversmiths and the riot that followed (Acts, chap. 19). Written from Rome, the words are a bit rhetorical; vss. 28 f. are rather the utterance of a man who has very recently been actively preaching and is now in duress as a direct and immediate result—"for which I am also in bonds" (4:3). Col. 4:8 gives a very specific statement of the purpose of sending Tychicus to Colossae. His carrying of the letter and his conveying of Onesimus are secondary; because he is going to Colossae he is given the letter to carry and Onesimus is sent in his company. Tychicus is sent "for this very purpose, that ye may know our state, and that he may comfort your hearts." The purpose is a worthy one, and would explain the sending out of a messenger from Ephesus to an Asian town a couple of hundred miles away; it is certainly far less likely that a man would be sent 1,200 miles to a strange church at so critical a time on so general an errand.

The reference to Mark in Col. 4:10 deserves another word. He is going on a mission to the churches of central Asia Minor and is likely to come also to Colossae. It is much more likely that Paul would send such a messenger to the Asian churches from Ephesus, while he was still in that city at the head of the Asiatic mission, than that he should do so four or five years later from so distant a point as Rome, after he had practically severed his connection with the eastern churches. Paul knows that instructions have already been given at Colossae (by Epaphras?) concerning Mark and the purpose of his visit, to which instructions the apostle

here adds the support of his word of commendation. Since Mark is with Paul and Epaphras (or someone else) has notified the Colossians of his intended coming, Paul and Mark are probably fairly near Colossae, not 1,200 miles away at Rome, with no intercourse with that place save by a six weeks' journey of a special courier. There has been much speculation as to Mark's errand. We have no data for answering the question, but it has been conjectured that he was engaged in raising a collection.¹ This is possible; the language would fit this situation (cf. II Cor. 8:23 f.), and if it should be the correct explanation it would speak decisively for Ephesus as the place of writing. For it was in the Ephesian period that Paul was engaged in raising the collection for Jerusalem through his deputies (such as Titus in Cor.), and it has notable mention in the letters of that time. We know that the church in Philippi responded nobly to the collection and won Paul's enthusiastic praise, spoken of at length in II Cor. 8:1-5 (cf. also 9:1-5), written from Philippi. If Philippians was written from Rome, i.e., later than the date of II Corinthians, chapters 1-9, it is rather strange that Paul makes no allusion to this earlier generosity of theirs, especially since he is specifically writing about their raising of money (Phil. 4:10-18). Further, since the Ephesian days, Paul had been twice in Philippi, once at least for a visit of some length (Acts 20:1-6), yet the letter has no hint of any visit save when he founded the church. If the letter comes from Ephesus, collection and visits are still in the future. It has been objected that if the letter came from Ephesus it would take up the matter of the collection in Philippi, at which Paul was just then working, as the letters to Corinth do.² But the collection is unmentioned in Galatians, which comes from the same period, though we know that contributions were made in Galatia (I Cor. 16:1). The orders about the collection, both to Galatia and Philippi, had obviously been given prior to the extant letters to those churches, which have their special occasions.

¹ H. Ewald, *Die Sendschreiben d. Ap. Paulus* (1857), p. 466; Holtzmann, *Kritik der Eph.- und Kol.-briefe* (1872), p. 283 ("vielleicht"); Klöpper, *ad loc.*, "vielleicht eine neue Kollekte," but not probable.

² Maurice Jones, *Commentary on Philippians*, Intro., p. xxxiv.

(To be concluded)

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE

AN INTERPRETATION OF ECCLESIASTES¹

This is an interesting, instructive book by a competent scholar who handles his materials in a large way, presenting in a clear, living fashion the outline of Hebrew literature as a preparation for the statement of the problems connected with the Book of Ecclesiastes. One hundred and ninety-five pages of this volume are devoted to (1) the nature of Hebrew literature and the course of its development; (2) the place of Ecclesiastes in the literature, various considerations showing its lateness, and (3) an exposition of "The Gentle Cynic's" philosophy of life, or, in other words, a systematic examination of the teaching in these parts that our author regards as original. In the remaining pages of the book we have a translation of this "Original Koheleth," and this is followed by an appendix containing the various commentaries: (1) "The Pious," (2) "The Maxim," and (3) "The Miscellaneous" interpolations. The real question that remains in connection with Ecclesiastes is that of its integrity, for by all who follow modern critical methods its date and place in Hebrew literature are settled by its language, its literary characters, and its philosophic style. In 1895 Dr. E. J. Dillon (*The Sceptics of the Old Testament*) published a rearrangement and translation, following Bickell's suggestion that the original leaves of the book had been mixed (see Jastrow, p. 125). Wildeboer and others, rejecting Dr. P. Haupt's radical reconstruction, have still found an underlying unity. Siegfried, with K¹, K², K³, K⁴ (Pessimist, Sadducee, Pharisee, Proverbialist), and other interpolations and editors carried analysis to an extreme. McNeille and Barton have not gone to any such lengths, but have felt themselves compelled to accept the position that the only way to solve the contradictions and harsh transitions is to accept the principle that in order that the book might gain an entrance to the sacred canon it had to submit to radical revision. Dr Jastrow takes his stand on this position and gives a genial sympathetic exposition of a writer whom, like Renan,

¹ *A Gentle Cynic. Being the Book of Ecclesiastes.* By Morris Jastrow, Jr. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1919. 256 pages. \$2.00.

he finds "charming" and "amiable." From its own standpoint, which we cannot now discuss in detail, his book is a most successful and charming piece of work.

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FOLKLORE IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

The three stately volumes of Sir James Frazer on *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*¹ raise expectations which they do not altogether fulfil. A work with such a title by the gifted author of *The Golden Bough* and of such generous proportions naturally leads the reader to suppose that he is at last in possession of all the available data upon the subject. An analysis of the contents of the book will indicate how far this is from being the case. There are some 1,620 pages of reading-matter and an index of 85 pages. These 1,620 pages are distributed into four parts: "The Early Ages of the World," Vol. I, pp. 3-387; "The Patriarchal Age," Vol. I, pp. 391-569, and Vol. II, pp. 1-434; "The Times of the Judges and Kings," Vol. II, pp. 437-571, and Vol. III, pp. 1-90; "The Law," Vol. III, pp. 93-480.

It would seem as if under these four rubrics and in the abundant space allotted to them all the folklore in the Old Testament could be included. But what have we actually got? In Part I but five topics are discussed: "The Creation," "The Fall," "The Mark of Cain," "The Flood," and "The Tower of Babel." But of the 385 pages assigned to this part, 258 are given to "The Flood" alone. In Part II ten topics are covered: "The Covenant of Abraham," "The Heirship of Jacob or Ultimogeniture," "Jacob and the Kidskins or the New Birth," "Jacob at Bethel," "Jacob at the Well," "Jacob's Marriage," "Jacob and the Mandrakes," "The Covenant of the Cairn," "Jacob at the Ford of the Jabbok," and "Joseph's Cup." But of the 600 odd pages devoted to this part, nearly 400 are given to the two subjects of ultimogeniture, or the right of the youngest son (138 pages), and Jacob's marriage (248 pages). In these two monographs, for that is what they are, the author has wandered far away from his immediate field. Nearly half of the first of these is taken up with a discussion of the meaning of the *jus primæ noctis*, which has to do with an ecclesiastical custom in the Middle Ages. The excuse for this digression is the fact that the

Folk-Lore in the Old Testament. By James George Frazer. New York: Macmillan, 1919. 3 vols. xxv+569, xxi+571, xviii+566 pages. \$15.00.

"right" has been used (incorrectly) to explain the rise of ultimogeniture. What Sir James has to say upon this subject is both interesting and informing, but it has really nothing to do with the Old Testament. The same is true, in even a greater degree, of the second monograph. Advantage is taken of the fact that Jacob married cousins and sisters to give a highly technical though absolutely exhaustive discussion of cousin-marriage and the marriage with a wife's sister (for which Sir James suggests the name "sororate marriage" as an analogous term to the levirate). The study will prove undoubtedly most valuable to all investigators of the institution of marriage, but the length of it does seem a bit out of proportion to the biblical fact which it is supposed to illustrate.

In Part III there is a more varied series of topics: "Moses in the Ark of Bulrushes" (giving accounts of the exposure of celebrated men in their infancy, with a suggestion that such exposure may be a reminiscence of a water ordeal to test legitimacy); "The Passage through the Red Sea," "The Waters of Meribah," and "Gideon's Men" (three chapters of 13 pages); "Jotham's Fable" (a delightful little chapter containing stories of rivalries between trees, with a full citation of Callimachus' beautiful poem on the debate between the laurels and the olive, recently discovered among the Oxyrrhynchus papyri); "Samson and Delilah"; "The Bundle of Life" (I Sam. 25:29); "The Witch of Endor" (an excursus on necromancy); "The Sin of a Census" (instructive examples of the fear among primitive peoples of being counted or of having their possessions counted); "Solomon and the Queen of Sheba" (stories collected from Josephus, later Jewish literature, the Koran, the Celebes, etc.); "The Judgment of Solomon" (with a parallel from Jain literature); "The Keepers of the Threshold"; "The Bird Sanctuary" (Ps. 84:3); "Elijah and the Ravens"; "Sacred Oaks and Terebinths" and "The High Places of Israel" (two chapters which give a convenient résumé of customs, especially in the Semitic world); "The Silent Widow" (on the supposition that the Hebrew word for "widow" and "dumb" may be etymologically related analogies are adduced from savage peoples who enjoin silence on widows); "Jehovah and the Lions" (II Kings, chap. 17); and "Jonah and the Whale." Only a page and a half are given to Jonah, with one illustration from New Guinea. At this point there is the most painful *lacuna* in the book. Surely Sir James, who has pondered over so many quaint and curious volumes of forgotten lore, cannot be ignorant of Hans Schmidt's *Jona!* To give so large an amount of space to rehearsing the Flood stories,

with which even the general reader is more or less familiar, and to ignore the equally interesting Jonah stories which Schmidt has collected and which are probably largely unknown is, to say the least, unfortunate.

It is in Part IV, which deals with the Law, that we would expect the greatest amount of illustration in a work dealing with folklore, for much of the ritual law is imbedded in the most primitive customs and ideas. Sir James subsumes what he has to say on the Law under seven topics: "The Place of the Law in Jewish History" (a summary of the critical view of the Old Testament, but which with a very doubtful historical judgment upon the religious value of high places as contrasted with a central sanctuary, Vol. III, p. 105, and a somewhat romantic view of the beauty of such worship, Vol. III, p. 106, to both of which opinions Hosea, chap. 4, may serve as an antidote); "The Command Not to Seethe a Kid in Its Mother's Milk"; "Boring a Servant's Ear"; "Cuttings for the Dead"; "The Bitter Water"; "The Ox That Gored," and "The Golden Bells."

It is clear from the foregoing analysis that we do not have in this work a methodical study of the folklore in the Old Testament. It is rather significant that, while the topical index leaves nothing to be desired, there is actually no index of Scripture passages. The book is for the most part a collection of essays on a comparatively few topics. Judged by the natural cravings of the Old Testament student, the book must accordingly be pronounced somewhat disappointing. Yet even in the act of passing this criticism I feel that an apology is almost due for making it. The book is so charmingly written and contains such a vast amount of interesting folklore material that it seems almost ungenerous to test it by its title. And perhaps in one way the title is justified after all. Sir James has contrived to weave about certain biblical stories or ideas or expressions so firm a texture of primitive thought and practice that it is impossible for one who has read the book any longer to separate the Old Testament from the strange world out of which it grew. This result is due in large measure to the artistic element which is so strong in Sir James Frazer's writings. The work as a whole is not simply a thesaurus for research students but a work of art. Judged from this point of view there is justification of the extended descriptions of biblical scenes and Palestinian scenery which abound in the book (see for example Vol. II, pp. 41, 79, 81, 410, 503, 507, etc.), and which from a purely professional and technical point of view could all have been dispensed with. The only regret is that these

descriptions, beautifully painted as they are, are not the result of personal observations, but are taken from the palettes of Robinson, Tristram, Sir George Adam Smith, and others (contrast the description of the scene at Panopeus in Phocis which the author saw himself, Vol. I, p. 6).

To turn from the general character of the work to a criticism of details, I can choose only a few specimens out of the wealth of material provided to illustrate the qualities of the book. Sir James gives us a new interpretation of the fall of man. He is troubled by the character of Jahweh as presented in the second and third chapters of Genesis. Jahweh is seemingly reluctant to give immortality to man. He is jealous of man's equalization with God, which this would imply. The story is therefore held to be a distorted form of a more original tale in which Jahweh appears in a better light. The entire blame for the loss of immortality is now laid, not on man's disobedience or God's jealousy, but on the deception by the serpent. Two motifs are supposed to underlie this original of the story, the motif of the change of skin and the motif of "the perverted message." Among primitive peoples animals like the snake or the crab, which change their skin, are supposed to be endowed with immortality. Again, the loss of immortality has often been explained by the fact that some animal or other agent who was commissioned by the deity to announce the gift of immortality to man has perverted his message. Accordingly it is suggested that the two trees in Eden were originally a tree of life and a tree of death (the critical view that the two trees belong to two different sources is rejected). God commanded the serpent to tell man that he must eat of the tree of life and not eat of the tree of death. The serpent reversed this message (a most perverted message indeed!). The man ate of the tree of death and lost his immortality, while the sly serpent ate of the tree of life and so was enabled to change his skin and live forever. The stories cited to illustrate the two motifs are interesting and suggestive, especially the idea of immortality as associated with the change of skin, which may help to account for the demonic quality attributed to the serpent and the ready acquiescence of the woman in the serpent's promise, to which Sir James does not allude. But are these primitive motifs which are *not* found in the Genesis story better able to account for it than the primitive motif of the jealousy of the gods which *is* found in it? The explanation of the mark of Cain as a mark to frighten away the victim's ghost appears to have much to commend it in the parallels adduced, in which homicides blacken their faces, tattoo or disguise themselves in various ways for this purpose. The additional

advantage which Sir James finds in this explanation, that it relieves the absurdity of God putting a mark on Cain to protect him from human assailants when there was nobody living at that time to attack him, is doubtful. Has Sir James forgotten that Cain built a city, according to the same passage? To attempt in this way to avoid "the irreverence of imputing to the deity a grave lapse of memory little in keeping with divine omnipotence" is to adopt an apologetic point of view little in harmony with the spirit of these early stories.

A much more convincing essay is the one upon the meaning of Gen. 15:17 (the covenant with Abraham). Have we here a retributive or a sacramental theory of sacrifice? Striking analogies to both theories are adduced, and it is maintained in accordance with these that there were two parts in the rite, the dividing of the victim, which expresses the retributory idea (may the one who breaks the covenant be thus cut in two), and the passing between the parts of the victim, which is intended to symbolize the sacramental union of the covenanter with the sacrifice, just as in the more primitive forms practiced among the Baralong of South Africa the parties to a contract would crawl through the hole made in the stomach of the sacrificial ox (Vol. I, p. 397). Incidentally, possible light is thrown upon the bisected skeletons of a boy and girl at Gezer by the custom of the Wachaga tribe in East Africa of solemnizing a covenant by cutting a boy and girl in two and burying the four halves at the boundaries of two districts (Vol. I, p. 423). Gen. 27:15, 16 gives occasion for the description of many customs connected with sacrificial skins and new births. Thus the Gallas cover a child's neck and wrists with the sacrificial fat and skins at adoption (Vol. II, p. 7). On the basis of this and much similar evidence it is suggested that in the original story of Genesis, chapter 27, the kidskins were used in a ritual that was observed when a younger son was advanced to the position of the first-born. The author of the present form of the story is supposed to have completely misunderstood the ancient ritual. While there is possibly more to be said for Sir James's interpretation of this passage than for his view of the original meaning of the Fall, still I doubt whether it will be generally adopted by scholars. At least the apologetic use of it in Volume II, page 2, will scarcely be accepted.

Much instructive material is collected on the worship of sacred stones in the chapter on Jacob at Bethel, and it is interesting to observe how Sir James seems to feel the difference between the massebah at Bethel which Jacob anointed and the baetyls of the Greek writers

(Vol. II, pp. 76, 77). But he does not seem to be acquainted with Professor G. F. Moore's exhaustive and conclusive discussion of this subject in the *Journal of the Archaeological Institute of America*, (Vol. VII, No. 2, pp. 198 ff.), which shows that the massebahs, and baetyls were not the same in spite of Gen. 28:19.

There is an informing discussion of Jacob's wrestling with the angel, a "jinnee" of the river, and many instances of propitiations of spirits in rivers and at fords are cited. But when, on the basis of Greek stories of the metamorphoses of water-spirits in their struggles with various heroes, the suggestion is made that the wind, fire, and earthquake in the original narrative of the Horeb vision may have been similar disguises assumed by a reluctant deity, fancy would seem to have prevailed over sober interpretation. The interpretation of the Samson stories as a solar myth is rejected, a "Humpty-Dumpty" theory, which has been set up only to be knocked down again. The strength in the long locks of Samson and the betrayal of Samson by Delilah both have interesting analogies in the folklore of other peoples. Two very instructive chapters are those on "The Bundle of Life" (I Sam. 25:29) and "The Sin of a Census." The expression "bundle of life" is connected with the very materialistic conception of the soul entertained by many primitive peoples, according to which the soul can be extracted from an individual and even bound up with other souls, a theory developed at length in the author's *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul* (compare the *churinga* of the Australian Aruntas, Vol. II, pp. 508 ff.). The interpretation in this connection of Ezek. 13:17-21 as a reference to witches attempting to catch souls in cloths, and the explanation of the phrase נֶפֶשׁ בְּיָדַי as "soul boxes" or amulets in which the well-to-do ladies of Jerusalem may have kept their souls, are certainly attractive. The collection of various superstitions concerning the threshold throws light on the functions of "the keepers of the threshold" at Jer. 35:4. Compare Marco Polo's description of the keepers of the threshold at the palace of Kublai Khan and the Mongol saying, "Step not on the threshold; it is sin" (cf. Zeph. 1:9, Vol. III, pp. 2 and 4). A number of parallels are cited to the birds nesting at the altar, the idea being that the sanctuary protects the birds. But the textual difficulties at Ps. 84:3 are ignored, and the divergent view which regards the presence of birds about a sanctuary as a defilement is unnoticed. Josephus tells us of the provision made to keep the birds from alighting upon and defiling the temple roof (*Bell.* v. 5. 6). A Japanese student once quoted the Japanese proverb to me: "Where there is a swallow, there is no

God." No exact parallels are adduced to the command not to seethe a kid in its mother's milk, but many curious milk taboos among pastoral peoples are cited, especially the custom of not boiling milk and the custom of not eating flesh and milk together. The idea, based on sympathetic magic, seems to be that the milk would be in some way injured by these practices, and that this would involve injury to the herd. The prohibition at Exod. 23:19 may well have been such a milk taboo, whose infraction would injure the herd. The importance of such a law for a pastoral people would easily account for its presence in the earlier form of the Decalogue (Exod. 34:26).

The custom of boring a slave's ear furnished a text for a treatise on various forms of mutilation among savage peoples, which is continued in the chapter on "Cuttings for the Dead." The climax of these gruesome details is found in the chapter on the "Bitter Water" (Numbers 5), to which the poison ordeal as practiced in Africa offers many striking analogies. To offset the horrors assembled in these three chapters the work closes with two chapters of a very different character. The one on "The Ox That Gored" cites many quaint and humorous instances, principally from Europe in the late Middle Ages, of animals formally tried and condemned at law. The last chapter on the golden bells of the high priest's robe discusses the belief in the power of bells and gongs to drive away evil spirits. The paragraphs that treat of the superstitions connected with the ringing of church bells are among the most charming in the book.

In the chapter on the Tower of Babel an Ashantee story is cited (Vol. I, p. 378) of how once upon a time men attempted to scale heaven by piling a lot of porridge pestles one on top of the other, till all were used up and the sky was not yet reached. Then a wise man stood up and suggested that they take the lowest pestle and put it on the top and keep on doing so "till we arrive at God"! As one reads the pathetic strivings of primitive man to find God, it seems as hopeless an undertaking as the Ashantee attempt. Yet in the course of time there were to arise men like Isaiah, St. Paul, St. Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, and Luther, who *did* find God, and though speaking in diverse tongues, confused and stammering, yet were able to tell us of their great discovery and point out to us the way of access to Him who bears with our follies as well as pardons our sins.

KEMPER FULLERTON

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PREPARING THE WAY

Streatfeild's little book on *The Influence of Judaism of the Greek Period on the Earliest Developments of Christianity*¹ is a very useful survey. It covers a field in which most important investigations are being conducted by many scholars and real discoveries made.

The "Life and Thought" of the period are discussed in three chapters. The first is on "Politics and Propaganda," two subjects connected more by alliteration than logic. The effect of the Jews' political relations upon their religion, the influence of the "Dispersion," and the progress of proselytizing are the subjects treated.

In chapter ii, on "Worship and Education," the development of the Synagogue, of Sabbath laws, of the Canon and use of Scripture, and of the Pharisees is discussed. Chapter iii deals with "Apocalyptic Thought and Literature," treating the works themselves and certain prominent features of apocalyptic belief such as "Heaven and Hell," "Judgment and Resurrection," "Angels," "Demons," and the "Son of Man."

Part II, entitled "Language," contains three detached studies, the first of which is a discussion, well worth reading, of the "Lingua Franca" of the age, the Koine. Chapter v, on "The Question of Canonicity," discusses the formation of the Old Testament Canon and the character of the apocryphal writings. Chapter vi offers a most useful series of parallels exhibiting the use of Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in the New Testament.

The brief discussions under these various topics, showing how the New Testament writers take up and carry on the ideas which the Apocrypha had evolved, are especially helpful. Mr. Streatfeild, partly by the very brevity of his survey, has succeeded in conveying the right impression with regard to the continuity of development from Judaism into Christianity. The appendixes are a very useful collection of materials for detailed study. In general the book, though fragmentary, is a valuable summary of progress.

No writer could cover such a large field without expressing opinions from which others would dissent. Was there really a Pharisaic type of apocalyptic (p. 46), or was Pharisaism decidedly non-apocalyptic in temper and sympathies? In discussing the title "Son of Man" Mr. Streatfeild shows no evidence of having heard the suggestion that the

¹ *Preparing the Way: The Influence of Judaism of the Greek Period on the Earliest Developments of Christianity*. By Frank Streatfeild. New York: Macmillan, 1918. xix+205 pages. \$1.25.

one who appears on the clouds of heaven with the Ancient of Days in Daniel was an angel (p. 73). Had Judaism ever reached the masses in the Roman Empire so that they really had lost faith in paganism (p. 86)? Was not one of the difficulties the early Christian preachers faced just this, that many words and phrases which they understood in one way owing to their Jewish training and use of the Septuagint were understood differently by their gentile hearers (p. 52)?

These questions serve to call attention to the numerous unsettled problems which make this one of the most fascinating fields of New Testament research.

C. C. McCOWN

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THE STYLE AND LITERARY METHOD OF LUKE

In this study¹ of the diction of the Third Gospel and of Acts, prepared as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Harvard University, Professor Cadbury treats the following topics: "The Size of Luke's Vocabulary," "Literary Standard of the Vocabulary," and "The Alleged Medical Language of Luke," adding an excursus, "Medical Terms in Lucian." Luke's vocabulary contains 2,697 words; Paul's, 2,170 (p. 3) or 2,180 (p. 2).

In discussing the second topic Dr. Cadbury classifies Luke's vocabulary from *a* to *e* and finds, of the 475 words of the Gospel and Acts considered to be significant, 29 per cent to be common Attic words, 6 per cent to be words used chiefly by one writer before Aristotle, 18 per cent to be words chiefly found in poetry, 42 per cent to be words found in post-classical prose, including Aristotle, and 5 per cent to be words first appearing in Luke.

Under the third topic he takes up the theory advanced by Hobart in 1882 and subsequently widely adopted, that technical medical terms and professional interest appear so abundantly in Luke's writings as to prove that their author was a Greek physician. Postulating that "examples of medical language in an author in order to have their fullest weight should be words that are used elsewhere only or mainly in medical writers," Dr. Cadbury shows that, of the 400 terms cited by Hobart, 80 per cent are found in LXX and 90 per cent in Josephus.

¹*The Style and Literary Method of Luke. Part I, The Diction of Luke and Acts.* Harvard Theological Studies VI. By Henry J. Cadbury. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1919. 72 pages. \$1.25.

As a test case he examines in an excursus a section of Lucian and finds medical terms as frequent there as in Luke. Moreover, he finds Matthew and Mark use a considerable number of medical terms that do not appear in Luke, and in some instances evince more interest in professional detail than does Luke. He concludes, therefore, that "the style of Luke bears no more evidence of medical interest than does the language of other writers who were not physicians."

Though, as Professor Cadbury agrees, it is hardly possible to prove that Luke cannot have been a physician, he has clearly shown that the arguments of Hobart and his followers do not prove that he was one. In so doing he has refuted a theory on which Hobart spent a lifetime and which has been widely accepted for nearly forty years.

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SPIRIT, SOUL, AND FLESH¹

The author of this scholarly monograph, who is the head of the department of New Testament literature and interpretation in the University of Chicago, says that he has not undertaken to write "a history of the psychology and anthropology of the Semites and the Greeks" (p. 5). His purpose is the more modest one of laying "a lexicographical foundation for the interpretation of *πνεῦμα*, *ψυχή*, and *σάρξ*, more especially of *πνεῦμα* and *σάρξ* in their relation to one another, in the New Testament" (p. 5). In order to do this, he has made a thorough and careful study of the words for spirit, soul, and flesh in the Old Testament and in Greek writings down to the year 180 of the Christian Era. He begins with Homer and ends with the Hermetic literature. The method employed reminds one of Diels's *Elementum*.

The material collected by Dr. Burton is abundant, but he does not claim that it is exhaustive except in the case of the Old and New Testaments and the Apocrypha. Hebrew, Greek, and Latin passages are given in the original and in translation. The rendering of them is sometimes somewhat free, and in some instances the reviewer would prefer a different translation. For example, he would render the latter part of the well-known Potidaean inscription (p. 30), "having put their souls in the balance, received fame in exchange and glorified their country," rather than "sacrificing their souls [lives?], exchanged them

¹*Spirit, Soul, and Flesh*. By Ernest DeWitt Burton. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1918. 214 pages. \$2.00.

for virtue and glorified their country." In John 4:24 (p. 182), *πνεῦμα ὁ θεός*, being a description of the nature of God, should be translated "God is spirit," not "God is a spirit." Again, in the rendering of Gen. 12:13 (p. 66), *בְּעִבְיָךְ*, "for thy sake," is omitted. Moreover, since Jesus spoke Aramaic rather than Greek, the present writer thinks that *ἀνάπαυσιν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν* in Matt. 11:29 means "rest for yourselves," not "rest for your souls" (p. 183). So, too, in Syriac "soul" is regularly used for "self," as in Mark 3:26, where Satan is spoken of as rising up "against his soul" (*ܐܢܬܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ* = *ἐφ' ἑαυτόν*). The Old Syriac and the Peshitta agree at this point.

It is of course impossible within the limits of this brief review to summarize Professor Burton's conclusions concerning the meaning of spirit, soul, and flesh in Hebrew and Greek literature. We must confine ourselves to his findings in regard to the use of these terms in the New Testament.

The use of *πνεῦμα*, *ψυχή*, and *σάρξ* in the New Testament is more closely related to the usage of Jewish-Greek and Old Testament writers than it is to that of Greek authors in general. Nevertheless, the New Testament use of these words is distinctive—especially as regards *πνεῦμα* and *σάρξ*, and the distinctive characteristics are most prominent in Paul. The exaltation of *πνεῦμα* over *ψυχή*, the use of *πνεῦμα* as a generic term for incorporeal beings, the clear distinction between the charismatic and the ethical work of the Spirit, the extension of the meaning of *σάρξ*, and the antithesis of *πνεῦμα* and *σάρξ*—these are the salient points in the apostle's use of the terms. *Σάρξ* in Paul has an ethical as well as a physical sense. The flesh is a force that makes for evil and needs to be counteracted by the power of the divine Spirit, but it is not evil *per se*. A corporeal being is not *ipso facto* a sinful being. The other writers of the New Testament differ from Paul and among themselves in certain respects, but the reviewer must not attempt to summarize Dr. Burton's discussion of their views.

The author of this monograph has made an important contribution to New Testament scholarship. His spirit is scientific and impartial. Lexicographical studies of this sort form the necessary foundation for any real knowledge of biblical ideas, and it is not too much to say that anyone who undertakes to write on biblical psychology or anthropology in the future will find this book indispensable for the subjects which it treats. An index in four parts makes it possible to find readily any passage quoted or discussed in the work.

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HASTINGS' DICTIONARY OF THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH¹

The first volume of this valuable work was reviewed by the present writer in the *American Journal of Theology*, XXI, 297 ff. It is not necessary to repeat what was there said concerning the purpose, scope, and general character of the dictionary. It is sufficient to remark that the second volume, which completes the work, is in all respects a worthy sequel and companion to the first. Scholars will miss references to certain books of recent date; but these apparent omissions are doubtless due to the fact that most of the articles were written before the outbreak of the world-war. There are three indexes similar to those at the end of the *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*. In the matter of proof-reading and typography the *Dictionary of the Apostolic Church*, like the other works edited by Dr. Hastings, leaves little to be desired. However, the reviewer has noted several errors in the printing of Greek and Hebrew words.²

One of the most vital questions connected with the history of early Christianity is that concerning the influence of the mystery cults on the new religion when it emerged from Palestine and came into contact with the Graeco-Roman world. A few scholars go so far as to call Christianity a mystery religion, while others stoutly maintain that it was only superficially affected by the oriental cults, at least in the early stages of its development. On this question Dr. W. M. Groton writes as follows (p. 62ab):

On the whole, the mystery-religions exercised but a slight influence on the oldest Christianity. . . . St. Paul would naturally use the ordinary religious speech of his day, but the ideas expressed in it by him were not the ideas of the mystery-religions. They bore another character and breathed a different spirit. In its early ceremonies and customs Christianity gave no indication that it was a mystery-religion. . . . Christianity can hardly be called a mystery-religion even of a higher order, and they who thus designate it have deceived themselves concerning the actual potency of the mystery-religions over it, or have forgotten the steady dominance and persistence of an inherited nature.

Paul conceives of Christ as a pre-existent divine being who came into the world to effect man's redemption, and with whom believers are

¹ *Dictionary of the Apostolic Church*. Edited by James Hastings. New York: Scribner, 1918. Vol. II. xii+724 pages. \$6.00.

² P. 31b, ἐθε for ἐθε; p. 33b, οἶκος for οἶκος; p. 447a, שמרון for שמרון; p. 454a, βουλευτης for βουλευτής; p. 473b, τινα for τινα; יהשורן for יהשורן; p. 503b, דוד for דוד; p. 594a, δέκαται for δέκαται.

united in mystical fellowship. Can this conception of Christ and the Christ-worship that prevailed in the Pauline churches be explained apart from Hellenistic mysticism? Moreover, are there no traces of sacramentalism in the apostle's view of baptism and the Lord's Supper? The present writer believes that Pauline Christianity should not be classed with the mystery religions because its basic principle is faith; but it also seems to him impossible to deny that Paul's thinking was influenced in certain important respects by the Hellenistic environment in which he lived and worked.

Another question confronting the student of early Christianity is that of the relation between Jesus and Paul. This is a matter of prime importance, and it has been discussed from various points of view in recent years. Dr. James Stalker gives his opinion in the following words (p. 157a):

It cannot be denied that there was a vast difference between Jesus' mode of both conceiving and stating the truth and St. Paul's; but the latter's modes of expression can generally be translated back, without difficulty, into those of Jesus, and the two views of the world do not exhibit serious discrepancies, when it is taken into account that the one speaker is conscious of being the Saviour and the other of having been saved.

But can the fundamental differences in the *Weltanschauungen* of Paul and Jesus be satisfactorily accounted for in this way, and are not many of the categories which the apostle uses entirely foreign to the thinking of his Master? There was a deep chasm between Judaism and the gentile world; and Paul, being a man of great originality and profound insight, interpreted Jesus to the Gentiles in terms which they could readily understand. "I am become all things to all men, that I may by all means save some." Indeed, it was to this very fact that his success as a missionary among the non-Jewish population of the Roman Empire was chiefly due.

There are two admirable articles on Peter and the Petrine Epistles by Dr. S. J. Case. The crux in connection with First Peter is the question of authorship and date. The testimonies to the Petrine authorship of the epistle in early Christian literature are mentioned, the critical objections to it are stated, and the various ways in which defenders of the traditional position have attempted to meet them are set forth. The hypothesis that Silvanus was associated with Peter in the composition of the epistle is also given. The writer of the article, however, does not commit himself on the question of authorship. As regards the date, there are at least three possibilities, and each is

discussed in turn. From the standpoint of the persecutions, Dr. Case inclines to the view that First Peter was written in the reign of Trajan and during the early days of Pliny's régime as governor of Bithynia. Then it must be regarded as a pseudonymous or anonymous work. But he allows that this result is not certain, because the date cannot be determined apart from the vexed question of authorship. The two are bound up together, and the verdict is *non liquet*. Probably this is the wisest as well as the safest conclusion that can be reached in this perplexing matter. Second Peter is held—rightly in the opinion of the reviewer—to be a pseudepigraphon belonging to "that body of literature which grew up around the name of Peter (*Gospel, Preaching, Apocalypse*) about the middle of the second century" (p. 208*b*). Asia Minor is favored as the place of composition.

The authors of the articles represent various points of view, and they sometimes express different opinions on the same question. For example, Dr. Stalker holds that the Pastoral Epistles were written by Paul near the end of a long life (pp. 143*b* f.); whereas Dr. R. A. Falconer, on account of certain notable similarities between these epistles and the Lucan writings, thinks that Luke "had a large share" in the composition of the Pastorals (p. 593*b*). Such differences of opinion are inevitable, and they will serve to stimulate study and thought on the part of discriminating readers.

Dr. Hastings and the learned men who have collaborated with him are to be congratulated on the completion of a large and exacting task. They have produced a useful and scholarly work of reference. Moreover, the editor's object has been attained; for the *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels* and the *Dictionary of the Apostolic Church*, each in two volumes, form together "a complete and independent Dictionary of the New Testament."

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THEOLOGY AMONG THE SCIENCES

Nothing is more needed today than the endeavor described by the title of Professor Macintosh's latest book.¹ Our age is becoming more and more accustomed to what is known as the "empirical" method of discovering what ought to be believed on any subject. There is

¹ *Theology as an Empirical Science*. By Douglas Clyde Macintosh. New York: Macmillan, 1919. xvi+270 pages. \$2.00.

widespread uncertainty and hesitation concerning religious beliefs because these have not been presented in a way to be convincing to those who are touched by the scientific spirit. If theological beliefs can be set forth by a method of inquiry similar to that employed in constructing the doctrines of the sciences, much perplexity and paralysis of effort will be prevented on the part of the present generation of thoughtful students.

It is true that for some time theologians have appealed to "experience" as the source for theology, hoping thus to avoid the appearance of begging the entire question, as would be the case in a simple reproduction of "authoritative" doctrines. But "experience" is a vague word; and Professor Macintosh rightly feels that a theology which simply transcribes the content of selected experiences is too subjective to rank as a genuine science. Science is concerned, not to describe experience, but to set forth an accurate knowledge of the objective reality which we experience. When a theology contents itself with the exposition of "values" or "experiences," it "assumes not only that something which ought to be *believed* for some particular purpose, therefore ought to *be*; it goes on to assume that this which *ought* to be, therefore *is*. Herein lies its dogmatism" (p. 24).

In other words, Professor Macintosh proposes that theology shall be just as realistic as are the sciences which interpret the physical world. Not the *ideas* of religion, but the real *object* of religious faith should be described, and the laws which govern its activity should be ascertained. Just as the physicist may define the character of, say, electricity, so that we may know how to adjust ourselves to this reality in order to secure the benefits of electricity in our life, so the theologian is to define the character of God, in order that we may know how to make the proper religious adjustments of our life to this reality, and thus attain "salvation." Such an undertaking, if successful, will enable God and the plan of salvation to be presented as objective realities to which life must be adjusted.

This is precisely what orthodox theology does. But it bases its realistic conception of God on certain objective physical facts, viz., miracles, the incarnation, and the supernaturally produced Scriptures. These realistic historical foundations afford evidence of the actual existence and activity of God. Professor Macintosh recognizes that wherever we are dealing with historical matters, the empirical sciences must be permitted to pass judgment. And the verdict of these sciences is decidedly damaging to the realistic assumptions of orthodoxy. We

cannot be sufficiently sure of the reality of physical miracles to base any argument on them. Critical study of the Scriptures has shown them to be "religious experience" rather than dictated divine doctrines. A scientific theology, it seems, undermines orthodox realism.

How then are we to avoid falling into the subjectivism of an appeal to "experience"? The solution appears in the following words:

But there is one presupposition which is peculiar to empirical theology, just as there is always one presupposition in every empirical science which is the special presupposition of that science. The empirical sciences assume the existence, and the possibility of empirical knowledge, of the objects they undertake to investigate. Thus chemistry assumes the existence of matter; psychology, the existence of states of consciousness; psychology of religion, the existence of religious experience, and so on. In each case there is assumed, commonly on the basis of pre-scientific experience, the accessibility of the object to further knowledge through further experience. And what is true of the other sciences is true of empirical theology. . . . Ordinarily the empirical theologian, it may be expected, will posit the existence of God—defined, to be sure, in preliminary fashion—because he is already practically sure, on the basis of religious experience, that God really exists. If it be objected that this is dogmatic, the reply is that it is dogmatic only as every empirical science is dogmatic; it is not dogmatic in any unscientific sense [pp. 28 and 29].

Granting the parallelism suggested in the above, the crucial question arises as to whether theology has any such critical technique for investigating the "object" of its presuppositions as have the empirical sciences. What becomes of "matter" in the theories of chemistry? Does it not actually disappear from the chemist's vocabulary? Is it not analyzed into factors in such a way as to supersede the entity "matter"? So, too, the "states of consciousness" of psychology and the "religious experience" of the psychology of religion are left behind in the course of the scientific examination. They are too crude, too undifferentiated, to serve as actual "objects."

But Professor Macintosh, having postulated the real existence of God in this practical fashion, proceeds in his theology to retain the original object as the sufficient material for scientific procedure. Now the only technique which he possesses for the further examination of the content of this object is found in that very religious experience which, by hypothesis, would leave us with a subjective exposition. As a matter of fact, his content of doctrine consists in a careful and frank exposition of the *modifications of the ideas* of God, Christ, salvation,

and the like which are finding expression in modern religious experience. But the ideas themselves are simply those delivered by traditional theology. To find an "empirical" theology discussing the "aseity" of God (see p. 181) leads one to wonder where the limits of empiricism lie.

Professor Macintosh's theology is empirical, in the sense that he is eager to test all beliefs by a rational examination of the actual experience of men. But the beliefs which he accepts for this testing are the standard doctrines which were worked out in the Christianity of past centuries, and were formulated with the aid of a type of metaphysics which modern empirical science repudiates. It is certainly a wholesome thing to subject these beliefs to the kind of criticism which Professor Macintosh so suggestively employs. But when the original postulate of the religious object turns out to be the assumption of the actual reality of God as defined by ancient and medieval metaphysics, it can hardly be made out that such a discussion is an "empirical science"; for one of the essential characteristics of the empirical spirit is the abandonment of that particular type of metaphysical realism. Moreover, since the only means of criticizing these inherited ideas is to be found in our growing religious experience, Professor Macintosh's exposition will seem to the critical reader to be after all just a discussion of religious *ideas* in order to make them as rational as possible.

The content of this theology is purely experiential. Such terms as "revelation," "miracle," "salvation," and the like are retained, frequently in quotation marks, so as to give the familiar realistic atmosphere. But the content of religion is always discovered to be a reasonable, optimistic mysticism, whereby the religious man becomes conscious of a spiritual power active within him, enabling him to consecrate his life to the highest ideals, and to be "spiritually prepared for whatever the future may bring." This content of faith is a wholesome and frank portrayal of a characteristic type of modern Christianity, and it is set forth with reverence and with suggestiveness. But it is questionable whether the professed attempt to rescue theology from "subjectivism" may not lead to a sense of disappointment which will divert the attention of readers from the positive values of the book. The conservative, seeing the realistic historical miracles vanish, will think that the foundations are destroyed. The critical mind, seeing the retention of a God-idea constructed by outgrown metaphysics, will be only mildly interested in the theological dialectic. After all, is it not religiously as well as scientifically more satisfactory to set forth the *meaning* of religious

beliefs in the total organization of our experience than to try to reinstate realism? If the resulting theology should be classed with philosophy rather than with science, would not the true affinity of religious beliefs be indicated?

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RECENT DISCUSSIONS OF ETHICS

An interesting and valuable presentation of human conduct from the pen of a well-known writer has as its core the Morse Lectures delivered at Union Theological Seminary, New York City, early in 1919.¹ Not a little material, however, is interwoven from the author's earlier publications, together with some that has never before appeared in print. The standpoint is that of modern psychology, especially as held by the author himself, and the aim seems to be to reinterpret many traditional theological terms with the view to determine how much of the old may be retained and what one's attitude should be toward the changed and changing environment.

There are three main divisions of the book, viz., "The Correlation of Mind and Conduct," "Some Implications of the Correlation," and "Guides to Conduct." In the first part the author shows his opposition to the so-called "behaviorists" who ignore consciousness as such, and also indicates his appreciation of the psycho-analyses of the Freudians, although he himself is inclined to lay more stress upon the full, wideawake consciousness than upon any isolated, more or less "sub-attentive," complexes. In these discussions, too, he lays the basis for his detailed analyses of conduct in the later parts of the book. It is also here that he elaborates his conception of the "self" with the rather startling result that it is changing rather than fixed in its nature, as the soul has so frequently been regarded in the past.

In dealing with the "implications," our author discusses first "creativeness and ideals," both of which give evidence of "freedom," and since he extends the concept of the natural beyond its old boundaries and assumes that Nature is not so rigid as often conceived in the past, he feels justified in asserting a kind of freedom in the world. This leads to a consideration of "responsibility," which he carefully discriminates from "accountability" and identifies with "authorship." One might be insane or forgiven, and yet through authorship responsible.

¹ *Mind and Conduct*. By Henry Rutgers Marshall. New York: Scribner, 1919. x+236 pages. \$1.75.

"We never err or sin," he maintains, "but we recognize in reflection that we *have erred* and *have sinned*, or that we are *about to err*, or *about to sin*." It is upon the basis of careful distinctions in time and nice discriminations as to the self that he reaches this conclusion.

The third part of the book he begins with a careful discussion of the nature of pleasure and pain in accordance with his published views on these topics, and then gives an exposition and critique of "hedonism," both ancient and modern, and discounts it as inadequate. In connection with "Happiness," his next topic, he treats "impulse" and "desire," the former being due to the "inhibition of instinctive tendencies," and the latter to the inhibition of an idea. In either case, however, when ultimately realized, pleasure is an accompaniment. In this section, too, he defines "moral conduct as an adventure in relation to the future," and consequently it is correlated with reason, which deals not with the past, as the instincts do, but with the future. This leads to a felicitous discussion of "Intuition and Reason," in which the former is shown to have a real meaning as a short cut to a conclusion in a habitual or racial environment, while the latter deals with new situations. An evaluation of reason and intuition in the light of current discussions, with the emphasis on reason, closes the main part of the book.

There are, however, two further valuable discussions as appendices, one dealing with the vexed problem of the relation between the mind and body, with the emphasis on neither interactionism nor parallelism but on "correspondence," and the other with the reality of the external world, which he assumes as true, but insists that it is only an assumption, although verified as much as any scientific hypothesis can be.

On the whole, the book is without doubt a valuable contribution to current discussions of ethics, and at the same time affords a tentative psychological basis for a real advance in theological reconstruction. It is a closely reasoned work from premises elicited by careful psychological analyses, and the conclusions in the latter part seem inevitable upon the basis of the earlier detailed studies. None the less, morality seems to be limited to too narrow a field, since only that is moral which deals with the future and is guided by reason, while slight changes in psychological statements, which in the main are satisfactory, might lead to not a few changes in the various conclusions. There is an air of finality, of absoluteness, which hardly accords with the notoriously unsettled state of modern psychology. It is commendation, however, rather than adverse criticism which the reviewer feels toward the entire work.

A little book from the pen of the emeritus professor of philosophy and ethics at Harvard University presents the major portions of a series of lectures delivered on the Ely Foundation at Union Theological Seminary, New York City, in the spring of 1918¹. As the author indicates, the doctrine of the book is not new, but "has ever guided the best endeavors of mankind." It was elaborated and presented on this occasion to meet the current partisan treatment of "altruism and egoism, socialism and individualism," which are so frequently today "sentimentally arrayed against one another as independent and antagonistic agencies." "Socialism," he maintains, "which does not promote individuality, and individuality which does not tend toward an ever-completer social consciousness, are alike delusive. Each must find its justification in the service it is able to render to its pretended foe."

At the outset the author deals interestingly with "Manners," in which there is a large element of egoism, and then turns to "Gifts," which, superficially regarded, are decidedly altruistic, but upon deeper analysis are shown to endanger the recipient, unless the larger social whole is kept in view by both the giver and the receiver. Incidentally, too, in this connection, there is a little negative material which inferentially has a bearing upon the current discussion of the "League of Nations." "All men are not alike," our author says. "Relation to me does constitute a special moral claim. Shall I treat my mother as I would any other old lady? . . . I say no. . . . The family tie means something. The tie of country means something."

The third main topic dealt with, and constituting, in fact, about one-half of the book, is "Mutuality." This is a kind of reciprocity between egoism and altruism, and as such is regarded as a higher, "purer altruism," which our author illustrates by the limited mutuality of a partnership and more completely by love, which he discusses in connection with six simple questions. These questions and their discussion contrast "love and liking," "love and friendship," suggest that the lover's attitude, while altruistic, "includes and magnifies egoistic regard," that he "is rich in what he receives, but poor" in comparison with the object of his love, and that love is not permanent but requires constant cultivation and is averse to the sense of duty.

This intense personal relation, however, our author thinks of as limited to a narrow circle, generally only two. To meet the needs

¹ *Altruism; Its Nature and Varieties*. By George Herbert Palmer. New York: Scribner, 1919. x+138 pages. \$1.25.

of world-society, he develops "justice" as an "impersonal extension of love," since "justice seeks to benefit all, but all alike. . . . All the altruism of love is here, he insists, "but without love's arbitrary selection and limited interest." This progression from the narrow boundaries to the larger whole is very persuasively presented.

The book as a whole constitutes a fresh, rather novel, treatment of these several themes, and is decidedly convincing in its main position, especially for one who, like the reviewer, holds views that are similar, although developed differently.

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BRIEF MENTION

NEW TESTAMENT

WHITING, CHARLES C. *The Revelation of John*. Boston: Gorham Press, 1918. 259 pages. \$1.50.

The Book of Revelation is here presented to readers from a strictly historical point of view. The volume includes a brief introduction, a commentary, and a translation of the Greek text. The Introduction deals more particularly with the circumstances under which the book was written, while the commentary expounds its meaning from the standpoint of the original author and his readers. The exposition of the text follows a somewhat elaborate scheme of topical analysis borrowed in the main from Swete's well-known commentary, from which our author seems to have gathered most of the notes which have gone into the making of his own book.

S. J. C.

PRESTIGE, LEONARD. *The Virgin Birth of Our Lord*. London: Scott, 1918. viii+136 pages. \$1.15.

This defense of belief in the virgin birth is a volume in the series of "Handbooks of Catholic Faith and Practice." It is a characteristic product of very conservative Anglican scholarship. The interest of the book lies especially in the fact that its author attempts to find a rational basis for his faith. He does not question the authority of the church to proclaim the validity of the doctrine, yet he would supplement this authority by a discussion of historical evidence and philosophical probabilities. His method of maintaining that the virgin birth was not contrary to natural law is to affirm that it was a new creative act on the part of God.

S. J. C.

ROBINSON, BENJAMIN W. *The Life of Paul*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1918. xiii+250 pages. \$1.25.

The author's purpose, as stated in the Preface, to write a "handbook to serve as a guide in so reading the ancient in the light of the modern that the student will be able to derive a clear and accurate conception of the apostle and his achievements" seems to have been admirably accomplished. The apostle is made to live naturally in the environments of his time, which the author makes so realistic as to dispel

the antiquated feeling usually experienced by young students of the Bible. His style is simple and concise and gives his story, for story he has made it, a strong sense of verisimilitude. His way of making rapid progress in the midst of multitudinous details is admirably shown in his account of the voyage to Rome, where he puts into less than two pages what might well occupy a volume.

The chronological arrangement of the material is admirable. Particularly happy is the way in which the letter synopses are interwoven with the narrative so as not to interfere with the natural current of the life-story, to which, without interrupting its flow, the author has succeeded in giving a topical arrangement that will be a valuable aid to the student in getting the outline into his mind.

No small part of the value of the book as a handbook for students may be found in the appendixes—a chronological table, a bibliography, library references for topics not fully treated in each chapter, and a suggestive outline for the construction by the student of a book of his own on the life of Paul, which is after all the best method of acquiring a working knowledge of the whole subject.

In such a brief work one can easily find instances of inadequate treatment, and this is particularly noticeable in the first chapter in the case of the mystery religions and Messianism. On the other hand the advisability in a book intended for undergraduates of raising certain critical questions (e. g., pp. 71, 115, 204) seems to be questionable. Would it not be better to take for granted the solutions which the author has so admirably worked out and which are now accepted by most investigators rather than to raise in the mind of the student not prepared to make an adequate investigation himself a doubt as to the reliability of the source material?

On the whole the book is very readable, simple, direct, and convincing and far better adapted to the use of lower classmen than any other of the numerous texts on the life of Paul.

F. O. N.

TORREY, CHARLES CUTLER. *The Composition and Date of Acts*. (Harvard Theological Studies, I.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1916. 72 pages.

Professor Torrey finds so many Aramaisms and such evidence of mistranslation from the Aramaic in Acts 1:1-15:35 that he concludes that this portion which he calls I Acts was composed in Aramaic in A.D. 49-50. Luke, who wrote his Gospel about A.D. 60, soon after found the Aramaic I Acts at Caesarea or Rome, translated it into Greek and continued its narrative up to date, putting forth the book complete in Greek, probably in A.D. 64. The chief difficulties with this ingenious theory are that there is little evidence of a bent toward Aramaic historical composition, or toward written expression at all, on the part of the first-century Aramaic-speaking Jews, still less on the part of Aramaic-speaking Christians of A.D. 50, who were too much absorbed in the expectation of the messianic return of Jesus to write history. Nor does I Acts tell a complete story or one that would be congenial to an Aramaic reading public, supposing that there was one. Furthermore I Acts, while very Semitic in certain parts, is far from homogeneously so; in some parts it is thoroughly Greek. Moreover, the few alleged mistranslations are unconvincing, while the unmistakable signs of a later date than 64 pervade both parts of the book.

E. J. G.

DOCTRINAL

SNEATH, E. HERSHEY (editor). *Religion and the War: A Series of Essays on the War and Reconstruction*. By Members of the Faculty of the School of Religion, Yale University. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1918. 178 pages. \$1.00.

It was a fine service for the members of the Yale School of Religion to hearten men during the war by these thoughtful essays. Now that the war has been left behind, it is easy for the reader to see how highly specialized our interests were during the great conflict; but it is a source of satisfaction to see how courageously Christian faith asserted itself in the midst of the great world-disaster. We may especially note Professor Macintosh's suggestive discussion of Providence, in which he makes a distinct place for human factors in the divine guidance of history, and Professor Porter's careful and judicious survey of the main forms of biblical hope, with especial attention to eschatological prophecy. There are ten essays, all virile and optimistic, with a frank facing of the facts.

G. B. S.

LE ROY, EDWARD. *What Is a Dogma?* Translated by Lydia G. Robinson. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co., 1918. 89 pages. \$0.50.

The thesis in this little essay is that dogmas are to be judged, not as exact scientific or metaphysical statements, but as *practical* guides to action. The affirmation of the personality of God, e.g., leads to insuperable difficulties if taken as a descriptive statement. But in *practice* the affirmation simply means that one behaves toward the mystery called "God" as one behaves toward a person. From this point of view absolute assent to dogma is ethically defensible. Le Roy attempts to make place for freedom of thought by defending the rights of philosophical criticism and interpretation so as to make the *accepted* dogma seem rational.

The critical reader will ask, first, whether a church which maintains dogmas will rest satisfied with this pragmatic symbolism; but, secondly, whether a free experimentation with religious concepts will not more directly serve practical needs than an authoritative acceptance of immutable dogmas. To say, "Submission to dogmas then, from one point of view, is for the believer what submission to facts is for the scholar" (p. 74) overlooks the important item that *facts* may be critically scrutinized and challenged.

G. B. S.

SELLARS, ROY WOOD. *The Next Step in Religion*. New York: Macmillan, 1918. 228 pages. \$1.50.

To describe what the next step will be in any historical process requires a great deal of wisdom and prophetic insight. The present book is an interesting discussion from the point of view of a pronounced radical. His scientific point of view has led him to feel that the whole realm of the supernatural is about to be abandoned. Religion, therefore, must learn to do without God, immortality, and a transcendental salvation. The field which remains is "loyalty to the values of life." The book is written in clear, vigorous English and contains what is on the whole an accurate reproduction of the findings of a critical, historical study of religion. Whether, however, human nature is such that it can in the near future dispense with the ideas of religion which are woven into our liturgies and literature and worship is a question which the author does not discuss. The book is, however, an unusually attractive presentation of a purely humanistic idea of religion.

G. B. S.

BOOKS RECEIVED

The more important books in this list will be reviewed at length

OLD TESTAMENT AND SEMITICS

- Compston, H. F. B. *The Inscription on the Stele of Méša, Commonly Called the Moabite Stone*. New York: Macmillan, 1919. 16 pages. 6d.
- Hill, John Godfrey. *The Prophets in the Light of Today*. New York: Abingdon Press, 1919. 240 pages. \$1.25.
- Langdon, S. *Le poème sumérien du paradis, du déluge, et de la chute de l'homme*. New York: G. E. Stechert, 1919. x+269 pages+xi plates.
- Lutz, Henry Frederick. *Selected Sumerian and Babylonian Texts (Publications of the Babylonian Section, Vol. I, No. 2)*. Philadelphia: University Museum, 1919. 133 pages+Plates xlviii-cxli.

NEW TESTAMENT

- Bacon, Benjamin W. *Is Mark a Roman Gospel?* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1919. 106 pages.
- Beckwith, Isbon T. *The Apocalypse of John*. New York: Macmillan, 1919. xv+794 pages. \$4.00.
- Case, Shirley Jackson. *The Revelation of John*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1919. xii+419 pages. \$2.00.
- Holmes, W. H. G. *The Epistle to the Hebrews (The Indian Church Commentaries)*. New York: Macmillan, 1919. xi+448 pages. \$1.60.
- Moulton, James Hope. *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1919. xv+114 pages. 7s.
- Singer, Ignatius. *The Rival Philosophies of Jesus and of Paul*. Chicago: Open Court, 1919. 347 pages. \$2.00.

CHURCH HISTORY

- Weiskotten, Herbert T. *Sancti Augustini Vita Scripta a Possidio Episcopo*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1919. 174 pages.

HISTORY OF RELIGIONS

- Billings, Thomas H. *The Platonism of Philo Judaeus*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1919. viii+105 pages. \$1.00.
- Larue, William Earl. *The Foundations of Mormonism*. New York: Revell, 1919. 243 pages. \$1.25.
- Walter, H. A. *The Ahmadiya Movement*. Oxford: University Press, 1918. 185 pages. 3s. 6d.

PRACTICAL THEOLOGY

- Edwards, Loren M. *The Spectrum of Religion*. New York: Methodist Book Concern, 1919. 159 pages. \$0.75.
- Gillies, Andrew. *The Individualistic Gospels*. New York: Methodist Book Concern, 1919. 208 pages. \$1.00.
- Leonard, Adna Wright. *Evangelism in the Remaking of the World*. New York: Methodist Book Concern, 1919. 197 pages. \$1.00.
- Shannon, Frederick F. *God's Faith in Man*. New York: Revell, 1919. 186 pages. \$1.25.

DOCTRINAL

- Hough, Lynn Harold. *The Productive Beliefs*. New York: Revell, 1919. 223 pages. \$1.25.
- Geiger, Joseph Roy. *Some Religious Implications of Pragmatism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1919. v+54 pages. \$0.50.
- Solovyof, Vladimir. *The Justification of the Good*. New York: Macmillan, 1919. lxiii+475 pages. \$4.50.

MISCELLANEOUS

- Bradshaw, Marion J. (compiler). *The War and Religion. A Preliminary Bibliography*. New York: Association Press, 1919. vi+136 pages.
- Reese, Albert M. *Wanderings in the Orient*. Chicago: Open Court, 1919. 81 pages. \$1.00.

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THE POLICY OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH

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I. ITS DOCTRINAL POSITION

The writer does not conceive that the gospel of the Nazarene was intended to satisfy the intellectually curious, or to indulge those who are emotionally hysterical; still less was it the establishment of a model reformatory, in which the observance of certain petty rules is the path to glory.

The message of Jesus Christ was given to satisfy the hunger of the heart for a personal relationship with the living God, for the knitting together in human fellowship those who love God, for the consolation of sins forgiven, and for the assurance that our departed loved ones are in God's keeping. The gospel of Christ does not come to us with the musty smell of libraries, but redolent of the sweet-smelling breezes of Galilee, and the scent of plowed fields and herded sheep. It was expressed in the language of peasants, and made its appeal to rich and poor, without reference to any background of intellectual culture or aesthetic taste. In its content Christ is "the life." "The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us" in order that we "might have life, and have it more abundantly." Its work was to be that of giving new life to dying men, and for this purpose the Spirit of God was to "brood on the face of the waters," and produce a new creature, who was

to inhabit a new earth; but to do this the regenerated were to remain in the world, though not be of the world.

In describing Christ St. Paul¹ has this biological renewal of the human race in mind, when he speaks of Him as the "second Adam," by connection with whom "all men are to be made alive."

In the accomplishment of man's regeneration, Christ promises the Comforter, who shall guide men into all truth, and, in the writer's judgment, the fundamental difference between the historic churches and the dissenting bodies lies in the emphasis which the former put upon the gift and work of the Holy Spirit, as operating through an organism known as the Holy Catholic church.

If the purpose of this paper is to emphasize the essential doctrines of the Episcopal church, as differentiating it from other religious bodies with which it finds itself in sympathy, but not in corporate union, then I shall place the emphasis upon these two statements of the historic creeds: "I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of life," and "I believe in one Catholic and Apostolic Church." It is here that the divergence lies, and it is here that the difficulties connected with reunion rest.

The Episcopal church believes in the Holy Ghost, the third person of the Blessed Trinity, the Author of all life, operating through an organism which Christ founded, and which He endowed at Pentecost with His Holy Spirit, so that whosoever was added to this organism was in the process of being saved, as the individual co-operated with the gift of life thus bestowed upon him. In other words, the Christian church is a living organism and not a human creation. In saying this I wish to point out how Christ seemed to have this in view, and how it fits in with His conception of what the church is.

There are three elemental laws of all life, which govern and limit it:

1. *The law of birth.*—Before life can exist it must be born, and that birth is not of man's devising, but it is the gift of God, for, as St. Paul says, "We are saved by grace, and that not of ourselves, it is the gift of God." Now man cannot create a grain

¹The use of the prefix "St." and the capitalization of pronouns referring to Christ in this article are in accordance with the author's request.—EDITORS.

of corn, neither can he produce in himself the germs of eternal life. So Christ says, "Except a man be born of water and the Spirit he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God." In answer to this Nicodemus objected that a man could not be born when he is old, and Christ replied, "That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is Spirit."

It would seem, and the historic church has always so interpreted it, that the act of baptism was God's Spirit acting to give the baptized the possibilities of eternal life. In short, baptism is the birth into a new creation, by the incorporation of the individual into Christ's body. This is borne out by St. Paul's statement to the Galatians that "as many as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ," and by his statement to the Corinthians, "For by one spirit we are all baptized into one body." At any rate the church, in its baptismal office, so interpreted it, for the liturgy says, "Give Thy Holy Spirit to this Thy servant, that he may be born again."

2. *The law of nourishment.*—The one that is born must be fed such food as the nature of his life requires. In this case, the one admitted into the kingdom is to feed on such food as the Author of life may provide. "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink His blood, ye have no life in you." It was in the light of such teaching that He subsequently said, "Take, eat, this is My Body," "Drink ye all of this, This is My Blood." It was in the same sense that St. Paul criticized the Corinthian church, and said that they were sickly and asleep, because they received the Holy Communion without discerning the Lord's body. In the same way the catechism of the Episcopal church teaches its members that, in receiving the Holy Communion, their souls are strengthened and refreshed by the body and blood of Christ, as their bodies are by the bread and wine. And so, likewise, we pray in the liturgy, "Grant that we may so eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink His blood, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by His body, and our souls washed by His most precious blood, and that we may evermore dwell in Him, and He in us."

3. *The law of adaptation.*—If it be objected that this view of religion is a mechanical one, and does not give play to the

initiative of the individual, we acknowledge that such is the danger of sacramental religion, but that there is a third law of life which so modifies the danger as to make it follow the analogy of all life. To be born and to be fed merely gives one the background of action, and the law of adaptation comes in to separate the fit from the unfit. It was the same Lord who said, "Except you become as a little child" and "Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees you cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven." Hence birth is not enough, and nourishment is not enough. They merely provide one with the potentialities of life. What is necessary is teachableness and conscious effort. One must not confuse the elements that are essential to life with the essentials that are equally necessary to live effectively.

The sacraments are not mechanical substitutes for effort, but rather essential preludes to eternal life. The life itself is lived by those who, having obeyed the first two laws of life, are willing to exert themselves in the adaptation of their life to God's will and God's righteousness. The baptized person becomes a child of God, but, as a child of God, he must exert himself by adapting his life to the laws of the Kingdom.

4. *The gift of the Spirit.*—If I were to put my finger upon the vital doctrine that differentiated members of the Episcopal church from those of other Protestant churches, it would be in their interpretation of those articles of the creed to which I have referred, regarding belief in the Holy Spirit and the Holy Catholic church.

If you were to have asked a Christian immediately after our Lord's Ascension what Christ had left to His church, he could have replied somewhat as follows: "He left us two sacraments, twelve apostles who bore record of His life and teaching, and the promise of the Comforter, so we are waiting here in Jerusalem, until we shall be endued with power from on high, before the apostles will baptize anybody, or celebrate the Lord's Supper, or do any missionary work."

May I indicate, by a few successive quotations, from the gospel, just what emphasis is placed upon this gift of the Holy Spirit by the historic church?

And the Spirit of God brooded over the face of the waters (Genesis).

And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a branch shall grow out of his roots, and the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him (Isaiah).

And it shall come to pass afterward that I will pour out My Spirit upon all flesh (Joel).

And in the days of those kings shall the God of Heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed (Daniel).

And Jesus, when He was baptized, went up straightway out of the water, and, lo! the heavens were opened unto Him, and He saw the Spirit of God descending, like a dove, and lighting upon Him (St. Matthew).

The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised (St. Luke).

And upon this rock will I build my church, and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it (St. Matthew).

But the water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water springing up into eternal life (St. John).

Nevertheless it is a good thing for you that I go away, for if I go not away the Spirit will not come unto you (St. John).

Howbeit when He, the Spirit of truth is come, He will guide you into all truth (St. John).

And when He had said this, He breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost (St. John).

And, behold, I send the promise of My Father upon you, but tarry ye in the city of Jerusalem until ye shall be endued with power from on high (St. Luke).

But ye shall receive power after the Holy Ghost is come upon you (Acts).

And there appeared cloven tongues, like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them, and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost (Acts).

Then Peter said unto them, Repent and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost (Acts).

And the Lord added to the Church daily such as were being saved (Acts).

I do not quote these texts to prove anything, but merely to indicate the doctrinal position of the church regarding its belief in the Holy Ghost, and in the Holy Catholic church, viz., that

Christ founded an organism, which He endowed with the Holy Ghost, and to which, by the act of baptism, and in the receiving of the Holy Communion, were added those who are regarded as members of the household of faith.

The Episcopal church believes that the "Word became flesh" and assumed a new humanity which Christ communicated to the living organism which he founded, so that it became the mystical body of Christ; also that to this church, thus founded, He gave His Holy Spirit, and that this Holy Spirit is the energizing power, a regenerating force, operating in baptism, in the Lord's Supper, in preaching of the word, in the ministry of reconciliation, to perpetuate Christ's life, by communicating, to those who in baptism have put on Christ, and who in the Holy Eucharist are fed by Christ's body and blood, the remission of their sins, and bestowal of eternal life.

This leads me naturally to the polity of this church, and what is meant by apostolic succession, and by the historic episcopate.

II. ITS CHURCH POLITY

When we examine the causes for the present lack of unity in the church we will find, in almost every instance, the immediate cause was the failure of the clergy to live the kind of lives that zealous folk expected them to live. It has been the peculiar delusion of the faithful that a priest must be a sort of superman. If you follow Wycliffe, Huss, Luther, Wesley, and the rest you will find that it was the failure of the clergy to live spiritual lives that caused the defection from the established order.

It is easy to trace, in the Wycliffe reformation, the various steps by which it proceeded: (a) the standard of clerical life was condemned; (b) the validity of the sacraments, administered by unworthy men, was impugned; (c) the value of both ministry and sacraments was challenged; (d) the sacredness of the church, as an external medium of divine grace, was denied; (e) the idea of a spiritual church, without foundation or walls, was put forth; (f) the theory that matter is evil, or is not of essential value; that all forms are carnal, leading up to the gnostic theories of modern cults about matter and spirit, which became popular; (g) the

sanctity of marriage, which is the foundation of the home, gave way to the loose ideas of divorce, and the disintegration of the home became the suicide of the state.

Now this church has never accepted the premise upon which this theory of a purely spiritual church is based, but starting from the fact that "the Word is made flesh" believes in the sanctity of matter, of marriage, of sacraments, of the external church, and of the sacred ministry. The church does not believe that the abuse of a thing is sufficient reason for its disuse, and it meets the current aphorism that the corn is important but the husk is worthless, by reminding the critic that no good farmer tries to grow corn without husks, and that the husk is of vital importance until the corn is matured. We go back, therefore, to the statement of St. John, in meeting the gnostic heresies of his time, that many deceivers are come into the world, who confess not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, and that this is a deceiver and an anti-Christ.¹

The church rests its case upon the fact that the church is a historic fact, that it possesses outward and visible form as well as inward and spiritual grace, and that no abuse of this organism by sporadic failures can or does vitiate or annul the proper use of those instruments of God's grace. It seems necessary to say this before we lay down the principle of the ministry, to which the church has always tenaciously held, and which it must continue to hold, unless the principle involved is unimportant or incorrect. It is a significant fact that the last spoken word of the Master to the body of the faithful was that they should be "witnesses of Him to the uttermost parts of the earth," and that the first recorded act of that same body was to elect a successor to Judas, who was chosen to be a witness with them of Christ's resurrection. It is this idea that the gospel which was declared unto them was to be preserved in its essential verities that filled St. Paul with that indignation at the charge that he had altered the gospel, which caused him to say to the Galatians, "Though we, or an angel from Heaven, preach any other gospel than that we have preached," and again "than that which we have received, let him be accursed."

¹ II John 1:7.

And again, he regards the "deposit of faith" as something which must not be a subject of speculation, but rather a sacred trust that is to be zealously safeguarded.

It is this twofold connection, (*a*) that Christ gave to His church, and not to the world, the gift of the Holy Spirit, and (*b*) that Christ gave to His church a norm, or germ, of the faith that was to be zealously guarded, and guarded, that made some form of organization essential to these trusts. He himself never minimized the value of the material, but even sanctified it. He even respected the ceremonies of the Jewish law, and utilized the agencies of the ancient covenant. So he ministered to men by the word of His mouth, and the touch of His hand, and it was these simple agencies that the church preserved as the means of perpetuating its identity and mission. The church treasured the words of Christ in administering baptism and the Lord's supper, so that the minister should use the words of Christ, and not his own. In like manner, when the church received from Christ, at Pentecost, the Holy Spirit, which He had promised, it preserved the gift by the laying-on of hands, thereby bestowing the gift, and publicly identifying the one on whom the gift has been bestowed.

If I may be pardoned for again explaining the fact from the testimony of the Scriptures, I would say that after Pentecost, and never before, there was a definite conviction in the apostles' minds that, by the laying-on of hands, a certain gift was bestowed, and a certain responsibility acquired. In Acts 6:6 certain men were set apart for the office of a deacon by the laying-on of hands and prayer. In Acts 8:15 the apostles who were at Jerusalem followed Philip to Samaria, laid their hands upon those whom Philip had baptized, but who had not yet received the Holy Ghost, and these converts received the Holy Ghost. Again in Acts 19:6 those who had been baptized by John the Baptist were rebaptized by St. Paul. "And when St. Paul had laid his hands upon them the Holy Ghost came upon them." Again in Acts 13:3 certain men going forth as missionaries were sent out with the laying-on of hands and with prayer. So St. Paul charged St. Timothy

not to neglect the gift that was given to him by the laying-on of hands, and he in turn was charged to lay hands on no man suddenly. And what does this show? Merely that the church had a gift and a commission both of which were bestowed in this manner.

Now the Episcopal church, contrary to popular belief, has no theory about the apostolic succession, or the historic episcopate, beyond the fact that it is the ancient method of preserving the continuity of the church, and bestowing the gift of Pentecost, by which the church is to be led into all truth. You cannot preserve any society, which has a gift and a message, without guaranteeing its continuous identity by some authorized form of installing officers and bestowing powers, and this must be done, in every case, by those officers who have the gift and the message to communicate. The question whether bishops were an apostolic order, or whether government by bishops is an essential part of the episcopal hierarchy, is a different and subsidiary question.

The essential things are (a) Was there a gift at Pentecost, called the gift of the Holy Ghost, which is essential to that unity of the spirit which the apostle recommends, and which is really the corporate unity of the society? and (b) Was the administration of the laying-on of hands the means by which the various officers of the church were publicly set apart and designated? And has anyone since had any authority to break the continuity by substituting some other principle?

The exercise of episcopal authority in Dioceses is unquestionably a later growth, and not essential to the principle that the organization which Christ founded has continuously existed as the vessel in which certain sacred deposits have been kept, and that, notwithstanding its spots and wrinkles, it is the church which Christ will present to the Father, without those spots and wrinkles which have disfigured it on earth. The church believes that to abandon the principle of the ministry because certain ministers have fallen down in personal character is to disintegrate the church's witnessing function, and to scatter the gifts of Pentecost to the four winds of heaven, so that the Holy Ghost, working through the chosen organism, will no longer guide men into truth,

but burden them by the very confusion of tongues which the unity of the spirit was intended to prevent.

But this leads me to the third division of this paper, which is the mediating principle which the church feels that it has to offer to a bewildered and divided Christendom.

III. THE MEDIATING PRINCIPLE

The fundamental principle of church unity lies in the matter of the authority that controls one's faith and practice. Such authority may be one's own personal decision, or one's own interpretation of the Bible, or one may see in religion a corporate authority, which must be respected, as one respects the authority of the state. This corporate authority may speak through the Papacy, or it may be, as it is in the Episcopal church, an authority similar to that exercised by the state. In any case, there is a difficulty in effecting a corporate unity between those who respect no corporate authority in matters of religion, and those who regard such authority as absolutely essential to any fellowship or unity of the spirit.

What is this idea of authority, as recognized in the Episcopal church? It is very much like that which one respects as a member of this Republic. It is based upon a definite constitution, interpreted, not as the individual chooses, but as certain recognized courts decide. Authority in the state is a matter of constitutional enactment and universal practice. This may seem a difficult thing to realize in the sphere of religion, but it is exactly what the church means to us. It does not give us an oracular, or infallible, answer to all questions, because oracular infallibility is not a human attribute, but it does give us an adequate tribunal, before which essential matters can be decided with sufficient definiteness to maintain the principles for which the organization exists. It is not so essential that the courts shall speak with infallibility, as it is that they be sufficiently correct to insure life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Just as in the nation, so in the church, there are constitutional questions which are definitely established, and which have been officially affirmed, as determining the outward marks or characteristics of the church's authority.

1. There is a faith, or a recitation of facts, set forth in the Apostles' Creed, which is the norm of faith for the members of this church. This Faith, so far as the divinity of Christ, and the mission of the Holy Spirit are concerned, is more particularly defined in the Nicene Creed.

2. There is a ministry which, like the official body of the state, is chosen in a constitutional manner, and inaugurated according to the precedent of universal usage.

3. There are two sacraments that are generally or universally essential to membership in the church, and without which the church ceases to function as an instrument of divine grace.

4. There are the canonical Scriptures, which the church recognizes as containing all things necessary to salvation.

In other words, the church, like any other society, has the marks or characteristics of a society, viz.: It began with certain charter members, Christ and the apostles; it has a definite gospel to preach, and definite rites to perform, and it does this through a ministry, officially chosen and designated for the work, not by any method but by the method that has the sanction of immemorial usage. The church is, therefore, to a churchman what the United States government, as symbolized by its flag, is to an American citizen. It is, in very truth, the body of Christ.

We now come to the practical attitude of this church to the question of church unity. Why is church unity desirable? It is not because the church claims a superiority over other ecclesiastical bodies that it seems to stand aloof, any more than a citizen who is a patriotic American necessarily claims that America is better than England. It is rather because the church stands for certain principles which the churchman believes are essential to the purpose for which the church was organized.

What is that purpose? It may be best expressed in the words of St. Paul, that we Christians are endeavoring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. The churchman believes that to ignore the principle of the church's lasting continuity as a brotherhood or kingdom is to substitute just the opposite note, so that men, for the past three hundred years, have been endeavoring to keep a uniformity in the bonds of prejudice. If anyone thinks

that we are interested in maintaining the distinctive character of the church, as set forth in the Lambeth quadrilateral, merely because we feel that we are superior to other people, he misses the point for which the church was organized.

The church is that body to which was given the gift of the Spirit, in order that it might be guided into all truth, kept from disastrous error, and that it might be a brotherhood, in which the Holy Spirit would have opportunity to bind men together into corporate unity of life (as we Americans are), not into mechanical uniformity of opinion (as we Americans are not).

I might illustrate the ideal of spiritual unity which the church sets forth by comparing our individual beliefs to the notes of an organ. These beliefs range all the way from the modern ideas of a Congregationalist to the medieval ideas of a Roman Catholic. The present practice is for each note to be played from a separate console, and the result is not harmony, but discord. The church believes that all these notes are legitimate sounds, and have their place on the keyboard, but that they must be assembled with relation to a single console. In short, that the mission of the church has been, from the beginning, to unify and harmonize into one body all the various characteristics and varieties of religious experience, so that each may have its appropriate place, and no note be permitted to cipher, but so rightly to divide the word of truth that each note should have its proper place.

In short, the genius of this church is such that it does not believe any federation of churches is adequate to represent the corporate unity that Christ designed for His church, and that the breaking up of the church into scattered fragments is a calamity in the spiritual kingdom, equal to the separation of the states in the federal state—in short, that the church can never adequately function in society, and teach the world the winsomeness of Christ, until men love those with whom they disagree as to opinion well enough to break bread at the same table, and function in the same corporate state.

The church believes that Christ was not crucified to make men opinionated to the point of separation on the one side, that His Incarnation was incomplete if it did not bind men together on certain

fundamental convictions on the other, and that the same liberty of opinion, and the same unity of action which we have in the state, is the only adequate presentation of the Incarnate Christ.

Believing this, the church is tremendously interested in the question of church unity, but has little faith in schemes of confederation, which are put forth as substitutes for such unity. If the church could feel that they were really preludes to such unity she would have a profound interest therein.

What then, do we, as a church, want men to do? Is it simply to swallow our whole pabulum? Not at all. What we have asked, and we believe it is, our task now, is to study, to pray, to confer. We have certain things that we believe are essential to church unity. So have they. Very well, let us endeavor to reconcile them as far as we can; not ignore them, nor, by asking each man to give up his convictions, hope to create a maximum of spiritual force, which must go back to definite convictions for its motive power. The Bishop of Chicago has well said, "Church unity, not as the minimum of convictions, but as the maximum of convictions." We fully realize the attitude with which these proposals are apt to be met, and that we shall be accused of forcing our convictions on others. We have sense enough to know that this cannot be. But we do occupy a unique place, not by any forethought of ours, but by the fact that we have brought down to these times the old ways, and by the further fact that we are the only ecclesiastical organization in the United States that includes in its official membership all the phases of theology, from that of the Congregationalist to that of the Roman Catholic.

We are, therefore, prepared to contribute this much to the cause of unity, and that is, whatever may be our other faults, we have a principle of inclusion which actually includes everyone who can subscribe to the Apostles' Creed, whether he believes in prayer meetings or auricular confession. For we certainly do this. Can any other religious body say the same? And do you not really believe that it is the will of Christ, not that these extremes should tolerate one another in separate dwellings, but that they should love one another in the same household? It was a significant fact,

at the recent General Convention of this church, that two of the most important matters to be considered were whether we could ordain Congregationalists to our priesthood without incorporating them into our society, and on the other hand whether we could continue missionaries in the service of this church who say "Ave Marias" and hold the service of the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament.

It is one of the most encouraging signs of the Episcopal church that it is dissatisfied with itself, and it is this fact that causes it to reach out for greater light and greater service. And I believe that so long as a man or a religious party or a church is satisfied with itself it is absolutely hopeless from the standpoint of church unity, or spiritual vision.

IV. ITS PRACTICAL PROGRAM

The basic principle of the church's program is to be found in the parting words of the Master to his disciples, "But ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you; and ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem, and in all Judaea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth." This determines the program of the church as a missionary organization and also sets forth the method in which that program is to be carried out. We are first to strengthen our stakes in Jerusalem and Judaea and then lengthen our cords to the uttermost parts of the earth.

The baptized member of the church has enlisted with a definite vow of service, "to be Christ's faithful soldier," and he therefore becomes an instrument of Christ's command that we "go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature."

The program of the church may therefore be divided into four parts.

1. *The duty of strengthening the stakes in Jerusalem.*—I take it that this refers to our home church or parish, and lays upon every member of the parish to be a witness to Christ in the locality of his immediate influence. The church exists for the community where it exists, and is therefore interested in all forms of social service which will benefit the community that it serves.

a) Time was when the church was the sole guardian of education. Schools and colleges were all a part of the church's mission and had a church foundation. When the state had been sufficiently imbued with the importance of education, it took over education and supported it by compulsory taxation. This created a system much better financed than that which the church could employ, and so the church passed on to the state the bulk of its educational program. Unfortunately the state did not include Christian ethics and religious training in its curriculum, and the world has a system of education which produces the wisdom of this world without the peace of God.

The late European war has demonstrated the danger of training men to think but not to pray. The church has, however, retained the education of a favored few in church schools for boys and for girls, but which unfortunately for lack of support can house only those who can pay the tuition, with a few scholarships.

In the field of education, the church has developed a peculiar genius for these training schools for boys and girls, and is the patron of many more which are not under church direction. Of the colleges which formerly were regarded as church institutions, most of them have been secularized. Those which have remained distinctively church institutions have been hampered by lack of support or have gone out of existence entirely. The church has many schools, however, among the Indians, mountain whites, and negroes, where a distinctively Christian education is given those whose traditions have not been Christian, and who lack the home training that all our children are supposed to enjoy. Of course the church retains in its Sunday schools a touch with her own children and those who are committed to her care, but the time allotted is inadequate, and the demands of secular schools upon the time of boys and girls leaves the church powerless to give a religious education adequate to meet the unrest of the age.

Our army life brought out what a small proportion of the young men of America had any definite religious convictions or training. You cannot cover the principles of eternal life in one desultory hour a week. The church is meeting this problem with a system of training known as the "Christian Nurture Series," which

requires trained teachers and produces the most satisfactory results that have been attained.

But the problem before the church today is the adequate training of the young to meet the temptations of the age. Our universities, which were once the strongholds of the faith, are in most instances indifferent or unsympathetic in surrounding students with distinctly Christian influences, and the church is studying the problem of how to bring the gospel and ethics of Christ upon the campus, thus far with indifferent success.

b) The church recognizes its obligation to care for the sick, the homeless, and the outcast, and in proportion to its size and strength maintains more hospitals, orphanages, shelters, and hostels than any other religious body in this country except possibly the Roman Catholics. At one time the church had entire charge of the sick and poor, but here too the state caught the idea, imposed taxes, and took the greater part of this work out of the hands of the church. And yet the state has failed to surround its county almshouses and hospitals with the winsome grace that causes the poor to accept them gladly, and the church still supplies many of these agencies for the use of the poor and needy.

c) The church finds itself hampered by the divisions of Christendom in conducting the work of social service in large cities and rural communities. Religious prejudice is too easily inflamed to make it possible for the church to work as a distinctively church institution, both to command financial support and also to secure the attendance of those whom it would benefit. But the church has done a tremendous work in furnishing the background of a very large percentage of social workers, who while affiliated with secular settlement work, owe their own inspiration and training to the Episcopal church.

d) The Episcopal church has endeavored to resist the trend of Protestant churches in abandoning unprofitable fields in downtown city districts, and in nearly every city of any magnitude the Episcopal church either has a church which is maintained in these quarters, or else has substituted a settlement house when the church itself has been forced to move. No one who has studied the situation in the large centers of population can fail to see that

the Episcopal church has a distinct mission to these localities, which it endeavors to fulfil.

2. *Our duty to Judaea.*—I presume this may be regarded as a suitable caption for our rural communities as distinguished from the city problem. It is a sad mess, and one which sharply rebukes the divisions of Christendom. Recent surveys in the eastern states have shown many towns in which ancient substantial buildings, signs of former religious fervor, are untenanted and the people absolutely unshepherded. In the West, where missionary boards have heavily subsidized the undignified scramble, there are more churches than piety and more strife than winsomeness. The various movements for interchurch activity have striven to unscramble the situation, but with indifferent success. The Episcopal church has barely maintained itself for the past thirty years in these communities. Its offer of quiet reverence and sane ethics finds few takers in the revival-swept localities of the West.

These two problems confront us, first, how to rehabilitate religion where it has passed on in the older settlements, and secondly, how to carry on and maintain our influence in the heavily subsidized regions of the West. Some of the best work of the church has been done in meeting the rural problem, but not enough to form a policy which can command adequate support and suitable workers.

3. *Our duty to Samaria.*—The Samaritans were an alien people in the Holy Land, brought there by circumstances but forming a religious problem in the heart of Jewry. We have the same problem in our Indians, our negroes, and our orientals, as well as our immigrants from Christian Europe. They all need to be Americanized, and many need to be Christianized.

The Episcopal church, led by such leaders as Bishop Whipple and Bishop Hare, made a lodgment among the Indians in an early day, and in many localities we have a large and flourishing Indian work in which we have attained good results. The quiet dignity of the service appeals to the instincts of the red man. Among the negroes we had a chance and lost it, partly through our own carelessness and indifference, and partly through the emotional nature of the negro, which sought its excitement in other channels.

Wherever the church has maintained its negro work, it has shown its influence in the stability and character of its members. Bishop Dudley, who was our great authority on negro work, once said that he never knew a negro member of our church to be found in a race riot or a penitentiary, and my own experience as priest in charge for several years of a negro mission bears out the truth of his statement. One wonders whether emotional natures should be fed on emotional religion, or whether it is the very thing that they ought not to have. Among orientals in our own country the Episcopal church has made very little attempt at constructive work, although in places where the Chinese and Japanese gather in large numbers, there have been local congregations built up. This is especially true in Hawaii and California.

4. *Our duty to the uttermost parts of the earth.*—In our foreign mission work the Episcopal church in this country divides the field with the Church of England and does not enter any British territory. Our work is therefore confined to China, Japan, and a small work in Africa. We have not as a rule entered territory in which the Roman Catholic church had a priority right. Of course since the Roman church does not consider that we have any priority rights, this is not with us a principle so much as it is a customary courtesy. Of late years conditions have caused us to enter Brazil, Mexico, the Philippines, Porto Rico, the Canal Zone, where we have established an Episcopal organization and are doing a good work.

The work of the foreign field of the Episcopal church has been of a highly intensive character. Our schools, hospitals, and colleges are the best that we can produce, and rank first among the educational institutions of the Orient. Our refusal to admit converts without careful catechetical instruction for a period of months has kept down our numbers, but increased our influence. It is for this policy of careful training that the church stands, and it is the need of the hour.

Some years ago I was talking with a gentleman of large affairs who had interests in the Orient and was a member of the Episcopal church, and who said that he did not believe in foreign missions. I said to him, "What would you say to one of your clerks

who might come to you and say, 'Mr. ———, I do not believe in your opening a branch office in China'? Would you not say, 'Young man, go back to your desk and attend to your own affairs'? Well, that young man is more important in your concern than you are in God's world. Your duty as a Christian is not to air your views, but to do your Master's will."

It is in this spirit of doing the Master's will that the Episcopal church is undertaking its program, and when it can enlist its own constituency to believe in that program, it will then justify itself in the eyes of God. At present we are engaged in a nation-wide campaign to arouse our own members to see the need of a vision such as Christ had, and also of the self-sacrifice to make that vision a reality. In the past we have had the odium of being the church of the prosperous, but with none of the blessings that are supposed to accrue. Today, like the United States government, we are making our appeal to the rank and file of the church, and the indications are that they see the vision and will back it up.

The Episcopal church has strengthened its status by the fidelity with which it has borne witness to the faith, with the advantage of a liturgical service which embodies the faith, so that what may be asserted in the pulpit is rectified by that which is said in the service. The church has a constituency that has been more interested in public service outside of the church than in the work of the church itself, and the leavening influence of the church in the nation has been very great. It is beginning to realize the necessity of appealing to its own constituency to get behind its own work, and if the results of the nation-wide campaign are commensurate with present indications, the Episcopal church has entered upon a new era of aggressive work in Jerusalem, Judaea, Samaria, and unto the ends of the earth.

CAN THEOLOGY BE MADE AN EMPIRICAL SCIENCE?

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The answer to be given to the question proposed in the title of this paper will plainly depend upon the answer to the logically prior question: What is an empirical science? This question is not an easy one, and I do not wish the view that I shall here present to be taken dogmatically, as though I thought it the only possible view. There are certain intricacies and subtleties involved in the matter here at issue upon which thinkers may well differ. The first step in the answer to our question, however, is simple enough, and indeed so obvious as scarcely to need mention. I refer, namely, to the tautologous fact that an empirical science must be based upon experience. It must be based upon experience in two senses. First of all, it cannot, like a purely logical or mathematical science, be built upon postulates alone. As Professor Macintosh has well pointed out in the recent book which, I take it, initiated the present discussion of the nature of theology, an empirical science must have as a basis some "pre-scientific experience of the object." Thus "there is a pre-botanical experience and knowledge of plants which is the necessary preliminary to starting upon scientific botanical investigation."¹ Further than this, an empirical science involves what one might call a *scientific* experience of its object. That is to say it can recognize no facts as genuine until they have been verified by further experience. The reason for the need of this verification and the nature of it can be understood only after some discussion on the nature of science and its purposes.

The origin of science is chiefly practical. Necessity is its mother. Man finding himself confronted by an indifferent Nature, which might equally crush him or nourish him according to his reaction, found it necessary for his very survival that he should

¹ *Theology as an Empirical Science*, p. 91.

both look out for Nature and utilize her. Now the precondition of his being able to do either of these essential things was that he should know what to expect. Without some prevision of the future, on the basis of the present and the past, wisely directed conduct would be out of the question. Fortunately for man he discovered early in his career that there are certain uniformities in the course of nature, that certain sequences of situations are recurrent. The first condition of wise conduct, therefore, was the *identification of situations*. The second condition sprang out of his pigmy size and his puny strength. The utilization of Nature in anything more than microscopic degree demanded the co-operation of many men upon a single task. But such co-operation necessitated communication. They must perceive or at least conceive the same situation if they were to operate upon it in unison. The situation must be capable of identification not only by the individual man but by all the many co-operating individuals. If their efforts were to be united upon a given object, that object must be common to them all, verifiable by them all. The general outlines of the situation thus drawn obviously apply as truly (and much more completely) in the most modern laboratory as in the first human effort at objective description and co-operation. The very nature and purpose of science thus determine absolutely and forever the nature of the *scientific fact*. A scientific fact is one that is describable in terms capable of communication to all rational beings, and capable of verification by all properly equipped observers. A thing or event not thus verifiable is not objective and not a fact for science. It may be perfectly real, but it is not something of which science can take cognizance, for the obvious reason that, being unverifiable, it is incapable of entering into the common system of social knowledge which all may recognize and which all may utilize in dealing with nature. From all of which it follows, plainly enough, that empirical science is limited to objects and events presented to human experience, and verifiable in human experience.

All this, I suppose, is sufficiently elementary and simple; but it brings us, quite unawares perhaps, into the presence of certain subtle misunderstandings which can be avoided only by making

rather nice distinctions. If science deals only with objects and events presented to human experience, it may be asked, must one not conclude that human experience is the real object of science? And if this is the case have we not reduced physics to psychology, and made over the whole "choir of Heaven and furniture of earth" into nothing more objective than the circle of our own "ideas"? Here is a difficulty, surely, and one that we can get out of only by facing it courageously and making at least a start upon some epistemological theory. Fortunately we shall not have to go very far in the theory of knowledge, and the suggestion I shall make is, I think, compatible with more than one type of epistemology. It is not true, I would answer, that in studying those things which are presented to our experience and verifiable in our experience we are studying our states of consciousness or our ideas. When I think of my friend—that is, when I have in my mind a concept or a memory image of my friend—I am not thinking of the thought of my friend: I am thinking of *him*. He is the object of my thought, and I think of him by having a concept of him. To have a concept of him *is* to think of him. In like manner to have a percept of a tulip *is* to perceive a tulip. I do not perceive my perception: I perceive the tulip. And I do so by having the percept. Our percepts and concepts and memory images are the tools with which we perceive and conceive and remember our various objects. In all these processes certain qualities are presented to us as qualities of the objects. These qualities are never taken or meant by us as qualities of our mental states; and frequently they are absolutely not to be discovered by the most careful introspection within the images which constitute the nucleus of our psychic states. They are qualities which we *mean*, qualities which the action of the external world upon us makes us mean; and which inevitably we, one and all, refer to the objects or events of which external nature consists. This is what is meant when it is said that we *find* this and that quality in a natural object. When I apply a tape-measure to this table I find it three feet long; when you do the same, you find it three feet long; and everyone else putting himself in the same situation finds the same results. The quality of being three feet long does not belong to your consciousness nor to mine but to

the table. Its length is not a characteristic of our experience, but it is presented to our experience and is verifiable in it.

We may now, at least, come directly at the subject of our chief inquiry. We have studied the nature of an empirical science; is theology such a science? The object which theology studies is, I suppose, God, in some large sense of that word. Professor Macintosh suggests three preliminary definitions of God: "the necessary objective Factor in experimental religion," "the Object of religious dependence," "the Source of religious deliverance from evil." As a more complete and satisfactory definition he gives the following: "a Power, not identical with our empirical selves, which makes for some dependable result (e.g., righteousness), in and through us when we relate ourselves to that Power in a certain discoverable way." Our problem now is whether such a "necessary objective Factor," "Object," "Source," or "Power not identical with our empirical selves" is directly experienced and whether it is verifiable in the sense of being directly presented to the experience of all properly equipped observers. The presentation must be *direct*: the object must be presented *in* human experience. An entity the existence and character of which we *infer* from various other objects which are presented in experience is not itself a scientific fact. It is only a hypothesis useful for the interpretation of experienced facts. One's belief in it may be as rationally justifiable and unshakable as you will; but if that belief be based on interpretation and inference and not on direct presentation which is repeatable in the experience of all other observers, the thing in question is not a scientific fact nor the object of empirical science. The luminiferous ether and the various other ethers are, frankly, from this point of view, not scientific facts but scientific hypotheses or hypothetical entities, because they cannot be verified by direct presentation in experience. Other hypotheses could be invented to interpret the facts, and very possibly the ethers may some day be relegated to the limbo of exploded theories where they will keep company with caloric, the Ptolemaic astronomy, and many other discarded hypotheses which once posed as scientific facts. If theology is to be an empirical science, God in some sense or other of that great but ambiguous

word, must be presentable to and repeatable and verifiable in human experience with a directness far beyond anything that the luminiferous ether has as yet attained.

Three principal modes of experience have been proposed in which it is claimed such direct and verifiable presentation of God is to be discovered. These are, as I understand them, (1) the revelation of God to be found in various great prophetic persons, and notably in the person and the work of Christ; (2) the experience of salvation of power to resist temptation, progress in the moral life, renovation of character, as brought about by religious influences; (3) the experience of the mystic.

With the first of these three fields of human experience in which the Divine is said to be immediately and scientifically perceived, I must confess I feel quite incompetent to deal. Quite incompetent because I cannot begin to understand what can be meant by the claim that in the person and work of Christ we have a direct and verifiable and scientific experience of God as our immediate object of such a sort as to make Christian theology an empirical science. I can quite understand how it may be argued that the person and work of Christ as depicted for us in the Four Gospels was such that we must conclude he was divine. But this conclusion is a conclusion, a reasoned inference from the historical data. Moreover, even the historical data themselves, as historical data, are not scientific facts; they are historical facts. Historical figures—Jesus, Cromwell, Napoleon—are not the objects of any empirical science since they are not reproducible and verifiable in experience. They may, indeed, be utilized by science—borrowed, as it were, from history and taken on the credit of history; but they are historical objects, not scientific ones. Still less, then, can deductions and inferences from the characters of historical figures be properly regarded as the data or facts of an empirical science. So to regard them is to commit one's self to the double fallacy of first confusing history with science and then confusing metaphysics with history.

We come now to a very much more comprehensible form of the argument, a form which maintains that God is directly apprehended, and therefore verifiable, in such things as moral renovation

and especially in the Christian experience of salvation. In assessing the tenability of this position we must remember the very modest definitions of God which I have quoted from Professor Macintosh, and which include as much as need be directly presented in order to establish theology as an empirical science. Suppose, then, that we shall mean by the word God nothing more definite than a reality which is not our merely individual and empirical selves, but which can be depended upon to make a difference of a certain describable sort in our spiritual experience when we enter into and persist in a certain describable attitude toward a religious object regarded as real. Such a definition seems to me to have reached the very limit of vagueness admissible for even prescientific perception. Surely we must mean by God at least something not identifiable with our empirical selves. The study of our empirical selves, our mental states, etc., as subject to religious influences, may indeed be a science, but it is the science known as the psychology of religion, not theology. If all we mean by God is merely the way we feel about him (as indeed some leading writers on the psychology of religion maintain), then theology in its attempt to become empirical has committed suicide. This point I surely need not labor; and I am confident that Professor Macintosh and those who agree with him would heartily concur. If then we are to avoid a fatal psychologism in our theological methodology, we must at least maintain that "God," in whatever sense, is at least a Power not ourselves. And if theology is an empirical science, "God" must be perceived as a Power not ourselves. We revert, then, to the question, is such a power or reality as that defined above directly presented to and verifiable in experience? Now I think this much may properly be said. It is probably a verifiable fact that when persons of a certain disposition and temperament and with proper training "enter into and persist in a certain describable attitude toward a religious object regarded as real," differences of a certain describable sort in their spiritual experience may be depended upon to follow. This is probably a fact and a scientific fact—scientific because repeatable and verifiable. But it is a fact not of theology but of the psychology of religion. And this is as far as science can go. That some reality not ourselves,

some reality other than our attitude, ideas, emotions, and other than the resulting differences in our spiritual experience, other, also, than our social and material environment, is here *presented*—to experience as a verifiable *object*—this is an assertion for which I find no ground whatever, and even the meaning of which seems to me, to say the least, extremely elusive. I can understand that one might form a cogent argument to prove that in the production of the new spiritual experience something more is needed than the subjective and social forces which we find, and hence we must infer a “dependable power” not to be identified with ourselves or with our human fellows to explain the total experience. But such an inference would be an inference, and the power thus conceived would be an object of interpretation, not of direct experience, a hypothetical entity logically deducible, not one directly presented to and verifiable in experience; and hence not a scientific fact.

The most likely place to find God as an empirical fact seems to me to be the mystic experience. For the mystic not only claims that certain events in his spiritual life are inexplicable without appeal to the Divine; he maintains that at certain great moments he has directly perceived the Divine. He has been immediately aware of a Presence not himself and not to be identified with any human being, and though this awareness has not been through any of the avenues of sense, the Presence has been “given” to his experience as directly as has any material object.

I think we can hardly deny that if all of us, after suitable training, could develop this “sixth sense” and invariably become directly aware of this Presence, and if this Presence had qualities verifiable in the experience of all and were therefore describable and communicable and as such entered into the common system of our social knowledge—if all this were the case, I say—we could hardly deny to it the name of a scientific object. To be sure, it would not be an object of perception through the “five senses”; but by hypothesis all competent observers would agree that it was presented to their experience none the less. Moreover anyone who doubted it might be shown this Presence; i.e., it could, by hypothesis, be presented to his experience also and verified by him. Furthermore, we should be no more justified in identifying this Presence

with the subjective mental states of all observers than we are now justified in the psychologism which would identify material objects with the mental states of our chemists and physicists. For by hypothesis the observers should find this Presence presented to them with definite qualities not to be confused with the sensuous or revived images by means of which it was presented. As to what these qualities could be I confess I can form no conception. They could hardly be sensuous qualities, for these can be apprehended only through sense-perception or in visions; and, as I understand it, the mystics almost universally insist that their experience is not to be identified with either of these. Nor could the qualities thus immediately but non-sensuously apprehended be moral, for by their very nature moral qualities cannot be simply "given"; they are organizations of intricate relations and hence are deducible but not directly presentable. Such questions as these may throw a certain doubt upon the mystic's claim; but he will answer us that until we ourselves participate in his experience we need not expect to form any conception of the Presence which he apprehends.

To what science this object or "Presence" should belong I cannot say. Inasmuch as it could not be identified with images, feelings, or any other mental states, it would have to be excluded from psychology; and as it would not be perceptible by the ordinary avenues of sense-perception it could not be an object of physical science. If, however, the qualities perceived in it and deducible from it were of a certain sort it might properly be said to belong to theology, and in that case we should be justified in calling theology (so far forth) an empirical science.

But the crucial question must first be faced whether the mystical experience and its object fulfil the conditions above enumerated. I do not think that any careful student of mysticism can honestly say that they do. In the first place the object or Presence to the apprehension of which the mystics testify has no definite qualities by which it can be made communicable or identifiable. This is the testimony of most of the mystics themselves. Repeatedly they affirm that the object of their awareness is ineffable and beyond all words. The Upanishads tell us it can be described only by "No, No." To the neo-Platonists it is the nameless and characterless

One. Dionysius the Areopagite assures us that "in this knowledge we get neither form nor impression, nor can we give any account nor furnish any likeness." Eckhart almost prefers to call the experience "a not-knowing and an ignorance." Not all the mystics to be sure take this *via negativa*. Yet those who essay most confidently and carefully to give us a positive description of the object presented to them in the mystic experience end either with purely negative terms or else describe to us merely their own accompanying psychic states—images, emotions, etc., which they do not attribute to the object but find in themselves—or finally they merely enumerate qualities derived from their theological instruction and which they *believe* (rather than find) the Divine Object to possess.

Such is the "object" said to be apprehended in the mystic experience. Can anyone who knows the meaning of the word science seriously maintain that this is a scientific object? By common consent, it can neither be described, communicated, nor identified. If there is anything about science upon which thinkers have agreed for the last 2,500 years, it is, I suppose, Aristotle's assertion that science is of the universal. But an object with no definable qualities which can be put into general terms and which shall make it communicable is surely the acme of particularity or of negativity. In short, even if it be granted that an objective entity is directly presented to the experience of the mystic (and not merely inferred by him as an interpretation of his experience), this entity is, upon his own showing, of such a nature as to be incapable of becoming a scientific object.

Nor can it be truly said that even the presentation to the mystic's experience of even this vague entity as an object distinguishable from his mental states and possessing objective validity is a scientific fact. It is not a scientific fact because it has not as yet been verified. That certain persons whom we call mystics do have, at times, the experiences described is a scientific fact because it is verifiable—given at least so much confidence in human veracity as science is forced in innumerable problems to presuppose. But science necessarily has to take a different attitude when investigating the existence of objects which are claimed

to be independent of the subjective experience of the observers from that which it takes when investigating psychic states. As each observer's psychic states are, by the nature of the case, open only to his observation, science can do no more than take the testimony of various observers, check them up by each other and by whatever indirect objective control experiments it can devise, and make out the "laws" of these psychic occurrences accordingly, putting its description in general terms and verifying its facts by appeal to new observers. While the laws and the general descriptions of mental phenomena are thus common to and verifiable in the experience of all observers, the particular mental states of John Doe and Richard Roe are not repeatable or verifiable. But when a claim is made that an entity exists objectively, an entity not to be identified with any of the psychic states of any of its observers, science quite properly insists that before it can recognize the existence of this entity as a scientific fact it must be reproducible in and presented to the experience of all observers possessing the normal human constitution and the proper training. Science, in short, not unnaturally "wants to be shown."

Now as everyone except Miss Underhill knows, the Presence which the mystics insist they perceive cannot be "shown" to anyone but the mystics. It is not reproducible and verifiable in general human experience. Nor will it do to say that it is perceivable by anyone with the proper psychical make-up. This may be true, but it reduces to the assertion that all mystics can perceive what all mystics can perceive. The same sort of claim might be made for the objective existence of the snakes which appear in *delirium tremens*. If it could be shown that all normally constituted human beings could apprehend this objective "Presence" upon the completion of a suitable training, we should then have a real argument for its objective existence. But the fact is, on the one hand, that there is no evidence whatever to support such a supposition, and on the other that the Christian mystics themselves, so far as they have any opinion on this subject, unanimously agree that no amount of training can bring about this experience. To perceive God directly in the mystic way they assert with emphasis is a special grace given or withheld by God for his own

reasons. Various methods of spiritual training help to prepare one for it, but they can never assure it. According to the opinion of the mystics, therefore, what is probably a very large proportion of mankind could not by any efforts they could make attain to the direct apprehension of this Presence. In other words, the mystics themselves agree—and surely the balance of non-mystical human experience bears them out in it—that the Entity or Power or Presence which they claim to apprehend is not verifiable in the way in which an object must be verifiable before it can become a scientific object.

There is nothing in all this to disprove in any way the mystics' claim. It is perfectly possible, so far as the considerations dwelt upon in this paper are concerned, that the mystics may apprehend God directly. But on their own showing this apprehension is of such a nature that you cannot make a science out of it or an object of science out of their God.

In my opinion an attempt on the part of theology to transform itself into an empirical science would be not only a hopeless undertaking but also a dangerous one. Hopeless for the reasons I have tried to express in this paper. Dangerous because in so far as it should succeed it would probably be at the cost of identifying itself with the psychology of religion and identifying God with the idea of God. This does not mean that theology is precluded from the use of empirical data. Most certainly it may and should make use of all the facts that can be gathered concerning the religious consciousness and the spiritual life of man. It may well be that in a careful study of these data it will be able to find new and convincing evidence of God's presence and influence in human life. But it will be wise to recognize in the future as it has in the past that the conclusions thus arrived at are rational deductions rather than immediate presentations; and that it itself is more closely related to an empirically based metaphysics than to empirical science.

THE RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE OF THE HUMANITY OF JESUS

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The supreme value of Jesus in Christian religious experience has been appropriately expressed in the doctrine of the deity of Christ. This doctrine has been cherished as the corner stone of sound theological construction. But again and again it has been discovered that too exclusive emphasis on the deity of Christ leads to religious dangers. For, since the nature of God is necessarily defined by metaphysical speculation, there is room for a wide range of hypothetical conceptions. To define Christ in terms of this metaphysics opens the way for important differences of opinion in Christology, and ultimately suggests the possibility that certain doctrinal affirmations concerning Christ may be clever speculations rather than statements of fact. The only way in which to test the truth of christological speculations is to insist that these shall do justice to the facts of Jesus' earthly life as well as to the demands of theological consistency.

It is true that until the development of modern historical criticism, the test employed was that of citing proof-texts from Scripture rather than a careful scrutiny of the life of Jesus. At the same time, men were compelled to recognize the historical figure of Jesus, and to make some place in Christology for his existence and activity in the flesh. This earthly life was genuine—that was the affirmation made against all suggestions of docetism, and, being genuine, it played an essential part in the saving work of Christ.

One of the most conspicuous achievements of theological scholarship during the past century has been a new and intimate acquaintance with the historical Jesus. It has come to be taken for granted that we must press back of the doctrinal statements of the church to the testimony of those who were in close relationship to Jesus

during his earthly life, and that this testimony must be critically examined in order to discover, so far as possible, the real Jesus of history. The problem of evaluating that testimony and of piecing together the fragmentary information at our disposal has proved to be more complicated than was formerly anticipated, and we are as yet far from any consensus of opinion on many crucial points.

But, even though historical investigation is still tentative, it has had a profound influence on Christian thinking. Never before in Christian history has the life of Jesus been so concretely in mind. We are seeing the rapid development of a type of Christianity which attaches far more importance to a knowledge of the life and the teachings of Jesus than to any doctrinal formulations of his person and work. The textbooks prepared for religious education in Sunday schools, Young Men's Christian Associations, and colleges are with increasing skill and effectiveness making the deeds and teachings of Jesus all-important. Men are more and more judging the church by asking whether it introduces into individual and social life the spirit which was in Jesus. So far as personal religious life in our day is concerned, there is a veritable renaissance of interest in the historical Jesus.

In view of this fact it is worth while to ask how the human life of Jesus is being interpreted by theologians. For unless justice is done to this characteristic interest of our day, the subtle suggestions of docetism will go unchallenged.

I. THE METAPHYSICAL INTERPRETATION OF HUMANITY

Our theological inheritance dates from the controversies which evoked the Nicene and Chalcedonian creeds. These controversies are intelligible only as a metaphysical conception of redemption is presupposed. The evil from which man needs to be saved is grounded in his "nature." Human nature is inherently corruptible. Every human being is destined to die. Divine nature, on the other hand, is incorruptible. Possessors of divine nature may overcome death. The saving work of Christ, then, consists in bringing incorruptible divine nature into such organic relations with human nature that the latter may be deified. The incarnation, rather than the life of Jesus, is the supreme thing in this conception. The

humanity of Jesus must, indeed, be real; but its function is simply to serve as a metaphysical vehicle by which the saving power of Christ's deity may be imparted to men.

Where this metaphysical conception obtains, there is little interest in the human experience of Jesus. He is pictured during his earthly life as one ever conscious of his superhuman character. All his deeds and words are considered as expressions of a divine purpose to make plain the way of salvation. The personality of Jesus is conceived as entirely divine. His humanity is merely the necessary medium for communicating the power of divinity to needy men.

From this point of view there is no necessity for thinking of Jesus as a human personality. Indeed, to do so would detract from the completeness of his deity. So we find the interesting doctrine that Jesus possessed an *impersonal* human nature. Dr. A. H. Strong clearly expresses this conception:

Since the human nature of Christ has not, and never had a separate existence, it is impersonal, and in the God-man the Logos furnishes the principle of personality.¹ . . . Christ's human nature . . . attains self-consciousness and self-determination only in the personality of the God-man.²

When we examine the religious significance of this metaphysical interpretation we are led straight into one of the most stubborn theological controversies of our day. The advocates of the metaphysical theory are conscious of a great uplifting experience because through faith in the divine Christ they are enabled to feel that God touches them and transforms them. It seems to them that if Jesus were a human personality, his earthly life would be an entity separating God from human vision instead of serving to bring God into immediate contact with men. They thus view with impatient distrust the increasing habit of studying the historical Jesus as a human personality. They call loudly for a return to the metaphysical way of defining the nature of Christ. The late Dr. Charles A. Briggs declared:

Lives of Jesus Christ are really modern conceptions, which in some respects lead to false ideas of Him. The New Testament leaves all those things that go to make up a biography in the background of His teaching and of His

¹ *Systematic Theology*, II, 695.

² *Ibid.*, p. 694.

miracles of love; and thus makes Him, what He is and must be from the very nature of the case, the Messiah and Savior, a mystery, a unique man, one apart from all men in a unique relation to God, His Father, in a sense peculiar to Him alone.¹

The metaphysical interpretation of the humanity of Jesus is thus inevitably hostile, both to the historical attempt to reconstruct the life of Jesus as a citizen of this world, and to the conception of Christianity which would make that life, in its moral and social attitude, normative in Christian experience. This distrust is due to the fear lest such an emphasis will substitute a mere humanistic religion for the sublime experience of finding the fulness of God in Christ. But when carefully examined in the light of our present conceptions of personal life, this exaltation of Jesus proves to be open to objection for reasons similar to those which have always been urged against docetism.

The ancient theologians insisted upon the unimpaired completeness of the human nature of Christ. For Christ could redeem only that which he actually possessed. As against the religious sentiment which, because flesh was considered the seat of evil, strove to honor Christ by declaring that his sojourn on earth was that of a purely spiritual being, the leaders of Christian thought courageously insisted on the genuine fleshly character of Jesus. It was seen that unless Jesus completely shared our humanity, there was a gulf between him and us which made real salvation impossible. Docetism, while seeming to exalt the divinity of Jesus, actually made that divinity impotent to transform human nature. And for *Christian* theology a God powerless to save men would be no God at all.

Today we are thinking of the issues of life, not in terms of metaphysical human nature, but in terms of personal activity. The great moral and social movements of our day are endeavors to make possible a richer realization of personal life. The struggle for democracy is precisely the longing to free *persons* from bondage. It is coming to be seen that the gravest sins of our time are due to a willingness to use men *impersonally*, to regard human activities as a commodity to be traded with like other commodities. If

¹ *The Fundamental Christian Faith*, p. 114.

Christianity is to be a transforming power in the present world, it must, in the fine phrase of President Henry Churchill King, cultivate a "reverence for personality."

What, then, shall be said of a Christology which thinks to exalt Jesus by denying to him human personality? Such a denial is the modern counterpart of the gnostic docetism which true Christianity repudiated. If Jesus was not a genuinely human person, there is a gulf between him and us no less fatal than the gulf discovered in ancient docetism. If it was essential to the metaphysical conception of salvation that Jesus should live a genuine life in the flesh, it is equally indispensable to the saviorhood of Jesus in our age that he live as a genuine human person. Just as ancient docetism dissolved Christ into a vague spirit or ghost, so modern docetism leaves him a mysterious metaphysical concept. If the possession of fleshly nature was essential to his saviorhood in the older theology, the possession of a human moral and religious personal experience is essential to modern faith. For in modern thinking *persons* rather than "natures" are to be transformed.

An interesting and instructive example of the conflict between the inherited reverence for a metaphysical definition of Christ's nature and a lively appreciation of the sacredness of personality in modern thinking is furnished by Professor Mackintosh's *Doctrine of the Person of Jesus Christ*. He frankly recognizes both the absurdity and the moral defects of a conception of impersonal human nature. Says he: "As our initial datum we may select the truth that Jesus, as man, was possessed of personal individuality. He was not only Man. He was *a* man."¹ Professor Mackintosh goes into details to establish this thesis. He notes the dependence of Jesus' inner life on his senses, his genuinely human experience of moral problems, the real tug of temptation in his life, the hopes which blazed up only to be disappointed, the actual limitations of his knowledge, his need of prayer, and his sense of joy at experiencing the presence of God.² There is evidently the intention to eradicate all traces of docetism, and to insist on the complete humanity of Jesus in terms of our modern conception of humanity.

¹ *Doctrine of the Person of Jesus Christ*, p. 385.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 395 ff.

Nevertheless, such is the power of the traditional emphasis that Professor Mackintosh proceeds to make certain qualifications intended to establish a decisive difference between Jesus' experience and that of other men. A few sentences will make this clear:

To speak as if without more ado we could adopt Jesus' undimmed filial consciousness is to play with words.¹ . . . Jesus' communion with God was a secret of his own soul; but so far as he revealed it openly, we can see it to be quite inimitable by us. *His* relation to the Father was immediate; *ours*, as he taught, is only in and through him.² . . . The suggestion that the "religion of Jesus" represents the essence of Christianity may be dismissed as an impressionist and superficial error.³ We are called not to believe like him, but to believe in him.⁴

If, now, we take the modern emphasis on personal experience as the essential thing to be cherished in religion, such declarations as the above deny to Jesus a complete human experience. He remains forever distinct from us. His communion with God was "quite inimitable by us." We cannot venture to "believe like him." While Professor Mackintosh sees clearly that the conception of an impersonal human nature in Jesus would rob religion of those volitional and moral factors which we today regard as the supreme good, he nevertheless conceives Jesus as a personality with qualities and activities so different from ours that he belongs to a different species. He did not completely share human experience. His life on earth was that of a superhuman being, belonging essentially to a higher order, rather than that of a genuine citizen of this world. There is a definite docetism here.

The moral and religious outcome of this conception is especially unfortunate when it is brought into relation with democratic ideals. If human experience is incompatible with divine perfection, such experience is depreciated. We thus have an essentially aristocratic ideal. Humanity is an unworthy medium for the expression of Jesus' excellence. And his appearance in human form is described by Professor Mackintosh in terms which reflect the patronizing attitude of an essentially "upperclass" consciousness:

¹ *Doctrine of the Person of Jesus Christ*, p. 359.

² *Ibid.*, p. 360.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 361.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 345.

God in Christ, we believe, came down to the plane of suffering men that he might lift them up. Descending into poverty, shame, and weakness, the Lord was stripped of all credit, despoiled of every right, humbled to the very depths of social and historical ignominy, that in this self-abasement of God there might be found the redemption of men.¹

Jesus' life in the flesh is apparently regarded as a humiliation, as an "ignominy," as an "abasement," even though it was entered into with the lofty purpose to save men. There can be no real valuation of humanity if it constituted such an ignominious experience for divinity to assume it. Salvation—and this is the fatal moral defect of docetism—must come in such a case as something alien to humanity rather than as the development of what is admirable in humanity. If God must "descend into shame" when he assumes the conditions of human life, that life is so discredited that it cannot play a positive part in the experience of salvation.

Thus in spite of Professor Mackintosh's unequivocal assertion of the full humanity of Jesus, he turns his doctrine of salvation in such a way as to make the mysterious and (to us) inaccessible "secret of Jesus' own soul" the crucial factor. And the distinction between Jesus and us is so stressed that our salvation is made to depend on a mystical trust in what is alien to us rather than on an actual sharing of the life of Jesus.

Although Professor Mackintosh does not express that hostility to the historical study of the character of Jesus which we find in Dr. Briggs's protest, it is significant that he makes a very superficial use of historical canons in his treatise. It is the Johannine estimate of Jesus which he regards as the ultimate fact of the New Testament testimony. His Christology is still so under the sway of the metaphysical interpretation that he cannot sympathetically employ the methods or the results of historical criticism. And his elaborate kenoticism will have little meaning for the type of Christian discipleship which finds its supreme inspiration in the positive value of the human experience of Jesus. Even with the best intention to conserve the real human personality of Jesus, the theologian who retains any trace of that ancient metaphysical dualism between divine nature and human nature is unable to make

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 466 and 467.

positive use of the findings of historical and psychological study. But unless the Christ of faith is identical in personality with the Jesus of history, docetism is inevitable; and docetism opens the door to unverifiable speculations concerning Christ which eventually lead to vague generalizations. The adoration of a metaphysical mystery in the incarnation supplants an appreciation of the moral and religious traits of character found in the historical personality of Jesus.

II. THE RITSCHLIAN EMPHASIS UPON THE HISTORICAL JESUS

One of the important aspects of the Ritschlian theology has been the refusal to employ a metaphysical Christology. Christian faith, the Ritschlian affirms, must not be dissolved into speculation concerning the "nature" of Christ. Its firm foundation is to be found in actual history rather than in an inaccessible transcendent realm. There is abundant room for question and doubt concerning the invisible and incomprehensible God of ancient metaphysics. But the historical person of Jesus is a definite objective reality. A faith based on this indubitable fact of history cannot be shaken by speculative questionings. In elaborating a Christology, then, the Ritschlian derives his data from "the man Jesus,"—to use a favorite phrase of Herrmann.

At first sight, this seems like a serious attempt to shake off the last vestiges of docetism, and to build positively on the humanity of Jesus. But Ritschlianism conceives salvation in such a fashion as to fail to fulfil this promise.

The Ritschlian theology was strongly influenced by a pessimistic conception due to the extraordinary growth of natural science. In the place of the older theological explanation of our world, physical science had elaborated a purely naturalistic account of both man and his environment. The newer science was religiously atheistic. With La Place it could calmly say that it had no need for the hypothesis of God.

On the basis of this scientific interpretation of nature, there is no religious hope unless some power other than nature shall be available for man's rescue. Ritschlianism is profoundly concerned to make credible the reality of such a salvation. We must be

delivered from the power of this (naturalistic) world by an exhibition of supernatural grace. Christian experience is conceived, not as a natural growth, but rather as a response to a supernatural gift of grace.

Thus with all his emphasis on "the man Jesus," the Ritschlian theologian is primarily concerned to discover the *revelation of God in Jesus*. The deeds and words of the historical Jesus are, indeed, the chief material for a doctrine concerning him. Pauline and Johannine and Nicene theologies are treated as belonging to the history of doctrine. Great stress is laid on the necessity of studying Jesus himself rather than doctrines about him. Nevertheless this study of Jesus is not for the purpose of ascertaining precisely the significance of his human life. It is rather a quest for such qualities in the character of Jesus as make him the revelation of God to us. The human life of Jesus is a channel for this revelation. The real value of Jesus consists in his God-revealing power rather than in his religious experience as a human personality. Says Herrmann:

In it [i.e., the inner life of Jesus] we ourselves meet the Personal Spirit, who in all that he does to us confirms the claim tradition makes for him that he is the Saviour of the world.¹ . . . Under the impression that Jesus makes upon us there arises in our hearts the certainty that God himself is turning towards us in this experience.²

Even more explicit is Haering:

It is only the true personal energizing of God in a real historical Person that furnishes adequate means for realizing that personal fellowship with God. . . . We gain trust in the saving work of God, because this historical Person so acts on us that in his working on us we can experience the eternal working of God; because He awakens such trust in Himself that, in trusting Him, we trust God.³

In accordance with this special interest, the Ritschlian theology is really surprisingly lacking in interest in the human experience of Jesus. A definitely selective process is constantly at work, by which those traits or deeds which indicate divine revelation are thrown into the foreground. Jesus' consciousness of his own sinlessness, his unerring capacity for true moral judgment, his messianic mission of saviorhood—in a word his consciousness of

¹ *The Christian's Communion with God*, p. 83.

² *Ibid.*, p. 83.

³ *The Christian Faith*, II, 597.

being qualified to stand as the unique revelation of God in history—these are characteristics which are stressed. “Jesus knows no more sacred task than to point men to his own person.”

We have here a translation of the Nicene emphasis into a modern form. Just as there the humanity of Jesus is simply the indispensable *metaphysical* medium through which deity can appropriate and rescue men, so in the Ritschlian theology the historical Jesus is really just the indispensable *historical* medium through which God is revealed as redeemer. It is true that there is a great difference between the two in content. The Nicene Christology provides a sacramental means of transforming a metaphysical human nature, while for the Ritschlian, salvation consists in a changed moral and personal experience. Thus the content of Jesus' life is set forth in personal rather than impersonal terms. A real experience of God on Jesus' part is the source of his power to mediate God to men. Yet the emphasis is constantly laid on Jesus' power to reveal *God*, rather than on his *experience* as a human person. Jesus is differentiated from other men rather than drawn close to them. His relation to God was unique, immediate, while ours must always be mediated through him. “We cannot enter fully into the same relation to God which Jesus had; that remains his own secret,” says Herrmann.¹

We have noted above the hostility or the indifference of theologians representing the metaphysical ideal to a thoroughgoing critical historical study of the life of Jesus. The Ritschlian attitude is similarly one of religious distrust. One of Herrmann's important efforts was to make faith in Christ absolutely independent of the results of historical investigation. In spite of the valuable historical work done by many Ritschlians in the New Testament field, their Christology remains singularly aloof from the historical point of view. An interesting instance of this instinctive attitude is given in a pamphlet by Herrmann, in which he tries to face squarely the fact that *historical* investigation does not seem to lead us unmistakably toward the Ritschlian portrait of Jesus. Herrmann declares that our salvation through Jesus does not consist in our certainty concerning this or that fact of history but “solely

¹ *The Christian's Communion with God*, p. 33.

in the experiences of God in which we become certain of the compelling presence of God in our own life."¹ He then argues that we may feel the divine power of the New Testament *portrait* of Jesus without raising questions of exact historicity. In other words, if this *portrait* compels us to feel the presence of God, it is an effective channel of redemption, even if we cannot be historically sure that Jesus' character as a historical person is accurately recorded. This is very close to the admission that the saving power of God might be effectively revealed through an *ideal* portrait. In such a case the actual experience of Jesus is less important than an emotionally effective way of picturing God's love. The Ritschlian interest, if confronted with historical facts which do not support the theological emphasis, is willing to dispense with the facts. The "humanity" of Jesus in this case tends to become a concept determined by theological exigencies, exactly as the "impersonal human nature" of the older Christology was derived from the a priori necessities of doctrinal construction.

In justice to the Ritschlian position, however, it should be said that its fine moral and social conception of Christian living prevents any emergence of the aristocratic and sacramental note which follows naturally from the metaphysical conception. The revelation of God in Jesus brings a potent reinforcement of man's highest moral devotion, and a spiritual equipment for moral living, to counteract the non-moral influences of the world of nature. If this conception can be released from scientific pessimism so that the power of Jesus over men shall be pictured as that of a religiously victorious citizen of this world, the experience of Jesus can be so filled with content as to avoid the danger of submerging his humanity. Haering has pointed the way to this emphasis when, in describing the power of Jesus' personality to create in us the certainty that *God* touches us, he says:

Such action of such a Person, however, is truly personal only if He Himself acknowledges in personal trust that God works in Him; only if He desires to be in God as God desires to be in Him; in other words, only if he realizes in perfection in Himself the religious relation which He is going to realize in us.²

¹ *Die mit der Theologie verknüpfte Not der evangelischen Kirche und ihre Ueberwindung*, p. 30.

² *The Christian Faith*, II, 597.

While Haering's language is somewhat abstract, and the last phrase is decidedly ambiguous, there yet seems here to be a recognition of the fact that unless Jesus' experience is something which can be shared, to some degree, by other men, redemption would inevitably consist in bridging the gulf between Jesus and us by sacramental or mysterious means. A completely ethical salvation cannot neglect the religious experience of Jesus.

III. THE MODERN DEMAND FOR A NEW VALUATION OF JESUS

The world in which Christianity arose was so different from the world in which we live today that many of the religious aspirations of that ancient period are strange to us. It was a world in which the powers of the individual were very limited. Especially if he belonged to the class of laborers or of slaves did these limitations loom large. As ancient culture declined, and the "dark ages" came on, most human beings were perforce content with a very restricted life.

One of the great sources of the power of Christianity was its promise of a wonderfully rich life to those who entered by faith into right relations to God. The miseries and disappointments of the "natural" world might be forgotten in anticipation of the glories of the supernatural world into which the Christian might enter, either at the coming of the Kingdom or after death. Life on earth was transformed when it was viewed as a preparation for future glory.

The important thing to be noted, so far as our theme is concerned, is that the rewards of religious faith were located in a supernatural world. Salvation consisted in securing rights and abilities which entitled the saved man to claim citizenship in that world of divine glory. It was inevitable, under such circumstances, that the significance of Jesus should be discovered in his original possession of superhuman power, by virtue of which he could confer salvation on needy men. The depreciation of this world in comparison with the world of divine perfection is reflected in the ever-recurring docetism of ancient Christology. The human nature of Jesus, linking him to this world of evil, was so modified that in orthodox Christology he is not a genuinely human person.

This ancient pessimism with reference to human life on this earth entered into the official theology of the church. The doctrine of innate human depravity required Christians to depreciate natural human capacities. In order to establish faith in any religious reality, its superhuman origin must be affirmed, and all traces of human frailty must be eliminated. The church appeared before the world as a divine institution, and the all too human record of its development was quickly concealed behind a doctrine of apostolic authority and succession. The human authors of the Bible were transformed into mere amanuenses of the divine Spirit. And, in similar fashion, Christ was defined primarily in terms of transcendent deity. So long as a pessimistic view of the natural world prevailed, religion could make no positive use of human achievements.

But modern men view the world with very different eyes. The discoveries of science, the invention of machinery, and the conception of evolution have combined to give us the picture of the world as plastic material. As our knowledge increases, we may by human effort rid ourselves of many ills and create for ourselves new sources of satisfaction. And this confident trust in human activity is the characteristic trait of modern thinking. The recent war has suddenly opened our eyes to its power and its extent. The pious phrases with which the German emperor interpreted the war were greeted with loud derision at the time; and now that Germany has suffered such overwhelming defeat they read like curious superstitions. Human effort, human technique, human co-operation, even human propaganda with its distorted information, were the great factors in the world-struggle.

Since the ending of hostilities we are becoming acutely aware of the moral crisis confronting us by reason of this changed view of the world. Human effort has compelled the natural resources of the earth to yield countless comforts. Human effort has enabled labor to increase production enormously, and has organized the control of exchange in such a way as to secure huge returns to favored individuals and classes. The momentous fact which confronts the civilized world today is the *consciousness of power* which is rapidly being developed in the laboring classes. When

human effort can accomplish so much, why not rely upon it and develop it in such a way as to bring to the workers a larger return? Indeed, why not reorganize society so as to give the proletariat power to dictate? For better or for worse, the world is now exalting human activity.

It is significant that this modern movement of the proletariat is accompanied by a profound distrust of traditional Christianity. For in the current creeds is found the presupposition that men are humbly to accept salvation from "above." The attitude of passive humility, so exalted in traditional piety, is precisely the attitude which permits exploitation of the laborer by the men who stand "above" him.¹ In protest against this situation the morality of "direct action" is urged. Salvation in the industrial realm is to come through human activity. To depend on "grace" is vain. So reason thousands of workingmen today.

We are living today in dreadful apprehension of the new forces let loose by this new consciousness. Men are conscious of *power*. They propose to organize and use that power to secure what they regard as their best interests. For the hitherto submissive classes, the gospel of salvation through the effective use of human power is singularly attractive. It recognizes them as responsible persons, capable of determining their own interests, rather than as voiceless dependents. Those to whom the new appeal comes have hitherto had little or no share in the making of culture. They thus have no sense of personal possession in the institutions of culture. And in the struggle for a better position in the world they reveal an appalling lack of appreciation of the social institutions which have been so painfully built up during past centuries. It would be so easy just now for a desperate, organized movement to topple over the entire structure of civilization. It is the instinctive perception of this which creates our hysterical sensitiveness to "Bolshevism."

Between this world of eager human activity and the world interpreted by traditional theology there is a difference fundamental and ineradicable. The characteristic hostility of radical social

¹ A certain advertisement intended to enlist hearty support of the church gave as one of the benefits of Christianity to a community that it makes workingmen contented!

movements to the church, the perplexed impatience of social workers with conventional theology, the eager groping of leaders of youth after more *human* ways of presenting Jesus, all testify to an unsatisfied religious need. A recent booklet to be used by Y.M.C.A. classes of high-school boys is entitled *Jesus the Head Coach*. So desperately are men feeling the need of bringing Jesus into intimate touch with our own life. For theologians to ignore this world of eager human activity and to continue fighting over the old battles of metaphysical Christology is a religious disaster.

The supreme religious need of our world is a moral and social inspiration and direction of the great human efforts which, for weal or for woe, are shaping events. If Jesus is to have any power in this world, the presentation of his moral and social human achievements is as indispensable as was his true life in the flesh in the theology of the ancient world. And these achievements must be *genuine*. They must not be robbed of moral value by making them easier for Jesus than for other men. Professor E. S. Ames has forcibly put the matter in these words:

We have little interest in the question whether a being with a double nature such as Christ is often represented, could suffer death upon a Roman cross; but we are tremendously concerned as to whether men with one nature like our own can intelligently and disinterestedly labor and serve for the welfare of our kind here and now. So much is this attitude controlling us, that the older conception of Christ as a being with a uniquely superior endowment, repels us from him. If he only acted out on earth the part for which he had been coached in heaven, or if he did a man's task with a god's strength, or if he possessed the equivalent of a magic key to unlock the plain, everyday difficulties which we meet bare-handed, then he only makes our despair the deeper.¹

For the religious inspiration of our modern life we need a conception of salvation different from that which was expressed in days before men became conscious of their personal power. If the modern world is to be saved at all, it must be through the creation of an active personal idealism rather than through a passive dependence on "means of grace." I do not mean to suggest that metaphysical and sacramental conceptions have utterly failed to create personal idealism. On the contrary, they produced heroic

¹ *The Divinity of Christ*, p. 28.

personalities in former times. But they are effective only where it is presupposed that human persons are not free, where some sort of emancipation from the bonds of "nature" or from the paralyzing condemnation of God must be *preliminary* to the exercise of moral vigor. In times of moral pessimism these conditions are fulfilled, and the redemptive work of Christ is viewed as an "enabling act" *ab extra*. But the important fact of our modern social unrest is the absence of any such presuppositions as to the inherent inabilities of men. Men are already able to act. They need only to act vigorously and in co-operation to get results. The religious need is not so much the awakening of a consciousness of personal power as it is the moral inspiration and education of already existing powers. To save a man under these conditions, Jesus must have power to stimulate and to develop moral idealism. And such stimulation is possible only as Jesus is conceived as a citizen of this world, persuasively and triumphantly devoting himself to the moral task of bringing human rights to recognition and shaping human efforts to the making of a righteous society.

This conception of the significance of Jesus is being persuasively voiced in books, sermons, study-courses, personal confessions. But theologically it is constantly brought under suspicion because of the retention of the old antithesis between divine and human nature. It is assumed that whatever is added to the human nature of Jesus must be subtracted from his divine nature. Consequently the assertion of a completely human experience in Jesus is assumed to be a denial of his divinity.

But *pari passu* with the development of interest in human personality has gone a humanizing of men's conception of God. Where now do we find emphasis on the austere and majestic absoluteness of the divine sovereignty? The formal creeds and theologies have kept the language of this old absolutism before our eyes while the thing itself was dying out. The conception of evolution together with the growing consciousness of democratic striving has put an end to our confidence in "absolutes." Things are always in the making. The supreme joy is not to *be* a child, but to be *growing* into a man. The society or nation or church content to conform to fixed norms soon becomes either innocuous

in senile complacency or hostile to the ongoing development of human welfare. The most conspicuous and significant feature of modern Protestantism is the great interdenominational co-operative movement for the stupendous program of Christianizing the world. We are living in an unfinished world. The best is yet to be.

If this be true, then the relation of God to this development must be conceived in terms of unceasing moral creativity. The finishing of an unfinished world is a task for God no less than for man. Religion for the men who are working at the task of moral and social betterment is "the consciousness of being co-workers with an Eternal Creative Good Will."¹ In protest against an absolutist conception of God which would seem to remove him from actual participation in our human conflict with an unfinished and imperfect world, the suggestion of a "finite" God has been seriously suggested. All this means that our definition of God is being radically altered by the exigencies of modern life. A new anthropomorphism is being boldly asserted, because in the modern world companionship with a remote Absolute is impossible. While there is as yet no adequate theological exposition of these religious aspirations, there is a very real and vital religious *experience* of companionship with a divine and sympathetic fellow-worker. A devout and highly successful conservative minister of the gospel once told me that his prayer seemed most real when he addressed God as "my yoke-fellow."

The bearing of this development on the religious interpretation of Jesus is apparent. If a "yoke-fellow" is a more real God than is a metaphysical absolute, then the divinity of Jesus is best asserted by an unqualified belief in his completely human experience. If God's nature is best expressed by conceiving him as confronting the task of finishing an unfinished world, then Jesus' significance will best appear if we think of him as devoting himself to his task. Says C. H. Dickinson:

Great is the advance of that faith in Jesus which has learned him as the simplest and best realization of religion, as we recognize in him that which the human child may be to the eternal Father, and accept God as he knew him, the Father of our most childlike, manliest trust and obedience and love. Our

¹ E. W. Lyman, *The Experience of God in Modern Life*, p. 149.

danger here is that we take too lightly his vital faith and our own as learned from him. We make our own faith too easy if we assume in him a sonship won and kept too easily. . . . His fellowship with the Father was not static but dynamic; it was, because it was ever being attained.¹

To those who feel sympathetically the great pulses of aspiration, discontent, and ambition in our modern world the position of Christian theology is tragic. So far behind the movements of life has it lagged that the very idea of a "theological" discussion suggests academic concern over bygone issues. Thousands of eager souls are yearning for a religious interpretation of our *human* world—a world which has discredited magic and superstition and non-moral short-cuts, a world which is just now shuddering at the possibilities of an irreligious exercise of human power, a world where even the Christian church is undergoing a mighty revival through the organization of human effort. In such a world a theology which discredits or distrusts humanity is impotent. And if Christianity is really to inspire and lead the spiritual movements of our age, it must cease the all too easy and superficial habit of judging modern religious movements by the metaphysical norms of bygone christological heresies. Arianism, Socinianism, Adoptianism, yes, and Unitarianism are comprehensible only in relation to a theological metaphysics which has ceased to stir men's souls. Why waste time in trying to discern an antiquated heresy in a modern revision of christological interpretation? Let us rather with truthful moral earnestness interpret the significance of Jesus as the great citizen of this world, who conquered for himself a real companionship with the God who ever toils at the task of making the world better. In his real conquest of a victorious faith Jesus is able to create in other men a similar power to overcome. To declare that the "religion of Jesus" is not the center of Christianity is to rob the church and the world of its greatest religious asset.

¹ *The Christian Reconstruction of Modern Life*, pp. 218 and 219.

A PROPOSED RECONSTRUCTION OF EARLY HEBREW HISTORY¹

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In the fifteenth century before Christ there came surging into the westland great and numerous hordes of peoples, largely of Aramean stock. These are the Habiri or SA-GAZ peoples of the Amarna letters. Palestine was naturally one of the lands that attracted the attention of these migrants, but it was no easy task to dispossess the Canaanitish population that had been long resident in the country. Some of the invaders, however, under the leadership of Hoshea, later known as Joshua,² were able to wrest a part of the land from the Canaanites and in the Amarna period we find them in possession of such cities as Jericho, Gilgal, Shechem, Gibeon, Shiloh, Mizpah, and Bethel. Other cities in the neighborhood like Akko, Megiddo, Gezer, Askalon, Lachish, and Jerusalem could not be reduced and from these we have urgent appeals to the Egyptian king for help against the invaders. The newcomers in the land were a more or less composite group, but their common cause against a common foe quickly united them and in due course a confederacy of these northern tribes was organized by Hoshea at Mount Gerizim near Shechem. Here a covenant was made, a simple code of laws promulgated,³ and a loosely organized state established, modeled

¹ A paper read before the meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis in New York, December 29, 1919. This paper has grown out of the effort to answer some of the problems raised by Meyer and Luther in their *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*; by Luckenbill in his article, "On Israel's Origins" (*American Journal of Theology*, XXII, 24 ff.); and by J. M. P. Smith in his articles, "Some Problems in the Early History of Hebrew Religion" (*AJSL*, XXXII, 81 ff.), and "Southern Influences upon Hebrew Prophecy" (*AJSL*, XXXV, 1 ff.). To all of these writers I am naturally much indebted.

² Num. 13:16; cf. Num. 13:8 and Deut. 32:44, where Joshua is called Hoshea.

³ The original of this code is probably to be found in the curses of Deut. 27; cf. Meyer and Luther, *op. cit.*, pp. 542 ff.

more or less after the pattern of the Canaanitish state and incorporating in it some Canaanitish and other foreign elements. In this northern confederacy we have the beginning of what is later to be known as Israel.

While these northerners were carving out for themselves a home in the land of Palestine, the mass of the migrating hordes had perforce to seek home and pasturage elsewhere. The push was westward and in that direction they continued, dropping off fragments on the way that come later to be known in history as the Ammonites, Moabites, Edomites, Amalekites, Kenites, etc. Some of the more venturesome spirits, however, pushed their way to the very borders of Egypt and eventually settled in the land of Goshen, where under a benevolent government they grew and prospered. But with the overthrow of the Eighteenth Dynasty their happy lot changed to one of oppression, till a deliverer arose in the person of Moses, about 1200 B.C., soon after the death of Merneptah. Under his leadership and in the name of their tribal god, Yahweh, they saved themselves by bounding back to the desert, with whose spirit they were still more akin than with that of the more cultured Egyptians. They accordingly retraced their earlier steps and mingled again with their kinsmen whom they had left behind in the Negeb. The Negeb, never able to support a large population, was filled to overflowing with this inrush of newcomers and a part of this enlarged population had of necessity to seek a homeland elsewhere. Sensing the opportuneness of the occasion, Moses put himself at the head of this overflow, and probably following the earlier example of Hoshea in the north, and possibly in some respects improving upon it, organized his followers into a confederacy; made the old tribal god, Yahweh, the god of the confederacy, and in his name made a covenant with the people; and proceeded to collect and codify the various laws, customs, and traditions of the tribes into one confederate code. Under the stimulus of his leadership and personality the confederate tribes gradually pushed their way to the north, from Horeb and Kadesh, to Beersheba, to Hebron; till finally they controlled most of the land south of the northern confederacy between Philistia and the Dead Sea. Indeed they seemed to have wrested a part of

this southern country from the northerners, because shortly before this time Israel is referred to on the Merneptah stela as occupying territory fairly well to the south. These southerners are the people later known as Judah.

This reconstruction of early Hebrew history is offered on the ground that it best agrees with the facts at present known with regard to this early period.

1. In the first place it accords with the generally accepted theory that the Hebrews were of Aramean origin. This is the testimony of history, archeology, philology, and ethnology; and it is likewise the unanimous native tradition of the Hebrews themselves, e.g., Gen. 29:10 (J), 31:20 (E), 25:20 (P); Deut. 26:5 (D).

2. To connect the Hebrews with the great migratory westward movement of the Amarna period would seem best to agree with the evidences of the Amarna letters and the Old Testament narrative. As Böhl, *Kanaanäer und Hebräer*, pp. 67 f., has pointed out, we probably do not have letters in the Amarna collection from Jericho, Gilgal, Shechem, Gibeon, Shiloh, Mizpah, and Bethel as we do from neighboring towns because they were doubtless by this time in the hands of the invading Habiri. Also, the excavations at Jericho indicate the Amarna period as the latest date for the destruction of that city.¹ Likewise, much of the biblical data would suggest the same period, as for instance, I Kings 6:1, which dates the Exodus and therefore the conquest of Palestine 480 years before Solomon's temple; Judg. 11:26, which indicates 300 years as the length of Israel's occupation of the East Jordan up to Jephthah's day; Gen. 36:31-39, which names eight Edomite kings between the time of Moses and Saul.

3. To put the settlement of Israel in the north two hundred or more years before that of Judah in the south would seem best to account for the cultural superiority of the north over the south. Two hundred years earlier settlement in agricultural life and closer and more intimate contact with the cultured Canaanites would give the northerners no little advantage over their kinsmen to the south.

4. The settlement of the two groups at different periods and under different leaders, and with differences in cultural and religious

¹ Sellin und Watzinger, *Jericho*, p. 181.

attainments, would seem to account best for the continued friction between them through the whole course of history. Only for a brief period were they ever united and then only temporarily, while engaged in a common cause against a common foe, the Philistines. When this pressure was removed, their differences quickly reappeared, till finally they split permanently into their separate kingdoms. Israel, for the time being at least, reverted to the old bull-worship and the like, thereby severing herself from the south religiously as well as politically.

5. The hypothesis that Yahweh was more or less known to all the tribes but was originally the tribal god of one of the southern group, probably the tribe of Judah, later by Moses to be made the god of the confederacy, would seem best to accord with what we know of Yahwism. According to J, our oldest and probably most reliable source, it was not a new god at all but a god long known to the Hebrews, under whose guidance Moses brought the people out of Egypt (cf., e.g., Exod. 3:16-18). E likewise affirms (Exod. 3:15) that the god who appeared to Moses was the same god whom his fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, worshiped. It seems to imply, however, that he was now revealed under a new name, for from this point onward E's preference for Elohim as against Yahweh disappears. Of our sources P alone (the least trustworthy) dissents therefrom (Exod. 6:2 ff.). That a god in the first instance rather obscure, but nevertheless more or less generally known to the whole group, should eventually rise to the position of chief god and then sole god, has many parallels in the history of religions (as for instance Allah, Ahura-Mazda, Chiva, and Vishnu); whereas P's contention (likewise that of some modern scholars), that Yahweh was absolutely unknown to the Hebrews until he was introduced to them by Moses, is altogether without parallel and is exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to conceive. Yahwism seems to have got an earlier and a much better hold in the south than in the north. Yahweh, in name at least, may have been known to the northerners, but the cult was doubtless of southern origin. The Levites seem to have been its propagandists and they were apparently from the south and are seemingly connected with Moses (Exod. 2:1; 6:16-20; Judg. 18:30). It was through their

propaganda and the more vigorous efforts of the earlier prophets ("the sons of the prophets" of the book of Samuel), the Nazarites and the Rechabites, that Yahweh came to be made a national god—a propaganda to which the north never took very kindly. Their earlier tribal gods and the gods that they borrowed from their neighbors seem to have been more to their liking than the confederate god of their southern kinsmen. When the later prophets (nearly all of them of southern blood, it will be noted) were able through some of their number to persuade Israel to at least a partial recognition of Yahwism, a long step had been taken in the direction of making Yahweh an international god or universal god, in that we have now what are essentially two distinct nations worshipping one and the same god in very much the same way.¹

To my mind Luckenbill has conclusively shown² that Yahweh is not found in cuneiform literature until the eighth century B.C. and so was not the universally known god that Assyriologists were at one time wont to contend. At best he was known probably little more than by name to most of the Habiri tribes as the tribal god of one of their number. In confirmation of this it might be noted that the two extra-biblical names of the eighth century which contain the Yahu compound (Ya'u-bidi, king of Hamath, and Azri-Ya'u, king of Ya'udi) are Aramean, and further it is to be noted that in the list of gods of Ya'udi given in the Hadad inscription, the god Yahu does not appear.³ According to our hypothesis Yahweh does not become the national god of the Hebrews until about the time of David when north and south were temporarily united, and this is confirmed by a study of Hebrew proper names, which shows that Yahweh compounds, in the forms Yah and Yahu, are very rare before the time of David, whereas after that time they appear with ever-increasing frequency, until in the days of the later prophets they are very common.⁴

¹ Cf. further on this point J. M. P. Smith, "The Effect of the Disruption on the Hebrew Thought of God," *AJSL*, XXXII, 261 ff.

² *AJTh*, XXII, 47 ff.

³ Cf. Meyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 247 f.

⁴ See Gray, *Studies in Hebrew Proper Names*, pp. 257 ff.; and Smith, *AJSL*, XXXV, 15.

6. The contention that only a part of the Hebrews ever went to Egypt seems best to agree with the known facts in the case. According to J (e.g., Exod. 1:10) the Hebrews constituted a comparatively small community. According to E (Exod. 1:15) they were so few that two midwives were sufficient for them, and even P holds that only seventy went down to Egypt (Gen. 46:27). The land of Goshen even today can support only a small population, and the wanderings of the Hebrews through the wilderness would be quite impossible for a large number. Nomadic bands are never large. The genealogies of I Chron. 1-8 ignore the Exodus altogether, and that would suggest that some of the Hebrews never left Canaan—so also Gen. 38. The Pentateuchal narratives presuppose that Kadesh was already in the hands of the Hebrews at the time of the Exodus. Judges 11:26 affirms that they had been living in certain cities in Canaan for 300 years, and this would carry us back to a period long before the Exodus. A people by the name of Habiri (variant, SA-GAZ) are frequently mentioned in the Amarna letters as overrunning the land of Canaan. By practically all scholars this people is regarded as one with the Hebrews, i.e., it was a portion of the larger group of peoples of which the Hebrews were another part. Seti I (*ca.* 1310 B.C.) in one of his inscriptions mentions a certain Shasu people in Canaan, and this people we know from other sources is identical with the Habiri. Seti I and Ramses II mention the tribe of 's-r (identified by most scholars with Asher) as settled in north Canaan, and there are evidences in the Amarna letters to the existence of Asher at that time. This tribe was later adopted into the Hebrew confederacy and probably belonged to the same general stock. Gad, another of the Hebrew tribes, is referred to by Mesha in his inscription as an early inhabitant of Canaan. Zilpah and Bilhah, the mothers of four of the later tribes of Israel, are said by the biblical narrative to have been concubines, which shows that these tribes were of alien origin. This is most easily explained as an absorption of Canaanite, or possibly earlier Hebraic, elements. On the Merneptah stela (*ca.* 1225 B.C.) there appears the word "Israel" as the name of a tribe in Canaan, which is of course clear evidence for the presence of the Hebrews there at that time, and the Exodus

had probably not as yet taken place. All the evidences, then, would seem to indicate that there were Hebrews in Canaan during all the time that there were Hebrews in Egypt and that only a part, and evidently a small part, of the people ever went to Egypt.¹

7. The point that will probably meet with most objection is the placing of Hoshea or Joshua before Moses, which at first sight would seem to be so out of accord with the biblical narrative. For the detailed argument in favor of this I would refer you to the discussion of Luther and Meyer in *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, pp. 542 ff. What Hoonacker, Kosters, Torrey, and others have done for the relationship of Ezra and Nehemiah, Luther and Meyer, followed by Luckenbill and Smith, are doing for that of Moses and Joshua.² An ever-increasing number of scholars are today agreeing that Nehemiah is to be placed before Ezra. So eventually, I believe, critical opinion will agree to the placing of Joshua before Moses. This would seem to be the better interpretation of the biblical narratives. Numerous passages in the Old Testament show that Shechem was intimately associated with law-giving and was the political and religious center of the north, even as it is for the Samaritans down to the present day. Shechem was the home of the old Ba'al-berith or El-berith (lord or god of the covenant). Here stood the "oak of the law-giver" (Gen. 12:6, and elsewhere), and "the oak of the soothsayers" (Judg. 9:37); and it is at Shechem that Joshua's law-giving and covenant-making are staged in the books of Deuteronomy and Joshua. Hence it is not surprising to find scholars suggesting that Shechem was the original home of the Hebrew Torah, as over against Horeb-Sinai or Kadesh, in that the Shechem story is manifestly the earlier. Indeed some, as for instance Holzinger, Staerk, Steuernagel, and Luckenbill, would go so far as to suggest that the Book of the Covenant (Exod. 20:22—23:19) in whole or in part originally stood in Joshua, chapter 24, constituting "the book of the law of God" mentioned in verse 26. The story of the double giving of the Torah, first by

¹ For a fuller discussion of this see Paton, *Biblical World*, XLVI, 82-88.

² It ought to be noted that Meyer does with Moses what Torrey does with Ezra: he makes him a figment of the priestly imagination and so denies him historicity, *op. cit.*, p. 451, note 1. But Luther does not do this, nor is it necessary to our hypothesis.

Moses at Sinai (Exod. 19 ff.) and later by Joshua at Gerizim (Josh. 8:30 ff.; 24; cf. Deut. 11:29; 27), as suggested by the Old Testament narrative, is open to grave suspicion and would seem to be the result of a prejudiced Judean interpretation of the events, because it is of course natural that the Judeans would not take kindly to Israelitish precedence in law-giving. We need to remember that our Old Testament narrative has come to us through Judean rather than Israelitish hands and of course in the very nature of the case is decidedly Judean in its interpretation of history. In the present instance this is clearly shown by the Judean alterations of the text in three of the passages cited, Deut. 11:29 f.; 27:4; Josh. 8:30. In the first passage that part of verse 30 which would seem to locate Gerizim somewhere near Jericho is manifestly a gloss; and in the two other passages Ebal has very plainly been substituted for Gerizim.

Early Hebrew law is shot through with Babylonian influences, as Johns has well shown in his Schweich lectures,¹ and this doubtless came about, not through direct contact with the Babylonians, but rather through the Canaanites, and that contact was in the north rather than in the south.

There was a time when scholars were inclined to put most of Hebrew law in the late period and refused to allow more than a fragment to the time of Moses. But much of the law is comparatively primitive in character and surely did not require the hundreds of years for its development that scholars used to postulate, particularly when the Hebrews were living in close and familiar relations with the cultured Canaanites. Other peoples, living in less propitious surroundings, did not take any great while to develop their early codes. Hence, instead of putting most of Hebrew law long after Moses we would assign much of it to a period before Moses and make Hoshea one of its earliest compilers.

The Hebrew people are composite in origin and behind the other elements there clearly stand out the Israelitish and Judean strains. Each of these made its contribution, Israel along cultural lines, Judah along religious lines, to the sum total of that magnificent heritage of culture and religion that contributed so largely to the enlightenment of the world.

¹ *The Relation between the Laws of Babylonia and the Laws of the Hebrew People.*

DEISM HISTORICALLY DEFINED

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There is no accepted definition of Deism. If you try to find out what it is from the books and articles that discuss it you will be left in confusion. Scholars differ as to what should be considered characteristic of the movement; some emphasize one thing, some another. Often it is conceived wholly, or almost wholly, as a metaphysical theory, which represents God as the Creator of the world, but now as withdrawn and separate from it and its concerns; it is the absentee God of literature. There is no foundation in fact for this interpretation of Deism. With the exception of Herbert of Cherbury the Deists scarcely touched philosophical problems.

Often Deism is presented as an undefined movement that fostered a hostile attitude toward the supernatural in religion. In one sense this is true. And frequently it is defined as a type of unbelief, as a reconstruction of Christianity that leaves little that is vitally characteristic of the Christian religion. These definitions, though they vary greatly, agree in one respect; they are almost wholly negative, they represent Deism as other than or as contrary to some accepted standard; but they fail to say what it really was.

These more or less popular definitions of Deism are wrong or inadequate. Deism was a phase in the history of religious thought; it should therefore be defined historically with reference to the thought of the age in which it flourished. A proper definition should show how it is related to and how it is distinguished from the historical background on which it appeared.

There were two focal concepts in the speculative thinking of this period, which were not always clearly distinguished, though almost everybody used them. It was the fashion then, in the best circles of learned men, to appeal to nature and reason, to think that beliefs and institutions were adequately grounded

only when they could be explained in terms of nature and reason. Before this, explanation had been almost wholly in terms of the supernatural; this was an ultimate in accounting for things. But in the Renaissance man discovered nature and himself as a part of it; and he was convinced that all truth must be in harmony with it. He also saw that reason, though magnified by the scholastics, had been fettered by tradition; that its chief use had been merely that of an instrument for vindicating authoritatively given systems. It had been used, not primarily as a discoverer of truth, but rather as the defender of propositions that were accepted as true on the basis of authority. But the progressive thinker of England of the seventeenth century was convinced that principles can be accepted and beliefs can be held by a rational being, such as man, only because they rest on sufficient reason. Therefore all systems, human and divine, were called upon in the name of nature and reason to give an account of themselves. The spirit of the age was rationalistic and critical. And once this movement had begun, religion could not remain long unchallenged. Men felt that they must be able to give a reason for the faith that is in them in terms of the thought of the age in which they lived. Therefore they tried to show that religion was grounded in nature, and that it was approved by "right reason."

At the beginning of the century "the learned Dr. Hooker," in his great work on *Ecclesiastical Polity*, derived order, more especially ecclesiastical order, not only from revelation, but also from nature; for nature is of God; her laws are made by him; her message is his word.¹ He also appealed to reason and magnified its importance for religious belief with a frequency that is surprising. He expressly taught that the earnestness of conviction does not guarantee the truth of opinions, but the "soundness of those reasons whereupon the same is built." This alone can assure us that they are from God and not from an evil spirit. To follow authority in religion without hearkening to reason is to behave like cattle in a herd.²

¹ Richard Hooker, "Ecclesiastical Polity," *Works*, I (Oxford, 1888), 146, 166, 206-10, 227.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 150, 151, 231-34, 281, 299, 321-30.

Hooker merely voiced the spirit of the age, which assumed that all reality is rational, that no sort of truth can contradict reason, and that nature is a revelation of God's will. Therefore it was generally believed that if the Christian religion is true it must be rational, and that it must be in harmony with nature; for God could not give man one system of religious truth through nature and another through revelation.

All progressive thinkers of this period, and many who were markedly conservative, assumed this, and undertook to demonstrate "the reasonableness of Christianity" and its harmony with natural religion. Almost everybody took part in this discussion. Among the leaders were Stillingfleet, Chillingworth; in fact all the so-called "rational theologians," the Cambridge Platonists, Tillotson, Sherlock, Locke the philosopher, Boyle, who was really a theologian as well as a chemist, and the whole race of Deists from Herbert of Cherbury on, and later Prideaux and Bishop Butler. Most of these men were quite conservative, some were pillars of orthodoxy, while others were hostile to traditional supernaturalism. But they all held that the beliefs of a rational being, whether in religion or in any other field of human interest, must have some other foundation than mere authority. Therefore they undertook to show that Christianity had such a foundation.

But though their general purpose and fundamental principles were the same, they differed widely. Most writers strove to vindicate traditional views by a sympathetic rationalistic testing of inherited dogmas; but some became ever more hostile in their criticisms of old beliefs and developed teachings that tended to undermine traditional views. Toward the close of the seventeenth century the divergence became so marked that a vigorous debate began concerning the authority and the content of the supernatural as over against that which is naturally or rationally mediated. This was the beginning of the deistic controversy, which extended through the first half of the next century.

The main points in these discussions were the relation of reason and revelation, the truth and authority of revelation and scripture, the fact and evidential value of miracles, and the importance and authority of natural religion when compared with positive or revealed religion.

At first the old statement concerning the relation of reason and revelation, which had come down from Thomas Aquinas, was accepted by all. They taught that revelation could give man that which was above reason, but nothing contrary to reason. In this even the first Deist, Herbert of Cherbury, concurred. But later Blount hesitated, and Toland asserted unequivocally in the title of *Christianity not Mysteriorious*, "that there is nothing in the Gospel contrary to Reason, nor above It." This became the characteristic teaching of Deism when it was at its height. The Deists who came later merely said the same thing in different words, though they often showed a more radical spirit. Bolingbroke declared that he who claimed a revelation added to reason was mad.¹ But all who opposed Deism defended the traditional formula.

Practically everybody except the Deists accepted supernatural revelation as a fact, and identified it with the Bible; they also asserted unequivocally its supreme authority. But Herbert, though he did not deny revelation, claimed that it could be authoritative only for him who received it originally; for all others it was merely tradition. Half a century later Stillingfleet published *A Letter to a Deist*, which is said to be the first formal reply to Deism. In this he attacked an unnamed person who evidently had developed Herbert's line of criticism still further. This otherwise unknown writer even questioned the sincerity of the apostles as witnesses; he claimed that there is no reason to believe things that were written so long ago under conditions that make the reports untrustworthy; and that scripture is full of confusion and contradictions. Toland and Collins were more conservative.

But as the discussion progressed the dividing lines became more sharply drawn, and from Tindal on we have a progressively radical criticism of revelation and scripture. Some went so far as to claim that revelation is not necessary, and that if it really did occur, it has no authority; and that the Bible is full of errors and confusion.²

¹ Bolingbroke, *Works*, VI (London, 1809), 170, 171.

² Tindal, *Christianity as Old as Creation* (London, 1735), pp. 8, 59, 188, 195, and elsewhere throughout the book; Bolingbroke, *Works*, VI, 148, 170, 171, 238, and elsewhere; Morgan, *The Moral Philosopher* (London, 1740), I, 15, 20; III, Preface.

The extraordinary manifestations of supernatural power in the natural order, which are known to us as miracles, were accepted as facts but with critical reservations by the Deists. Even the most radical Deists did not consider them impossible. But generally speaking the deistic attitude toward miracles was hostile. Certain biblical accounts were questioned, and others were denied or explained away in terms of the ordinary processes of nature. With the surprising exceptions of Toland and Bolingbroke, the Deists denied the evidential value of miracles, which was accepted by practically all other writers on the subject, including the philosopher Locke and the chemist Boyle.¹

The most significant point in the deistic controversy concerned natural religion. A man can be classified if you know what he taught concerning it. It is the field where deistic and non-deistic thinking is most clearly distinguished. But the problem here did not concern the fact of natural religion. That was accepted by both parties in the debate. In this critical age practically everybody, certainly every progressive thinker, discussed religion in terms of nature and reason. But the extremely critical attitude of the Deists resulted in ever greater hostility to the traditional emphasis on positive religion.

The question was: What is the value of natural religion? How is it related to positive religion? Which is normative for the other: is it to be tested by positive religion, or is positive religion to be tested by it? The non-deistic writers recognized the importance of natural religion but emphasized its limitations and the normative authority of revealed religion; while the Deists emphasized the limitations of positive religion and the superiority and normative authority of natural religion.

Again Hooker is typical of the more progressive thinkers of the century. He taught that man by the light of his own reason can know something of God and of certain of his duties toward God

¹ Blount, *Philostatus* (London, 1680), Bk. I, chap. iv, illustration 1; chap. v, illustrations 6 and 7; Toland, *Christianity Not Mysterious*, pp. 47, 141-47; *Hodegus* (London, 1720), pp. 5 ff.; Collins, *A Discourse on Freethinking* (London, 1713), pp. 160, 174, 175; Woolston, *A Discourse on the Miracles of Our Saviour* (London, 1728), pp. 3-5; Bolingbroke, *Works*, VI, 240, 258 ff., 283 ff., 288; Morgan, *The Moral Philosopher*, I, 79, 89, 98, 99; II, 50 ff.

and man; but the way of salvation must be supernaturally revealed.¹ In this all the rational theologians concurred. Sherlock, the champion of orthodoxy, did not hesitate to teach that "the religion of the Gospel is the true original religion of reason and nature. It is so in part; it is all that, and more."² This, with individual variations, is the teaching of Stillingfleet, the Cambridge Platonists, Locke, Boyle, and others.³ They all think that natural religion is important, but they also teach in no uncertain terms that it is inadequate, and that it must be and actually is supplemented by revelation.

When we come to the Deists we find ourselves in a different atmosphere. They use the same general principles, they have the same rationalistic critical way of approach to the problems concerning the authority and content of supernaturally mediated religion; but they apply them much more radically and arrive at very different conclusions. Herbert, seventy-five years before Toland, considered supernatural revelation authoritative only for him who received it, its traditional records uncertain, and his five articles of natural religion absolutely clear and certain, and therefore supreme.⁴ Blount taught that all faiths had been shaken except those which are based on natural reason.⁵ Tindal, in *Christianity as Old as Creation*, which was at once recognized as a standard and typical work of Deism and was called the "Deists' Bible," teaches that natural religion was given men from the beginning, that it is absolutely perfect, and that external revelation can neither add to it nor take from it, and that it is always supreme over all revelation, which must be judged by it.⁶ Wollaston and

¹ Hooker, *Works*, I, 205, 227-33, 259, 269, 331-34, and elsewhere.

² Sherlock, *Discourses Preached on Several Occasions* (Oxford, 1797), pp. 134-43, 148.

³ John Tulloch, *Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy* (London, 1872), I, 427, 430; II, 70, 99; Robert Boyle, *Works*, V (London, 1744), 46, 685; Locke, *Reasonableness of Christianity*.

⁴ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, art., "Herbert"; "Mind," 1894, art. by W. R. Sorley.

⁵ *Religio Laici* (London, 1683), pp. 81-91; *Oracles of Reason*. Toland and Collins have little to say about natural religion, though they recognize its importance; however, Toland later in *Nazarenus* is very hostile to positive religion.

⁶ *Christianity as Old as Creation*, pp. 3-6, 59, 85 ff., 141 ff., 164, 178, 328, and elsewhere.

Bolingbroke wrote largely in the spirit of Tindal. But Morgan was more radical; he was probably the most extreme writer in asserting that natural religion is sure and free from error and faults, and should therefore be taken as the standard for judging all so-called revealed religion.

As a result of this attitude toward positive and natural religion they tended to resolve all religion into an ethical system on a theistic background.

The characteristic deistic views as developed in this controversy can be summed up thus: In an age that was rationalistic and critical, when all progressive thinkers, many of whom were conservative, felt that they must justify religion by proving it from reason and nature, the Deists developed those tendencies in a radical way, and fostered a hostile attitude toward traditional supernaturalism. They denied the possibility of any religious truth above reason; they challenged external revelation and criticized its records and the miraculous; they emphasized the perfection of natural religion, which man of his own unaided powers could know, and set it up as supreme over all positive religion, which was imperfect because of "mysteries," "uncertainties," "contradictions," and "confusion."

Deism, which was essentially non-philosophical, was the more radical application to religious problems of the rationalistic critical way of thinking, that characterized English thought in the seventeenth century, which resulted in the progressive depreciation of the supernatural, especially as it appeared in positive religion, and in magnifying the worth and authority of natural religion.

AIMS AND METHODS OF CONTEMPORARY CHURCH-UNION MOVEMENTS IN AMERICA

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For more than a hundred years the religious forces of America have been periodically attempting to solve the problems connected with unrestrained denominationalism. However inevitable in an atmosphere of unrestricted religious liberty and in an area of immense geographical magnitude the survival and multiplication of sects, large and small, has proved, it ought not to be overlooked or obscured that there has been no disposition among church leaders to regard this increasing multiplicity with unconcern or complacency. The growth of denominational co-operation is just as characteristic of American Christianity in the nineteenth century as was revivalism during the eighteenth. The Plan of Union, the Bible, Tract, and related societies, the American Home Missionary Society, the Overture for Union (1838), the Evangelical Alliance, the Federation of Presbyterian Bodies, all demonstrate that few and brief were the periods during the last century when considerable sections of the American church were not seriously considering or actually operating some scheme of co-operation.

In this effort to remove the reproach of sectarianism, denominational statesmanship has never been more resolute than during the last thirty years. Far from satisfied with the imposing structure of interdenominational organization created to grapple with the menacing evils of our congested cities and the enlarging opportunities of world-missions, our religious leaders are today looking toward a more radical elimination of duplicated denominational effort, if not indeed the ultimate merging into a single giant organization of all our evangelical churches. To realize this hope one movement was launched fifteen years ago and is now well out to sea. Others are just emerging. In detail they have not yet

been entirely worked out by their promoters. The fact that we are almost in the anomalous position of being divided on projects denominated more or less carelessly as union in character suggests the propriety of attempting to discover just what is the task to which each of these movements is applying itself, and the way by which it proposes to reach its goal. With the aid of official documents the writer attempts to set these forth.

I. THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES
OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

We naturally begin with the enterprise already well established through its years of concrete ministration: The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

The function of a federation is that of carrying out certain clearly defined or assumed duties, assigned or informally committed to it by the units of which it is composed. Usually these units reserve to themselves more than they commit to the federation. This is no less true when the units are churches than when they are political states. A federation of Christian churches is supposed to care for certain interests delegated to or informally left to it by the church units. It is the specialized supervision that justifies the transfer. The reservation, however, is not necessarily exclusive. The federating church may still continue itself to care for those interests more specifically guarded by the federation. In other words, the federation performs a service not substitutionary, but supplementary.

The foregoing applies even to the incipient informal stages of church federation as manifested in American religious history. The American Bible Society was organized to do more efficiently a part of the work being cared for by the churches. So also was the Tract Society. The Young Men's Christian Association assumed the burden supposed to be carried by the Christian community but insufferably heavy for individual churches. Likewise was it with the Young Women's Christian Association, the Sunday School Union, the United Society of Christian Endeavor, the Laymen's Missionary and the Student Volunteer movements. In all these, evangelical churches, finding a common interest, informally committed it to some fostering organization.

With this experience in the workings of the principle of co-operation, our churches found themselves twenty-five years ago facing an unprecedented situation in the pressing social and industrial problems of the growing cities and the inviting challenge of the field of foreign missions. The transition, moreover, from a closing to an opening century, provided the urge to redoubled effort.

Under these circumstances it was that, guided and encouraged by the experimentation and success of federations in New York City, Hartford, New Haven, Jersey City, Syracuse, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Cleveland, and elsewhere, preliminary negotiations culminated in the Interchurch Conference attended by delegates representing eighteen million American Christians. These delegates unanimously recommended to their constituencies a plan of federation which, duly adopted by these constituencies, brought into existence (December, 1908) the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

Unlike organizations of similar general purpose that preceded it, this federation is not an individual or voluntary agency or simply an interdenominational fellowship, but a body officially constituted by the churches. Its task "for the prosecution of work that can be better done in union than in separation," is as follows:

- I. To express the fellowship and catholic unity of the Christian church.
 - II. To bring the Christian bodies of America into united service for Christ and the world.
 - III. To encourage devotional fellowship and mutual counsel concerning the spiritual life and religious activities of the churches.
 - IV. To secure a larger combined influence for the churches of Christ in all matters affecting the moral and social condition of the people, so as to promote the application of the law of Christ in every relation of human life.
 - V. To assist in the organization of local branches of the Federal Council to promote its aims in their communities.
- Its province shall be limited to the expression of its counsel and the recommending of a course of action in matters of common interest to the churches, local councils, and individual Christians.

One cannot fail to be impressed at once with the magnitude and limitations of this object; all that relates to the expression of the

churches in fellowship of service, but nothing more. It is differentiated from other movements toward unity in "that it brings together the various denominations for union in service rather than in polity or doctrinal statement." With this comprehensive purpose corresponds the simplicity and catholicity of the doctrinal basis expressed in the preamble: "Whereas, in the providence of God, the time has come when it seems fitting more fully to manifest the essential oneness of the Christian Churches of America in Jesus Christ as their Divine Lord and Saviour." And even this went farther than was originally intended by the committee that drafted the statement. It was only after an appeal from the floor of the house that Jesus Christ was denominated as *Divine* Lord and Savior. Some, it seems, were ready to have omitted outright the preamble with its qualifying note of evangelical faith.¹

As differentiated from other movements, the Federal Council looks upon unity not as a possibility but an actuality, not something to be brought into existence but something the existence of which is to be revealed, something that in its expression will develop. With it, unity is not a problem but a postulate. Christian unity is to be put to work; not to be created, but to be discovered in its workings. It is already in the church. Its growth will come not so much through organization and symbols as through its exercise in fellowship of service.

As the medium through which this Christian impulse to serve is to find most effective expression, the Federal Council does not regard itself as an organization unrelated to the church. It does not stand apart from the churches. In them it lives, moves, and has its being. It is only the "sum of its parts." Its function is to "express the will of its constituent bodies, and not to legislate for them." It therefore does not create new agencies to do the work of the churches or of the denominations. Its policy is to use existing agencies, whether within denominational or interdenominational spheres. Its task is not so much to do things as to get the denominational bodies and the interdenominational movements to do the work of the churches in co-operation. "Here its function

¹Sanford, *Origin and History of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America*, p. 215.

is not that of overseer and director, but that of an agency for the correlation and the co-ordination of existing forces and organizations, and so far as it may be permitted, it is to recommend, give guidance, and point out the way."

It therefore follows that the autonomy of the constituent bodies is jealously safeguarded. No action of the Federal Council, although unanimously adopted by the delegates of constituent assemblies, is mandatory; this it passes down to the constituent bodies only as a recommendation to be ratified or rejected. Nor is it otherwise with the Commissions appointed by the Council. They act only as agents of the Council, for whose recommendations and services the Council assumes responsibility. The Council seeks to determine the will of its component bodies, and to interpret this in terms of common policy. This policy it seeks to effect through the united action of its constituent bodies.

Such in brief are the principles of the Federal Council, as set forth in the Plan of Federation or expounded more completely in the Statement issued in Baltimore, 1913.

From its record during the last twelve years, too much may be easily deduced. The history of any enterprise during its initial years is oftentimes a misleading basis for prophecy. Its energies sometimes are necessarily directed to dispiriting organization; an atmosphere of criticism may induce self-embarrassment; policies may have to be revised; the world-situation into which it passes may be abnormal. The Federal Council has had each of these currents to contend with. Nevertheless certain facts emerge. First, this Council has found a large and enlarging field in which to operate. Far from dwelling "in a Utopia of generalizations beyond realization," its commissions on evangelism, social service, country life, temperance, Christian education, justice and good will, interchurch federation, oriental relations, and peace and arbitration, have undertaken investigations and in many cases issued reports of far-reaching significance. An extensive literature dealing in a broad-minded, scientific spirit with vital church problems has been created. Timely memorials and protests relating to current social and moral questions have appeared. The General War Time Commission seemed particularly raised by God to grapple

with a national emergency. Whether or not the Federal Council survives, it has at least indicated the absolute necessity in the field of efficient interdenominationalism of some correlating and co-ordinating organization.

In the second place, it has been able to perform its functions without any pronounced bureaucratic tendency. It has realized the possibility that a small group of men, consciously or unconsciously, may undertake to impose upon American evangelical life ideas and impressions that at most are only its own. Among the questions submitted by the Committee on the Constitution and Organization of the Council, proposed December, 1918, the following appear:

1. Do the Evangelical Churches of America want the Federal Council to be a body which may not only serve as a common ground for consultation, but may speak and act effectively for them all?
2. Is the Council as now constituted by its constituent bodies adequately representative in its constitution?
3. Are the members of the Council so elected that the Council may act representatively on behalf of the churches, within whatever may be the realm of its action?
4. Is the Executive Committee so constituted that it may act for the Council and therefore for the churches?
5. Is the Administrative Committee adequately representative of the Executive Committee, of the Commissions of the Council, and of the Churches, and especially of their active working boards and committees?
6. Are the Commissions which do the work of the Council adequately representative of the related boards and committees of the denominations?

The raising of such questions as these undoubtedly indicates no tendency toward a camouflaged ecclesiasticism, but rather a thorough appreciation that the Council exists not above, but only in, its parts. The same report has the following pertinent question:

How may we so strengthen the constitution and organization of the Council as to make it, in the fullest degree, representative of the denominations, their boards and committees, leaving sufficient autonomy to the denominations in relation to the Council, and to the boards and committees in relation to the Commissions of the Council, while at the same time maintaining a unified body in the Council itself, with a strong central administration, and with strong departmental administrations, each fulfilling its mission, so that the whole strengthens the parts and each part contributes to the whole?

In relation to creedal formulas, the Council during all these years of its history has shown no disposition to depart from its constitutional simplicity. It has demonstrated that a platform of service may be constructed from the fundamental principles of evangelical faith without any slant to peculiar theories, social or theological.

On its attitude toward organic church union, the report of the Executive Committee to the Council of 1916 has these illuminating words:

. . . . These four years have brought to this fellowship of the great churches of America tests and discoveries. Closer contact has meant clearer focus—focus in which the unities and the diversities have equally been revealed. One knows little about friend or neighbor until one travels with him. Who shall affirm that intimacy has not deepened respect, that the sharing of experience has not melted away prejudice, and given new warmth to sympathy? There are signs that self-knowledge has been promoted. More certainly than ever before, there is a common understanding of what binds together and what holds apart the churches of Christ in America. Fellowship is revelation. We are more nearly sure in the mutual examinations of our common Christianity as to the marks which look like seams in the fabric, but which are only flaws in the weaving. Our convictions do not lose their strength but increase their length. They reach as before to the men who have been our denominational saints, but, far beyond, to Him who is for us all the one Savior. We travel back upon the familiar road of our denominational history to the point where it diverged from some broader fellowship, but we do not rest there. Unerringly beyond those ecclesiastical forks in the road, past every branching route, joined at the intersections by groups with whom for decades, it may be for centuries, we have been sadly unfamiliar, we find our way to a place called Calvary and a hill called Olivet. We waive no right or privilege, we break with no sound tradition, we surrender no precious heritage, but we become fixed in the persuasion that the church has but one inalienable right, the right of finding Christ in the world of today and interpreting him in all his sacrificial and triumphant power to that world. Perfect agreement in opinion, placid uniformity in expression and method, do not appear. It is a waste of energy to seek for either. . . . It is not in what we each hold dear that we find our common ground, but in what we each hold most dear. . . .

To those who in the period from 1894 to 1908 looked and worked toward such an organization as this Federal Council, that notable assembly in Philadelphia seemed a consummation.

The ascent, however, to that summit brought them and the churches they represent not to a mountain peak but to a plateau. What to aspiration had seemed a height of vision, to achievement became the broad plain of

opportunity. Through the intervening years, as atmosphere has cleared and action has developed energy, the horizons have lifted and the unbroken light has revealed at once the forces and the tasks of the churches of Christ. . . .

II. THE WORLD CONFERENCE FOR THE CONSIDERATION OF QUESTIONS TOUCHING FAITH AND ORDER

THE TRUCE OF GOD AND THE CONCORDAT

Two years after the organization of the Federal Council, another project emerged: The World Conference for the Consideration of Questions Touching Faith and Order.

At the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal church, held in Cincinnati, October, 1910, the following report was "accepted joyfully" and the resolution contained therein was unanimously adopted:

We believe that the time has now arrived when representatives of the whole family of Christ, led by the Holy Spirit, may be willing to come together for the consideration of questions of Faith and Order. . . . We would place ourselves by the side of our fellow Christians, looking not only on our own things, but on the things of others, convinced that our one hope of mutual understanding is in taking personal counsel together in the spirit of love and forbearance. It is our conviction that such a Conference for the purpose of study and discussion, without power to legislate or to adopt resolutions, is the next step toward unity.

With grief for our aloofness in the past, and for other faults of pride and self-sufficiency, which make for schism; with loyalty to the truth as we see it, and with respect for the convictions of those who differ from us; holding the belief that the beginnings of unity are to be found in the clear statement and full consideration of those things in which we differ, as well as of those things in which we are at one, we respectfully submit the following resolution:

Whereas, there is today among all Christian people a growing desire for the fulfillment of our Lord's prayer that all his disciples may be one; that the world may believe that God has sent Him:

Resolved, that a joint commission be appointed to bring about a Conference for the consideration of questions touching Faith and Order, and that all Christian Communions throughout the world which confess our Lord Jesus Christ as God and Savior be asked to unite with us in arranging for and conducting such a Conference. The Commission shall consist of seven Bishops . . . and seven Presbyters and seven Laymen. . . .

Unlike the Federal Council, unity is not something to be *expressed*; "*its beginnings are to be found*," and not in a fellowship of service in things in common, but "*in the clear statement and full*

consideration of those things in which we differ, as well as of those things in which we are at one." In the thinking of Bishop Rhinelanders union is quite distinct from unity, as distinct as is friendship from partnership. Unity is expressed in friendship, union in partnership. Partnership does not mean corporate life, but corporate work; co-operation with other people for the sake of getting something done in a speedy or effective way. Friendship means sharing all the chief things of life for the joy of sharing. This sharing is not a side issue, but the very heart of friendship. Unity is its end and aim. Unity really exhausts its meaning. Christians combine for the strength that comes from union. Congregations or churches or denominations are formed that desirable results may be achieved by the strength that accrues through union. Multitudes of Christians are seeking strength that they may evangelize the world and for the sake of such a name are smothering their differences that by union they may find strength to get the task done. But thus far it is union and not unity that is desired. Oneness is sought as an instrument and not as an end. On the other hand Christians may be drawn together as Christians. Their religion means a corporate life rather than a co-operative work. Worship is to be sustained, good works are to be done, creeds are to be upheld because there is one faith common to all, to be expressed by all. Such Christians may co-operate in religious service, but always and in everything it is fellowship or unity they seek, and more fellowship and more unity because what they have already is not enough.

Bishop Anderson, president of the Anglican Commission on a World Conference on Faith and Order, in a charge to the Annual Convention of the Diocese of Chicago, May 28, 1912, thus speaks of catholicity and unity:

There is a unity to be believed in, as well as a unity to be exhibited to the world. It is essential to realize that the interior unity of the Church is a divine, imperishable reality, and that our task is not to make unity, but *to make it manifest*. *There is* unity, but the world cannot see it. *There is* unity, but the world does not believe it. Our part is to cooperate with God and yield to the strivings of the Holy Spirit, so that the unity of the Church will be actualized and visualized in such corporate manner that the world can see it with its own eyes, and seeing it, will believe in the power and love of

God. It is quite common to contrast unity and union as though a choice had to be made between them. The words are not synonymous by any means; neither are they mutually exclusive. There might be union without unity. There might be a union of churches which would be vastly different from the unity of the Church. Nevertheless, unity can be shown forth to the world only through union. It means that the whole Church encompasses and contains and controls all that pertains to it. It means that each church shall be visibly incorporated into the whole Church, and that the whole shall be clearly the property of each. . . . It means that the churches as such may lose their identity in order that the Church may preserve *its* identity.

At some points, however, the Episcopalian appeal for unity corresponds with that of the Federal Council. Unity is essential to the efficient propagation of missions, and a sectarian Christianity is too individualistic to cope with the problems of organized society. To quote again from Bishop Anderson:

Visible unity is a necessity from the viewpoint of social efficiency. A sectarian Christianity cannot mold the social conscience. It is incapable of a catholic cosmopolitanism. It cannot act continentally. After all, sectarianism is only one remove from individualism, and individualism is incompatible with organized Christianity. . . . As things stand now, it is an unequal fight between an organized world and a disorganized Church. A disunited, disjointed, individualistic Christianity, where every man and every church is an independent unit, cannot stand up against the highly organized conditions of today. . . . The union of the churches in the Church is becoming an economic necessity. The economic argument might of course be easily overworked. Nevertheless, the economic argument derives weight from the fact that divisions are proving to be as economically unsound as they are theologically unsafe. . . . Hard facts are demonstrating that Christ's doctrine of unity is the only workable doctrine in this practical, work-a-day world. . . . Why should the non-Christian be contaminated with interdenominational controversies, especially in the kindergarten stage of its Christian experience? . . . St. Paul revolutionized a continent with one Church and one short creed. Is it not enough to take to Asia and Africa the same religion that he took to Europe?

Nevertheless, the same bishop cannot entirely detach himself from a sacramental interest in unity. He condemns denominationalism on the ground that in unchurching social enterprises it deprives them of inspiration and spiritual power; he believes also that it holds back the process of Americanizing our Christianity.

Indeed it has come to pass that a large part of the work of the churches must perforce be taken away from them, in order to avoid denominational

entanglements. Thus there are settlements . . . doing the work of Christ, but forced to do it forsooth on a non-religious basis. Thus they lose ideals, inspiration, spiritual power. Thus the things that God has joined together are being forced apart through the disintegration of His Church. . . . Christ's work is as catholic as human needs. It requires for its execution nothing smaller than a Catholic Church. . . . Christian unity is necessary to give organic expression to the religious life of the nation. We love to call this a Christian nation, yet we shrink from attempting to define what American Christianity is. The United States has millions of Christians and scores of churches, without a Christianity that is distinctively her own. . . . Is the nation stronger than God? Has the Church of the living God become so weakened through this organization that she is incapable of bringing her American children into the United Church of a United States? Is there not to be a Catholicism that will express the religious life of America, as Americanism expresses her national life?

The Conference proposed as a stepping-stone for the realization of this unity is to be world-wide in its character and composition, including the representatives of all communions, east and west, which unite in a common belief in the incarnation of the eternal son of God. It is to be neither sectional, racial, nor national. It is to be a conference and not a council, having no power to legislate or to issue decrees which would be binding on its constituent bodies. Each communion is "invited to enter the Conference on the basis of its own estimate of itself, without risk of compromise or embarrassment." Its assemblage rests on the conviction that the time has come when Christians may have conference without controversy, contact without friction, and association without compromise. In conference members are likely to discover what are the actual convictions held by others, their worth to those who cherish them, and the foundations upon which they rest. Convictions regarded as antithetical, it is hoped, may prove upon examination to contain much that is complementary. Hence the possibility of an ultimate reconciliation in which the convictions of all may find a place, while itself providing a fuller view of Christianity and a more complete satisfaction for the needs of men than any one position standing by itself.

By removing misunderstandings and misapprehensions, begetting mutual respect and affection, promoting mutual esteem and appreciation, and inspiring mutual charity and confidence, such

a conference may create an atmosphere favorable to Christian unity, in which case it will prove to be the next step toward the union of Christendom. Formal conclusions may not be reached nor practical measures recommended. Organic unity will come by taking one step at a time. The next step is this Conference.

For ten years the work of preparing for this imposing assembly, the greatest in the history of Christendom, has been going steadily forward. Commissions numbering seventy-two, representing the most widely divergent types of Christianity, stand ready to proceed to the place of conference, soon to be announced now that the Great War has ceased.

Meanwhile it was felt advisable by the Advisory Committee to issue (March 12, 1914) an appeal for the suspension of all controversy as a means of providing a proper atmosphere for this eventful Conference.

To Our Christian Brethren in Every Land:

Greeting: We believe that now is a critically hopeful time for the world to become Christian. We believe that the present world problems of Christianity called for a World Conference of Christians. In the work of preparation for its convening we have no authority or desire to enter into a discussion of the important questions which the Conference itself will meet to consider. At the present moment some of these important issues have suddenly become matters of renewed controversy. Before conference there must be truce. The love of Christ for the world constrains us to ask you to join with us and with his disciples of every name in proclaiming among the Churches throughout Christendom a Truce of God. Let the questions that have troubled us be fairly and clearly stated. Let scholars, Catholic and Protestant, give freely to the people whatever light from their historical studies they can throw over these subjects. More than that, it is of essential importance for us to seek to understand what in the religious experience of others are the things of real value which they would not lose, and which should be conserved in the one household of faith. We pray also that each Christian communion may avoid, as far as possible, any controversial declaration of its own position in relation to others, but rather that all things be said and done as if in preparation for the coming together of faithful disciples from every nation and tongue to implore a fresh outpouring of God's Holy Spirit.

While preparations had thus been going forward for this proposed Conference, a committee was appointed in England by the archbishops of Canterbury and York, and by the Commissions

of the Free Churches to promote the same movement there. From a joint conference certain proposals were offered "for the sympathetic and generous consideration of all the churches." They first agreed that the position of the episcopacy in the greater part of Christendom, as the recognized organ of the unity and continuity of the church, is such that the members of the Episcopal churches ought not to be expected to abandon it in any basis of reunion. They next agreed to acknowledge that there are a number of Christian churches not accepting the Episcopal order which have been used in the spiritual enlightenment of the world. Coming into being through reaction from certain abuses in the church, they were led to give expression to types of religious life, aspiration, and fellowship, and to secure for Christian people rights which had been neglected or withheld. In view of these agreements, it was frankly admitted that the continuity of the historical episcopate should be effectively preserved; that the acceptance of the fact of episcopacy, and not any theory as to its character, should be a sufficient demand to be made upon the non-Episcopal groups; that the acceptance of this fact of episcopacy should not involve any Christian group in the necessity of disowning its past, but that all communions should be encouraged to bring their distinctive contributions not only to the common life of the church but also to its methods of organization; that the freedom of prophetic ministry should be carefully preserved, as also the many customs and institutions which have been developed in separate religious communities.

Encouraged and guided by these proposals, a series of conferences was conducted quietly between members of the Episcopalian and Congregational churches of this country. In consequence, there was adopted (March 12, 1919) a Concordat, given in substance below.

The preamble, after referring to the scripturalness of unity, proceeds as follows:

We are agreed that it is our Lord's purpose that believers in him should be one visible society. . . . The unity which is essential to his Church's effective witness and work in the world, must express and maintain this fellowship. It cannot be fully realized without community of worship, faith, and

order, including common participation in the Lord's Supper. Such unity would be compatible with a rich diversity in life and worship.

The episcopate is referred to in terms evidently derived from the proposals of the conference of English bishops and Free Churchmen referred to above. It then proceeds:

To give full effect to those principles in relation to the churches to which we respectively belong, requires some form of corporate union between them. We greatly desire such corporate union. We also are conscious of the difficulties in the way of bringing it about, including the necessity for corporate action, even with complete good will on both sides. In this situation we believe that a practical approach toward eventual union may be made by the establishment of inter-communion in particular instances. It is evident to us that corporate union between bodies whose members have become so related will thereby be facilitated. Mutual understanding and sympathy will strongly reinforce the desire to be united in a common faith and order, and will make it clearer how the respective contributions of each community can best be made available to all. We recognize as a fact without discussing whether it is based upon sound foundations, that in the Episcopal Churches, an apprehension exists that if episcopally conferred orders were added to the authority which non-episcopal ministers have received from their own communion, such orders might not be received and used in all cases in the sense or with the intention with which they are conferred. . . . In conferring or accepting such ordination, neither the bishop ordaining nor the minister ordained should be understood to impugn thereby the efficacy of the minister's previous ministry. The like principle applies to the ministration of sacraments. . . . When communion has been established between the ordaining bishop of the Episcopal Church and the ordained minister of another communion, appropriate measures ought to be devised to maintain it by participating in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and by mutual counsel and cooperation. . . . While this plan is the result of conference in which members of only one denomination of non-episcopal churches have taken part, it is comprehensive enough to include in its scope ministers of all other non-episcopal communions; and we earnestly invite their sympathetic consideration and concurrence.

FORM OF PROPOSED EPISCOPAL CANON

1. In case any minister who has not received episcopal ordination shall desire to be ordained by a Bishop of this Church to the Diaconate and to the Priesthood without giving up or denying his membership or his ministry in the Communion to which he belongs, the Bishop of the Diocese, or Missionary District in which he lives, with the advice and consent of the Standing Committee or the Council of Advice, may confirm and ordain him.

2. The minister desiring to be so ordained shall satisfy the Bishop that he has resided in the United States for at least one year; . . .

3. At the time of his ordination the person to be ordained shall subscribe and make in the presence of the Bishop a declaration that he believes the Holy Scriptures . . . ; that when thereto invited by the Bishop of this Church, having jurisdiction in the place where he lives, he will (unless unavoidably prevented) meet with such Bishop for Communion and for counsel and cooperation; and that he will hold himself answerable to the Bishop of this Church having jurisdiction in the place where he lives . . . in case he be called in question with respect to error of faith or of conduct.

4. In case a person so ordained be charged with error of faith or of conduct, he shall have reasonable notice of the charge . . . and the procedure shall be similar to the procedure in the case of a clergyman in this Church charged with a like offense. The sentence shall always be pronounced by the Bishop, and shall be such as a clergyman of this Church would be liable to. . . .

5. A minister so ordained may officiate in a Diocese or Missionary District of this Church when licensed by the ecclesiastical authority thereof, but he shall not become the Rector or a Minister of any parish or congregation of this Church until he shall have subscribed and made to the Ordinary a declaration in writing, whereby he shall solemnly engage to conform to the doctrines, discipline, and worship of this Church.

At the convention in October the Episcopalians ratified this Concordat in the following resolution:

1. That the General Convention recognizes with profound gratitude to Almighty God the earnest desire of these representative members of Congregational Churches and of this Church to find a way by which the first step toward eventual Church Unity may be taken, and especially the irenic attitude of those who are not in communion with this Church, but who have indicated their desire to enter into certain relations with it for the furtherance of that unity for which we together pray.

2. That as a step toward the accomplishment of so great a purpose, this Church declares its willingness *to initiate action that may make it possible*¹ to enact legislation such as shall permit the ordination as Deacons and as Priests of Ministers in other Christian bodies, who accept the Holy Scriptures as the revealed word of God, the Nicene Creed as a sufficient statement of the Christian faith, and the Sacraments of Baptism and the Supper of the Lord, under conditions which are stated in the aforementioned Proposals for an Approach Toward Unity, whenever evidence shall be laid by any applicant Minister before the Bishop of this Church having jurisdiction in the place in which such minister resides, of his acceptance of the principles set forth in these Proposals.

We, however, direct the Joint Commission to be constituted that in proposing such legislation the following points shall be carefully considered:

¹ Words italicized were added by the House of Bishops.

(a) That the Congregation, if any, in which such Minister officiates shall declare through its accustomed representatives, its desire for such ordination on behalf of its minister, and its purpose to receive in future the ministrations and the sacraments of one who shall have been ordained to the Priesthood by a Bishop.

(b) That every Minister, so ordained, shall, in celebrating Holy Communion, invariably incorporate in a Prayer of Consecration the Words of our Lord in instituting that Sacrament, and also a suitable Oblation and Invocation of the Holy Spirit.

(c) That he shall in no case administer the Holy Communion to an unbaptized person. And this Church will hopefully anticipate the use of the Apostolic practice of Confirmation.

3. That a Joint Commission of five Bishops, five Presbyters and Laymen, be appointed to continue conference with the Congregational Signatories to the said "Proposals," and to report to the next General Convention.

Certain amendments to meet the technical requirements of these proposals were passed. The Joint Commission is to report in 1922, until which time the fate of this Concordat lies in abeyance.

III. UNITED CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

Closely related in purpose to the Anglican proposals is the scheme adopted at Philadelphia only a few days ago: United Churches of Christ in America.

It was in May, 1903, that the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. earnestly desiring "to commend and promote Christian cooperation, and also practically to advance the cause of Church Union by confederation, and, where possible, by consolidation among the Churches of the Reformed Faith, which are most nearly akin in doctrine and organization, appointed a Committee on Church Cooperation and Union to consider the whole subject of cooperation, confederation, and consolidation with other churches."

Though this committee reported from time to time, nothing significant transpired until at Columbus, Ohio, in 1918, as a result of overtures proposing a union of all Evangelical churches in America, a recommendation was unanimously adopted putting on record the "profound conviction that the time has come for organic union of the evangelical churches of America," and authorizing the issuance of an invitation to the national bodies of the

Evangelical Communion of America to meet in conference for the purpose of formulating a plan of organic union.

In compliance therewith, a Conference attended by representatives of seventeen bodies met in Philadelphia, December 4 and 5, 1918, where each denomination submitted a written statement of its attitude toward union. The idea of a merger was mooted; so also was that of a federal union. The formidable issue of episcopal orders was not relegated to silence. The Anglican representatives embodied in their report the proposals by which the Established and Free Churches of England have been hoping to reach accord. Some hinted that the Federal Council could be trusted to so enlarge its activities as to solve the problems of denominationalism. Some delicately touched upon the inherent incompatibility of thoroughgoing church independency and organic unity. The Presbyterians, as the sponsors of the Conference, took pains to quote their definition of a church as set forth in 1788: "As this immense multitude cannot meet together in one place, to hold communion, or to worship God, it is reasonable and warranted by Scripture example, that they should be divided into many particular churches. A particular church consists of a number of confessing Christians, with their offspring, voluntarily associated together, for divine worship and godly living, agreeably to the Holy Scriptures; and submitting to a certain form of government." It was especially noted that this statement did not require submission to a Presbyterian form of government. The form of government could be determined by its own members. A broad statement on Christian fellowship was followed by one on the right of private judgment:

Therefore they consider the rights of private judgment, in all matters that respect religion, as universal and inalienable; they do not even wish to see any religious constitution aided by the civil power further than may be necessary for protection and security, and at the same time be equal and common to all others. That, in perfect consistency with the above principle of common right, every Christian church, or union, or association of particular churches, is entitled to declare the terms of admission into its communion, and the qualifications of its ministers and members, as well as the whole system of its internal government, which Christ hath appointed; that in the exercise of this right they may, notwithstanding, err in making the terms of communion either

too lax or too narrow; yet even in this case, they do not infringe upon the liberty or the rights of others, but only make an improper use of their own.

An *ad interim* committee was appointed with the following among other duties:

To develop and use at its discretion agencies and methods for discovering and creating interest in the subject of Organic Union throughout the Churches of the country; to make provision for presenting by personal delegations or otherwise to the national bodies of all the evangelical communions of the United States, urgent invitations to participate in an Interdenominational Council on Organic Union; to make the necessary plans for the representation and date of this projected Council; to prepare for presentation to such Council when it shall assemble a suggested plan or plans of Organic Union.

By way of assistance the Conference proceeded to express its judgment upon certain aspects of the problem, being committed to the *ad interim* Committee:

1. The Conference is profoundly solicitous that the effort for Organic Union shall have first regard to those forces of vital spiritual life which alone give meaning to our effort. No mechanical uniformity must be sought, nor any form of organization which ignores or thwarts the free movement of the Spirit of God, in the hearts of His servants.

2. In line with this desire the Conference hopes the Committee will be able to devise plans so broad and flexible as to make place for all the evangelical churches of the land, whatever their outlook of tradition, temperament or taste, whatever their relationships racially or historically.

3. The Conference regards with deep interest and warm approbation all the movements of our time towards closer cooperative relations between communions, especially the notable service rendered by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. While the *ad interim* Committee's aim and function will lie in a field entirely different from those movements, it will be expected to maintain sympathetic relations with them, and to regard with satisfaction any reinforcement which its activities may bring to them.

4. The notice of the Committee is directed to the efforts for Organic Union represented in other lands, especially the churches of Canada. The remarkable and significant statement recently issued by a joint committee of Anglican and Free Churches of Great Britain will also call for the study of the Committee.

5. The Conference calls attention to the fact that in its search for a plan of Organic Union, the Committee will not be precluded from considering plans of Federal Union such as are in varying forms present to the minds of members of this Conference. Our nation is a federal union, but is not the less an organic union. Care should be used not to confuse the term

federal as thus employed, with its meaning when used to signify associated or cooperative.

Connected with the invitation duly forwarded by the *ad interim* Committee was the reply of the Northern Baptist Convention, which, although heartily indorsing the Interchurch Movement, declined to proceed further in organic union negotiations. The following was the resolution passed unanimously at the Denver convention:

Be it resolved that the Northern Baptist Convention, while maintaining fraternal relations with the evangelical denominations in extending the influence of the gospel of Jesus Christ, does not believe that organic union with other denominations is possible. It therefore declines to send delegates to the proposed council. In declining the invitation, however, Christian courtesy demands that the Northern Baptist Convention should state its position as to organic church union with other Christian denominations. This we make not with any desire to pose as judge of our Christian brethren, but in the interest of mutual understanding.

The Baptist denomination is a collection of independent, democratic, churches. None of these churches recognizes any ecclesiastical authority superior to itself. They are grouped in associations, state conventions, and a national convention, but none of these groups has any control over a local church, beyond that which lies in common faith, practice, and service. The denomination, in so far as it has unity, is a federation of independent democracies. In the nature of the case, therefore, anything like organic union of the Baptist churches with other denominations is impossible. There is no centralized body that could deliver the Baptist churches to any merger or corporate unity. If Baptist churches do not have organic unity among themselves, they obviously cannot have organic unity with other denominations. By the very nature of our organization, we are estopped from seeking organic union with other denominations.

This situation does not arise from any desire on the part of the Baptists to withhold themselves from fellowship with other Christian bodies in the pursuance of Christian work. Nor does it arise from any desire to impose on them our own convictions. We grant to others all rights that we claim for ourselves. But the liberty of conscience and the independence of the churches which characterizes our position are involved in our fundamental conception as to the nature of the church and of its relation to the religious life.

We believe in the complete competency of the individual to come directly into saving relationship with God. We hold that a church is a local community of those who have consciously committed themselves to Jesus Christ. The only church universal is, in our belief, spiritual fellowship of individual souls with God. We do not believe in any form of sacerdotalism or sacra-

mentalism among Christians who are all equally priests of the Most High. We reject ecclesiastical orders, and hold that all believers are on a spiritual equality. With us, ordination is only a formal recognition on the part of some local church that one of its members is judged worthy to serve as a pastor. The fact that such appointment is generally recognized in all our churches is simply a testimony to denominational good faith. But we cannot modify these convictions for the sake of establishing a corporate unity with other denominations. Any compromise at this point would be an abandonment of structural beliefs.

We heartily believe in the necessity of combined impact of Christian forces upon the evil of the world. Such impact, however, does not depend for its efficiency upon organic union of the churches. For ourselves, we are convinced that our fundamental conception of the church, the nature of our organization, the democracy which is the very basis of our denominational life, makes any organic union with groups of Christians holding opposite views, unwise and impossible.

Meanwhile the Committee was diligently examining various plans with a view to formulating one in accord with the directions as received from the Conference. Its conclusions, embodied as under, were submitted to and ratified with slight verbal changes by the Interdenominational Council on Organic Union, which met in Philadelphia February 3-6 of the current year.

Preamble:

Whereas: we desire to share, as a common heritage, the faith of the Evangelical churches, which has, from time to time, found expression in great historic statements; and

Whereas: we all share belief in God our Father; in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Savior; in the Holy Spirit, our Guide and Comforter; in the Holy Catholic Church, through which God's eternal purpose of salvation is both to be proclaimed and realized; in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament as containing God's revealed will, and in the life eternal; and

Whereas: having the same spirit and owning the same Lord we none the less recognize diversity of gifts and ministrations, for whose exercise due freedom must always be accorded in forms of worship and in modes of operation:

Plan:

Now, we the churches hereto assenting as hereinafter provided in Article VI do hereby agree to associate ourselves in a visible body to be known as the "United Churches of Christ in America," for the furtherance of the redemptive work of Christ in the world. This body shall exercise in behalf of the constituent churches the functions delegated to it by this instrument, or by subsequent action of the constituent churches, which shall retain the full freedom at present employed by them in all matters not so delegated.

Accordingly, the churches hereto assenting, and hereafter thus associated, in such visible body, do mutually covenant and agree as follows:

I. COMPLETE AUTONOMY IN PURELY DENOMINATIONAL AFFAIRS

In the interest of the freedom of each and of the cooperation of all, each constituent church reserves the right to retain its creedal statements, its form of government in the conduct of its own affairs, and its particular mode of worship:

In taking this step, we look forward with confident hope to that complete unity toward which we believe the Spirit of God is leading us. Once we shall have cooperated whole-heartedly, in such visible body, in the holy activities of the work of the church, we are persuaded that our differences will be minimized and our union become more vital and effectual.

II. THE COUNCIL (ITS CONSTITUTION)

The United Churches of Christ in America shall act through a Council or through such Executive and Judicial Commissions, or Administrative Boards, working *ad interim*, as such Council may from time to time appoint and ordain.

The Council shall convene in 19— and every second year thereafter. It may also be convened at any time in such manner as its own rules may prescribe. The Council shall be a representative body.

Each constituent church shall be entitled to representation therein by an equal number of ministers and of laymen.

The basis of representation shall be: two ministers and two laymen for the first one hundred thousand or fraction thereof of its communicants; and two ministers and two laymen for each additional one hundred thousand or major fraction thereof.

III. THE COUNCIL (ITS WORKING)

The Council shall adopt and promulgate its own rules of procedure and order. It shall define the functions of its own officers, prescribe the mode of their election and their compensation, if any. It shall provide for its budget of expense by equitable apportionment of the same among the constituent churches through their supreme governing or advisory bodies.

IV. RELATION OF COUNCIL AND CONSTITUENT CHURCHES

The supreme governing or advisory bodies of the constituent churches shall effectuate the decisions of the Council by general or specific deliverance or other mandate whenever it may be required by the law of a particular state, or the charter of a particular Board, or other ecclesiastical corporation; but, except as limited by this Plan, shall continue the exercise of their several powers and functions as the same exist under the denominational constitution.

The Council shall give full faith and credit to the authenticated acts and records of the several governing or advisory bodies of the constituent churches.

V. SPECIFIC FUNCTIONS OF THE COUNCIL

In order to prevent overlapping, friction, competition or waste in the work of the existing denominational boards or administrative agencies, and to further the efficiency of that degree of cooperation which they have already achieved in their work at home and abroad:

(a) The Council shall harmonize and unify the work of the United Churches.

(b) It shall direct such consolidation of their missionary activities as well as of particular churches in over-churched areas as is consonant with the law of the land or of the particular denominations affected. Such consolidation may be progressively achieved, as by the uniting of the boards or churches of any two or more constituent denominations, or may be accelerated, delayed, or dispensed with, as the interests of the United Churches may demand.

(c) If and when any two or more constituent churches, by their supreme governing or advisory bodies, submit to the Council for its arbitrament any matter of mutual concern, not hereby already covered, the Council shall consider and pass upon such matters so submitted.

The Council shall undertake educational and inspirational leadership of such sort and measure as may be decided upon by the constituent churches from time to time in the fields of Evangelism, Social Service, Religious Education, or the like.

VI. The assent of each constituent church to this Plan shall be certified from its supreme governing or advisory body by the appropriate officers thereof to the Chairman of the *ad interim* Committee, which shall have power to convene the Council as soon as the assent of at least six denominations shall have been so signified.

In submitting the foregoing plan, its proponents called attention to the fact that it is a federal union, in that the constituent churches co-operate in the furtherance of Christ's redemptive work in the world through an independent body by which their various joint activities are mediated, and that it is an organic union in that it has the vital principles of growth and development, its council having functions and duties which may from time to time be developed in a manner corresponding to the development of functions in the federal government of the United States of America.

Too much emphasis cannot be laid upon the fact that at most this whole scheme is regarded only as a first step in the right direction, through the mediation of a council having real powers of review and control and unification. After this plan has been in operation for some years, it is hoped that distinctive names

and creeds and methods will recede into the background of the past and even for the particular denominations themselves retain only a historical value. In this way the churches will come more and more to feel the need of a more complete union. The United *Churches* of Christ will then become the United *Church* of Christ having a real ecclesiastical entity with powers commensurate with its commanding institutional position.

Obviously there is no camouflage about the goal. In the Herring plan incorporated with the report of the *ad interim* Committee, as embodying the fully developed ideas of the completed united church, to be reserved for consideration until such time as it may be deemed expedient to take this last step in the direction of organic union, it is to be noted that the local church, while having authority over the terms of admission of members on confession of faith, the times and modes (with qualifications) of administering the sacraments, the forms of worship to be used, the discipline of members (with qualifications), and the determination of the amounts and distribution of its benevolences, nevertheless agrees to receive into its membership, without other condition, any person bearing a certificate of dismissal from any church of the United Church; maintain the stated observance of the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper in the use of the words and acts prescribed in the New Testament; make careful and fraternal provision for administering baptism by immersion to those who desire that form; make provision for administration of infant baptism, either statedly or (if baptism of adults only be its regular mode) at the request of parents, a neighboring pastor being asked to officiate if needful; participate through statedly chosen delegates in the meetings of its District Council; make definite legal provision for the reversion of its property to the synod of its state, if it shall cease to exist as a church, and for a decision by a Board of Appraisers as to the respective equities of itself and the United Churches in its property in case it withdraws from the United Churches.

It is the District Council that is to pass upon applications for ordination to the ministry and to ordain the candidates accepted. Ministers received into the membership of the United Churches

henceforth hold their connections not in the local church but in the District Council, by which they may be transferred to other Councils. The District Council exercises oversight of its ministers with powers of discipline or expulsion, under conditions prescribed by the National Conference. It is to receive from the churches within its bounds nominations to vacant pulpits and to pass upon the same. Approval of such nomination is to be required for the establishment of a pastoral relation, whether in the form of a temporary supply or of a permanent pastorate. It is to hear and pass upon appeals from decisions of local churches.

A State Synod is to have a bishop or bishops chosen and supported by it in the prosecution of his or their duties. A National Conference is to organize and conduct all missionary operations of the United Churches. It will assign such functions and authority to Synods and Councils as it deems expedient. It will hear and pass upon appeals from Synods.

With such limitations upon the rights of the local church, it is evident that the principle of church independency is doomed to considerable embarrassment, to say the least, if this United Church ever reaches its goal of unity. Perhaps, however, one congregationalistically disposed may be overanxious. At least one may die before his cherished polity is wiped out by this projected plan of unity.

Meanwhile, what does this contemplated federal plan really propose? In contrast to the Federal Council, its creedal basis is much enlarged, but its phrasing is so diplomatically cast as to avoid offense. There is no blunt *we believe*, but a rather ambiguous *we desire to share as a common heritage the faith of the evangelical churches*. Moreover, it is distinctly stated that each constituent church is to retain its creedal statements. Like the Federal Council, however, the working as contrasted with the creedal interest of the church finds expression in its purpose "for the furtherance of the redemptive work of Christ in the world."

In contrast with the Federal Council, the Council of the United Churches sends down to the constituent bodies not recommendations but mandates. The constituent churches are protected only in so far as they have reserved their powers to themselves. The

supreme governing or advisory bodies are to effectuate the decisions of the Council. One wonders what a constituent church is to do in effectuating decisions when its organization provides only for recommendation. How can it effectuate decisions with a recalcitrant constituency?

Like the Federal Council, the United Churches of Christ is to work through commissions, boards, and an executive. It is to meet, however, every two years, and thus overcome some of the difficulties which the Federal Council has experienced through its less frequent assembly every four years.

In respect to functions, one observes much in common between the Federal Council and this projected United Churches. Both are to prevent overlapping, friction, competition, and waste. Both are to further efficiency. Both seek to consolidate missionary activities, and to remove the duplication of overchurched areas. Probably the United Churches plan has facilities in this latter direction for greater effectiveness than the Federal Council has shown.

Taken as a whole, those who are interested in denominational co-operation as opposed to unity are likely to find in this United Churches project little more than a rival to the Federal Council. Entering the field later, and naturally profiting by the pioneer experiences of the Federal Council, it has probably some merits not to be found in the constitution of the older movement. Time may, therefore, enable it to eliminate its rival. For the present, however, it looks like an efficiency effort that, far from helping matters, only produces more competition than ever. Of course to such as long for organic unity this United Churches movement may commend itself. Undoubtedly its heart is not really in its present plan of federal union. At most it looks upon this stage as a schooling. It will justify itself, even in its own regard, only if it succeeds in ushering in complete organic unity.

IV. THE INTERCHURCH WORLD MOVEMENT OF NORTH AMERICA

Another movement that has important resemblances to those already analyzed is the Interchurch World Movement of North America.

Like the Federal Council, this movement is not an effort toward church union, nor even a striving to express the fundamental unity of interest that already exists in Christendom. Born a few weeks after the signing of the armistice, it is essentially a religious reconstructional enterprise. As such it is too much absorbed in its desire for immediate practical results to be interested in any remote objective. It has been hurried into existence to utilize and sustain those religious impulses that functioned so powerfully during the war. To this service the Federal Council legitimately might have laid claim. But in any policy adequate for such an unprecedented opportunity it would have been unconstitutional for the Council to act without a mandate from its constituents. The securing of this mandate would have required months, and in some instances even years. Meanwhile the spirit of benevolence so greatly stimulated through the repeated solicitation of war interests would have weakened; the disposition to consider world-problems was likely to have given way before the traditional insularity of American thinking; readiness to secure efficiency by the most scientific examination of situations, with readjustments however radical, was liable to have been supplanted by pre-war conservatism of method. Hence the need for immediate action in the formulation of a policy sufficiently daring in its magnitude and scientific in its method to carry over the awakened interest of American citizens into the realm of church activity. It was therefore to be expected that world-missions, with the immensity of its obligations and opportunities, would loom up large; that religious education would feel the stimulus aroused in education generally; that situations, religious as well as national, demanding attention, would first be scientifically analyzed; and that in magnitude and method the principles of war financing in the community would be perpetuated.

It is along these lines that the promoters of this movement have been feeling their way. Significant is the fact that at the initial meeting of delegates in New York City, December, 1918, there were representatives from more than two score missionary organizations. It is proposed that a foreign survey division shall make an entirely new study of the present situation in the work of

American evangelical agencies in all foreign-mission fields. This study will exhibit the geographical, racial, religious, social, educational, and political conditions of each field at the present moment, as they present problems directly affecting the present status and future possibilities of the field. This survey will bring out the location of all stations, the situation and need with regard to evangelism, education, and medical care; the necessities of Bible distribution and other Christian literature; and the extent and need of missionary initiative in social and industrial fields. It is expected to show the unprecedented receptivity to the gospel among non-Christian peoples at the present time, the spread of the democratic spirit throughout the civilized world, the responsibility that rests upon America in consequence of her position as a world-power, and the urgency of immediate response in the period of reconstruction.

A city survey is expected to develop an adequate program for the evangelical churches of the cities of America, a program capable of being budgeted in terms of thorough equipment and maintenance with the specification of the leadership required. A rural survey will present a study of every rural church in its community relationships, with a working program commensurate with its opportunity and resources. A survey of universities, colleges, theological seminaries, and secondary schools will show what institutions are equipped for preparing Christian leaders, and the adequacy of their equipment for their specific tasks. A survey of religious education will secure a definite body of facts upon which to base a program of religious education and with which to convince American citizens of the value of this program; to establish a foundation for a uniform system of education in the field of moral and religious education, and to establish scientific methods of approaching the problems of moral and religious education for the guidance of religious leaders and churches in the formulation of their programs. A survey of ministerial support hopes to ascertain the present status of pay and pensions for ministers, and to indicate what measures are necessary to remedy obvious deficiencies. Hospitals and benevolent institutions are to be surveyed. The work already done, the demands upon them, their possibilities for enlarged service, and their corresponding needs of equipment will be

presented. A survey of industrial relations is expected to embrace the whole field of industrial problems. Particular attention will be given to the problem of the Americanization of immigrant peoples.

In all this survey work the ruling principles are to occupy all unoccupied territory, to bring to an efficient basis all approved projects not sufficiently equipped, and to make the wisest distribution of men and money in existing fields.

Upon the foundations of a policy thus scientifically adapted to meet actual situations at home and abroad as revealed by these surveys, it is proposed to make an appeal for a budget, all comprehensive, for this current year of 1920, yet one that takes account of adequate development in the next five years.

In this undertaking the Interchurch Movement gives every assurance that it will not disturb the autonomy or interfere with the administration of any church, board, or denomination. Like the Federal Council it is to provide a clearing house for church activities, a center from which co-operation may be scientifically organized and supervised. Of its permanency as a movement no prediction can be made. If at this critical reconstructional moment it succeeds in immediately and enthusiastically arousing the American church to a program worthy of its resources and its war-time idealism, it feels that it will have abundantly justified its existence.

NISAN FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH IN GOSPEL AND TALMUD

A STUDY IN JEWISH CAMOUFLAGE

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I. SOME WEIRD EQUATIONS

Out of many scores of New Testament scholars who hold that *the* contradiction in the Gospels lies in the different dates assigned to the crucifixion, we shall mention two only, an Englishman and an American.

Sanday writes, "Here then we can only say there is a contradiction."¹ And Cone, "There is no question that there is here an irreconcilable contradiction between the Fourth Gospel and the others as to the day of Crucifixion."²

Briefly, we may put the alleged contradiction thus:

Crucifixion day { Friday, 14 Nisan, Passover-Eve. Fourth Gospel.
Friday, 15 Nisan, Passover-Day. Synoptic.³

It will be seen at a glance that the sacred writers implicated are in harmony about the day of the week. A certain school of German critics would say that the contradiction is not "hebdomadal" but is both "menological" and "heortological." In plain English this means that the week-day is right, but the month-day and feast-day wrong. Even here there is some little conflict of opinion. For reasons impossible to fathom, the illustrious scholar, the late Bishop Westcott, leans to the belief that the crucifixion took place on a Thursday⁴—but let that pass.

¹ *Authorship of Fourth Gospel*, p. 206. "Non licet dicere auctor hujus libri non tenuit veritatem, sed aut codex mendosus est, aut interpres erravit, aut tu non intelligis."—St. Aug. *Contr. Faust*, lib. XI, c. 5.

² *Gospel Criticism*, p. 234. "Illud imprimis scribentium observetur animo primam esse historiae legem ne quid falsi dicere audeat."—Cicero.

³ The difficulty is keenly felt and left unsolved by St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theol.*, Pars III, Q. 46, art. 9.

⁴ *Introd. Stud. Gosp.* (2d ed.), p. 320.

It is a great thing that the writers, said to be in contradiction, are right on a small point. It encourages us to hope that they who are right in small things may possibly be right in greater.

For it is a small point, this question of the week-day. Among the Jews, Friday has no specific name. It is the undistinguished sixth day of the week. In the Latin church it fares no better. It is merely *feria sexta* and never comes within measurable distance of the Sunday or *Dies Dominica*. The early Greek church made a strenuous and successful effort to exalt it long before the rise of Quartodecimanism in the East.¹ To this day the ecclesiastical Greek for Friday is ἡ παρασκευή. This does not imply that the Greeks were attempting to translate from the Hebrew any high-sounding title like "Preparation Day." No such form exists in Hebrew, biblical, Talmudic, or German.² All that the Greeks knew of the modest *cheruch* of the Jews was all that there was to be known. It was a day spent in making preparations, mostly of a culinary kind, for the κύριον σάββατον or "lordly Sabbath," and hence a day ill suited to be itself a great feast, burdened with the law of abstention from servile works. In early Christian days the Greeks made more of their favorite Friday because of the crucifixion, and the Latins more of their favorite Sunday because of the resurrection. The latter finally paid the former the compliment of taking over the holy name ἡ παρασκευή and applying it to one day and only one day in the liturgical year—the "Parasceve,"³ our Good Friday.

As surely as St. John specifies by the only Greek word that lay to his hand⁴ the week-day of the crucifixion, so the Synoptics, without giving it a name, refer to the same day, just as clearly as they assign the resurrection to the Hebrew "first day of the week,"

¹ *Infra*.

² Yiddish.

³ The Greek definite article in "*the* Parasceve" must unfortunately drop out of the Latin. On the other hand the lack of the indefinite article in Greek is often sorely felt, especially in Gal. 1:67, where St. Paul is trying to show the antithesis between *a* Gospel and *the* Gospel. English has a great advantage here.

⁴ παρασκευή τοῦ πάσχα . . . John 19:14. It is certain that a Passover *per se* had no day of preparation before it. Only the Sabbath had. παρασκευή is necessarily the day before the Sabbath, our Friday. The rest of the phrase shows that that particular Sabbath was a *Passover-Sabbath*.

our Sunday. That, we submit, is a point scored by the advocates of the chronological accuracy of the four Gospels.

But the contradiction between the month-days is said to be irremovable. The sigh of Ecclesiastes over "the talk that bores"¹ is not more audible than that of H. Holtzmann over the Jewish calendar which he calls "das grösste Vexirstück."² It is so much easier to say that there is a contradiction than to show by an appeal to a number of alleged contradictions in other calendars that there is probably none. *Camouflages* in the *chronotaxis* of the Old and New Testament meet us at every turn, but they have their counterpart in other documents, ancient and modern. The laborious research bestowed on the unveiling of the latter should not come to a stop when the obscurities of biblical dates demand the investigation of the historian, the astronomer, and the mathematician.

Appended are a few instances of time-antinomies which *prima facie* are contradictions, but on careful examination are found to be quite reconcilable. In view of these facts the plea for an arrest of judgment in the case of the four Gospels may be urged with growing force.

1. Gerasimus, patriarch of Jerusalem, was summoned to appear before the imperial court in the sixth week of Lent (*κατὰ τὴν ἑκτὴν ἑβδομάδα*). So Gregoras of Dodona.³ The prelate was called in the fifth week (Passion week), not the sixth (Holy week). Solution of the "contradiction"—the Greek sixth week = the Latin fifth week.

2. Nicephorus, patriarch of Constantinople, was appointed "the fourth day of the first week" of Lent (*τῇ τετάρτῃ τῆς πρώτης ἑβδομάδος*). So Georgius Cedrenus.⁴ He was appointed on Ash Wednesday, *before* the first week of Lent. Solution of the "contradiction" as in the last case.⁵

¹ οἱ λόγοι ἑγκαποῖ . . . Eccles. 1:8.

² *Hand-Comm.*, etc., II, 24. The same calendar was nearly the despair of Wurm, who calls it "kunstreich, verwickelt und schwerfällig." *Astronomische Beyträge*, etc. *Pamphlets*, Royal Observatory, Edinburgh, Vol. 191.

³ *Hist. Patriarch. Hieros.*

⁴ *Hist. ab Exord. Mundi*, etc.

⁵ Cf. Allatius, *Dissert. de Dominicis Recent. Graec.*, p. 1411.

3. Some English historians give the date of the death of Queen Elizabeth as March 24, 1602; some Scots give March 24, 1603; some Italians, April 3, 1603. Solution of the "contradiction"—these dates are not conflicting, but are to be equated according to different "Styles."

4. The Declaration of Right awarding the throne of England to William and Mary is dated by some English writers as February 12, 1688, and by some Dutchmen as February 22, 1689. Solution of the "contradiction" as above.

5. John Ogilvie, Scottish Jesuit, was hanged by the Anglican Archbishop Spottiswoode in Glasgow, February 28, 1615. So Pitcairn, a good authority.¹ He suffered martyrdom on March 10, 1615. So the Jesuit archives, Rome. Solution of the "contradiction" as above.

6. The Empress Catherine II of Russia died November 9, 1796. So Russian authorities. She died October 28. So British writers. Solution of the "contradiction" to be found in the two "Styles," the Russian and the Gregorian.²

We now come to closer grips with the Jewish calendar.

7. The great antiquity of the marble monument now in the Lateran museum and known as the *Canon Hippolyti* has never been challenged. On one of the sides of the chair a calendar-table, still legible, yields results which the great chronologist Aegidius Bucherius³ regarded as startling and inexplicable.

The carver of the Greek letter-numerals is dealing with certain years⁴ in which the fourteenth moon has *two* menstrual signatures appended to it, thus:

$$\text{A fourteenth moon in certain years} = \begin{cases} \text{XII Kal. Apr.} \\ \text{XI Kal. Apr.} \end{cases}$$

¹ *Criminal Trials*.

² Not long since the Russian government promised to accept our Gregorian calendar. In the present crisis promises of the kind do not count.

³ Gilles Bouchier, S.J., in *Canon Hipp.*; Migne, P.G., X, 887 ff. As a profound student of chronology this author may rank with Petavius (Petaud), Wurm, and Anger. The place of these four has never been filled.

⁴ E.g., A.D. 224, 232, 240, 256, 264, 272.

Two "Styles" are here distinctly visible on the right side of the bracket, and the following four equations are inevitable on the acceptance of the double notation:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| (1) XII Kal. Apr. | = XI Kal. Apr. |
| (2) 21st March ¹ | = 22d March |
| (3) 14th Nisan (14th moon) | = 15th Nisan (15th moon) |
| (4) Passover-Eve | = Passover-Day |

The words "XII et XI Kal. Apr." occur frequently in the *Canon Hippolyti* in the column headed by Bucherius, "Dies Terminorum Paschalium" or "Lunæ 14 Paschales."²

Bucherius tried hard to discover why Hippolytus "contrary to rule assigns a brace of days to the 14th paschal moon."³

With what he regarded as a purely Christian cycle before him, it never occurred to him that this fragment of double notation was anything but Christian.⁴ Yet two things are certain about it: (a) It is non-Christian. No Christian cycle known to history has ever given the least indication of a double "Style" that assigns two distinct menstrual signatures to a given moon. (b) Waiving the question of the Babylonian origin of this device, the fragment in question is essentially Jewish. Nor is this to be wondered at. In the third century, when these ancient symbols were carved in Rome, that city was crowded with Jews, both converts and non-converts, whose known predilections for their own venerable calendar might easily find expression on the panels of this old monument.

In our own days it is not the vernal equinox⁵ that is awarded a duplicate signature. It is Hesvan that is intercalated, but the principle is precisely the same, and the same result is achieved. The Friday is kept clear of the Passover, and the Sabbath takes that honored place. The displacement is effected by the double notation and nothing else can bring about the object in view.

More than a *caveat* against the reckless imputation of "contradictions" in the Gospels may be learned from these symbols in

¹ The vernal equinox. ² Buch., *op. cit.*, p. 890. ³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Bucherius lacked the esoteric knowledge of *Badhu*, but his acquaintance with the Jewish calendar as a whole was quite extraordinary. See his great work *De Doctrina Temporum* (Antwerp 1634), pp. 313-432.

⁵ The vernal equinox plays a vital part in the Jewish calendar of all time. The Sanhedrin was summoned "ad considerandum ad annus intercalatus sit propter æquinocetium vernale." Maimonides in *Tr. de Synedriis*; Surenhus., *Mish.*, IV, 209.

stone, which bear out the main contentions of the monograph, *Anglo-Jewish Calendar for Every Day in the Gospels*.¹

In this study the following points would seem to have been proved, though some minor statements need revision:

1. *Prima facie* there is no such process in the Jewish calendar as the transference of the Passover from Friday to the Sabbath.
2. On close analysis of every Jewish calendar known to history this transference is secretly but most assuredly practiced.
3. If it is to be done scientifically, and not as clumsily as in the *Canon Hippolyti*, the foregoing transference must be effected and is effected by the intercalation of a day.²
4. The main object of the transference is to make a Friday-Passover impossible.
5. This object is attained by the cryptic application by the calendar-makers of the rule *Badhu*.³

Because of this Hebrew nonsense-word, there is undoubtedly a tendency to regard the reality which it represents as a sort of chronological joke. בדח is quite as serious as Grimm's Law and as mathematically demonstrable as the precession of the equinoxes.⁴ The test of the real existence of the rule⁵ and its all-prevailing operation is quite simple for all who will take the trouble to collate any standard Jewish calendar,⁶ ancient or modern, with the colossal *Syzigien-Tafeln* of the Austrian v. Oppolzer. In lunar tables like the latter, the Passovers, both B.C. and A.D., are bound to fall at fairly frequent intervals on a Friday. In the professedly lunar calendar of the Jews this conjunction can never

¹ By the present writer, who has been informed by the publishers that it is out of print.

² With subsequent excision of a day to redress the balance. On intercalation see *infra*.

³ Throughout this paper *Badhu* is used to express the exclusion of Friday *only* from the honors of the Passover. Nowadays other week days are similarly treated.

⁴ Defined in a schoolboy "howler" as "a long procession of monsters with horses' heads on, in the night."

⁵ There is no rubric *Badhu* in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, nor *Tetragrammaton*, nor *Karaites*, a famous sect among the Jews—"the Protestants of Judaism" (Hosmer).

⁶ Cf. Lindo, *Jewish Calendar*; Schwarz, *Der jüd. Kal.*; *Kal für Israelit*. (Vienna); Jacobs, *Year Book* (London); Publications of Hebrew Publishing Co., New York.

be. In other words, the non-lunar factor of *Badhu*, which in its working is as dead a secret to the masses of the Jews as to Christians, has been surreptitiously introduced by the "wise" who sit *in camera*, and plays the rôle of a disturbing agent competing with and ousting the moon.

The relation of *Badhu* to the double reckoning of the Jewish calendar, and the power of the rule to solve the "contradiction" in the Gospels as to the date of the crucifixion, may or may not be a modern discovery of a revolutionary character, but the existence of the process is age-long,¹ and its dislocating influence on what is, at best, only a quasi-lunar calendar might have been demonstrated long since but for the disinclination of students to scale the ring-fence studiously erected by the professional framers of Jewish tables to guard the secret of their sacred calendar. "Ihr Kalender war ein Theil ihrer Religion";² yet that religion was no secret. Grätz has some preposterous remarks on the revelation of "the secret of the Calendar" by Hillel II.³ The anti-lunar "dodge" that leads to the disqualification of the Friday as a Passover has never been avowed by Jewish authorities, and the secret of transference continues to be well kept up to the publication of the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, inclusive.

It is this ingenious, tricky, and occult rule *Badhu* that makes it possible, as explained above, to write the equation, 14 Nisan = 15 Nisan. It may be well to repeat that this method of double reckoning is visible to every trained observer.

Take three instances as widely apart as A.D. 31-⁴ 1522-⁵ 1842.⁶ In all three cases the same phenomenon is discernible. The

¹ On its antiquity cf. *Anglo-Jewish Cal.* (*supra cit.*). Herwart ab Hohenburg sees *Badhu* embodied in the Jewish *Seder Olam*. *Nova, Vera, Exacta Chron.*, etc., p. 104.

² Wurm, *op. cit.* Wurm's tables (1815) have one fatal flaw first detected by Anger, *De Temp in Act. App. Ratione* (1833). They have been continued well into the Christian Era by Beebe of Yale.

³ *Hist. Jews* (Eng. trans. by Bella Löwy), II, 581. ⁴ *Anglo-Jewish Cal.*, *supra cit.*

⁵ The mathematician Stöffler selects 67 years out of the sixteenth century and discloses the intercalation which keeps Friday and Passover apart (*Kal. Rom. Mag., Propos.*, XLI; cf. *Propos. ult.*). Stöffler is quite mistaken in supposing that the "secret" is known to Jewish "women and children."

⁶ See Lindo, *op. cit.* In these scientific tables covering 64 years, this Spanish Jew, with a reticence not peculiar to him, never gives a hint of the operation of the rule *Badhu*. Yet it is there for all lunar calculators to see.

double reckoning under the working of the secret leaven of *Badhu* keeps the Friday clear of the Passover and throws the feast on to the Sabbath. The moon is incapable of the trick. Only *Badhu* can perform it. There is no *tertium quid*. All that science can do with time is to measure it. The Jewish calendar-makers do more than this with lunar time. They manipulate it for a purpose which they do not acknowledge. The manipulation is as lawful as the astronomical fiction of the "mean moon," but the latter is not a secret. Then why should the former be camouflaged by the Committee appointed from the days of the Sanhedrin¹ onward to frame the calendar of Israel?

II. EARLY CHRISTIANITY CAUGHT BY THE CAMOUFLAGE

The fourteenth moon of the first sacred month of the Jews gave birth to Christian Quartodecimanism, and the fifteenth moon of the same to Christian Quintodecimanism. If, under the action of the rule of the two "Styles," 14 Nisan = 15 Nisan, it seems to follow that Quartodecimanism = Quintodecimanism. The first equation is met with mirthful scorn by the Jews, who know nothing of *Badhu*; the second is derided by Christian historians, who cannot imagine that their forbears could have battled about two "isms" which differed only in name and were in reality not two but one.

One reason why the study of this most fascinating controversy between East and West is still only in its infancy is the neglect to distinguish between the purely "lunar" Quartodecimanism which had no theological implications and the "liturgical" Quartodecimanism² which was finally condemned as "heresy" by the General Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon. The condemnation is noteworthy as being the first instance of the liturgical triumph of the West over the East. The "liturgical" Quartodecimans

¹ See *infra*.

² It was condemned because of its alliance with Judaism and its opposition to the Christian legislation prescribing the total severance between the Christian Easter and the Jewish Passover. The best definition of this heresy will be found in St. Epiphanius, *op. om.*, tom. I, p. 420 (ed. Dionysius Petavius, S.J.); and St. Augustine, *op. om.*, tom. X, p. 11 (ed. Benedictines of St. Maur). Strange to say, St. Alphonsus Liguori does not mention Quartodecimanism in his *History of Heresies*.

died hard, and perhaps succeeded in transmitting to the early church of the *Scoti*¹ some of those Judæo-Johannine principles which led to the prolonged and bitter struggle on the Easter question between the Patricio-Columban *Scoti* and the more Romanized Saxons of England. The pages of S. Bede, "the Venerable," simply kindle with zeal for Roman orthodoxy, not without a *souffçon* of anti-Celtic acidity,² as he tells the story of the final discomfiture of the Irish champion St. Colman by the Englishman St. Wilfrid at the great theological tourney held at Whitby, Yorkshire. Echoes of the fray lasted a little while, then died out. The mild and non-heretical form of the Quartodecimanism of the *Scoti*³ left no traces except the soreness caused by the humiliation of the Irish representative at the hands of the merciless English logician, the uncompromising advocate of the right of Petrine Rome to settle the method of determining Easter.

Turning to the Quartodecimans and Quintodecimans of the "lunar" species, we find the temperature of controversy still very high, but the whole *mise-en-scène* different. This most innocent form of Quartodecimanism never came and never could come under ecclesiastical censure. The disputants on both sides concentrated their attention on the day of the month on which our Lord suffered. Was it the fourteenth or the fifteenth? It never occurred to anyone then that either answer would be correct, and so the fight went on indefinitely and vigorously.

The Tübingen school would class the very earliest Asiatic Christians as Quintodecimans. On the other hand Samuel Davidson holds that "the Roman Church maintained that Christ died

¹ The term *Scoti* embraces the Scots of eastern *Scotia* (modern Scotland) and the Scots of western *Scotia* (modern Ireland). The apostle of the latter was St. Patrick, and of the former St. Columba. Bede in his *History* draws no distinction between the two nations, for there was none.

² Attempts have been made to prove that the father of English history was free from racial bias. He barely mentions St. Patrick, and his very few references to St. Columba are more slighting than complimentary.

³ The Celtic church, which, through St. Columbanus (*Epp. Columb. Bib. Max. Pat.*, tom. XII), gloried in its filial attitude to the Petrine See of Rome, was never condemned by Rome for its perfervid attempt to keep to its own Easter, irrespective of the Paschal decree of the Council of Nicaea. On the "Scottish Easter" see the now rare work by the Anglican Bishop Gillan, *The Life of Sage*.

on the 14th."¹ Possibly he is following Duchesne, who writes: "L'église de Rome ne tenait pas moins fermement que les églises d'Asie à la Passion du 14^e."² All these authorities have failed to show how the *volte face* of Asia in passing from Quintodecimanism to Quartodecimanism, and of Europe in passing from Quartodecimanism to Quintodecimanism, could possibly have been effected without leaving a marked impress on ecclesiastical history. All the evidence available goes to prove that from the first, Asia was as Quartodeciman as Europe, on the whole, was the reverse.

In this connection it is impossible to overlook the fact that St. John³ is on the side of 14 Nisan as the day of the crucifixion.⁴ Thus he is necessarily the *fons et origo* of "lunar" Quartodecimanism. Equally necessarily, every Jew since the dawn of Christianity associates himself with St. John. With mingled wrath and mirth the Jews anathematize the view of the Western church that would turn the all-holy Passover of 15 Nisan into a day when a public execution was permitted in the Holy City to the gross defilement of itself and its feast. One of the motives of the hate with which the Jews of Constantinople pursued St. John Chrysostom, was his strong denunciation of the blood-lust which prompted them to forego the sacred duties of the Passover in order to feast their eyes on the awful scene on Golgotha.⁵ Surely their predisposition to Quartodecimanism of the kind we are examining is intelligible enough. In the same category must be placed the earliest churches of Asia, which regarded the apostle John as their founder, and also the bulk of the Greek Fathers, always excepting Chrysostom and Euthymius and possibly Epiphanius.

On the side of "lunar" Quintodecimanism, leaving the Greek Fathers out of account, we find the forces of the Latin church

¹ *Introd.*, etc. (1894), II, 463.

² *Rev. des. Q. Q. hist.*, July, 1880.

³ The question of the authorship of the Fourth Gospel is not touched on here.

⁴ John 19:14.

⁵ *ἔδωκε καὶ τὸ πάσχα ἀφεῖναι ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν φονικὴν αὐτῶν ἐμπλῆσαι ἐπιθυμίας.* Chrys., Hom. in Mt., 58; Migne, *P.G.*, LVIII, 754. A very hard saying. No execution was allowed even on an ordinary Sabbath. Maim. in *Tr. de Synedriss*; Surenhus., *op. cit.*, IV, 226.

intrenched in solid array. The consensus could hardly be more complete. Enough here to refer to the names given by Suarez, Maldonatus, and especially Cardinal Bellarmine.¹ No great Western Father or Doctor is missing from the list.

These are the known facts in the controversy, and they contrast with the hypotheses of Tübingen, Davidson, and Duchesne.

The curious thing about the whole quarrel over Nisan 14 and 15 is that, through ignorance of the process of tampering with the so-called lunar calendar of Israel, both the belligerent parties held in perfect good faith that though Friday was assuredly the day of the crucifixion, the two month-days assigned in the Gospels were somehow incompatible. Still more curious is the fact that scholars of the twentieth century take these warriors quite seriously and fancy that there really was something objective to fight about.

In the light of the theory of the double method of reckoning embodied in the rule *Badhu*, there ought to have been no strife, but perfect peace, between the early Christian Quartodecimans and Quintodecimans. If these remarks imply a mild censure on ancient filibusters, what is to be thought of modern critics who still take sides in the struggle, back the dead legions, and incite them to engage afresh in a bogus war?

Both parties were equally in the right. It is as true to say that Christ died on 14 Nisan as to say he died on 15 Nisan. It all depends on the "Style" followed. Truly the wise men of Israel, *in camera* assembled, can afford to chuckle over the gullibility of the *goyim* who cling to the so-called purely lunar calendar of the Jews, and shutting their eyes to the foreign body, called *Badhu*, refuse to see how it works as a camouflage. The device was employed in the death-year of Christ,² and Israel does not change. The reason for keeping the Passover off the Friday was as operative then as now. If *Badhu* were once upon a time absolutely foreign to the Jewish calendar, a more momentous revolution can hardly be imagined than the introduction of a brand-new rule tending to the disruption of the whole system of lunar calculations.

¹ *De Euch.* lib. IV, c. 8.

² In A.D. 31, when alone all the conditions for the application of *Badhu* were present. So the *Anglo-Jewish Calendar for Every Day in the Gospels*, *supra cit.*

No theorist, however bold, has ever been able to arrive within measurable distance of the date when the alleged revolution came into being. For all we know, it never came in, for it was always there. Had it made its appearance at a given point in Jewish history, the adamantine conservatism of the sticklers for the law would have met it with a protest which would have ejected it summarily. *Badhu* is with us now and will never go out, no matter what light may be thrown on its anti-lunar action.

This part of our subject may be made clearer by an able summing up, free from all chronological technicalities, of the two "Styles" followed by Jesus and the Jewish masses at his last Passover:

Neither did Christ anticipate *His* Passover, nor did the Jews in that particular year postpone *theirs*, in order to carry through the Execution of God.¹ Both He and they kept their respective Passovers at a time which for both parties had long been regarded as lawful. The Lord kept His at the time made lawful by the law of God;² the Jews kept theirs at a time made lawful by the tradition of their fathers.³

A remarkable feature in this old feud between East and West is that the Christian Quartodecimans, who found their main buttress in St. John, never proceeded to impugn the accuracy, let alone the veracity, of the other biographers of our Lord. The same is true of the attitude of the Quintodecimans, who found themselves in alliance with the Synoptics and apparently at variance with St. John. Some of the wiser medieval commentators, like St. Thomas Aquinas,⁴ simply gave the problem up. The great bulk, however, who have bequeathed their methods to a vast number of modern exegetes, tried with might and main to show, either that the first three evangelists were in complete harmony with the favorite St. John, or that St. John was in complete harmony with the favorites SS. Matthew, Mark, and Luke. With the data at their disposal, no victory on either side was possible.

¹ This opinion is very properly antagonistic to that of Chrys., just mentioned.

² "Ex lege Dei." It were better to delete "Dei."

³ *Concord. Evang.* of Jansenius of Ghent (not Jansenius of Ypres), c. 128. Jansenius had probably never heard of the double "Style" nor of *Badhu*, yet he is very near the truth.

⁴ Dean Milman (*Hist. Lat. Christ.*) follows the discreet reticence of Aquinas.

The expedients adopted, even before St. Augustine, to secure the coveted "harmony" are a standing monument of those desperate shifts to which men in a "fix" are driven till their efforts betray more of perverse ingenuity than of exegetical honesty.¹

One thing in the fight between 14 and 15 Nisan was almost universally forgotten, and that was the now unquestioned theory of the supplementary character of St. John. Not that it is a new discovery. Of St. John as a "supplementist" no one has written more finely than St. Epiphanius, who says of him, *προλαμβάνει τῶν ῥηθέντων τὰ μὴ ῥηθέντα*.²

Nowadays it is the fashion to say that St. John applies a "corrective" to many statements found in the earlier sketches of the life of Christ. It were truer to say that one of his principal functions is to put right a mistaken interpretation caused or occasioned by those earlier records which were unquestionably under his eye. The Jews have never ceased to chafe under the "libel" popularized among Christians by the written words of the earlier evangelists, who imply that Jesus died on the Passover Day itself. To the intense relief of the aggrieved party, St. John came to the rescue with the explicit declaration that Jesus was crucified, not on the Passover, but on its eve. He never said that his predecessors were wrong in calling the "death-day" the "Passover," or, if they would, "15 Nisan." What he does clearly imply is that the hands of the Jews were unstained with blood on the Passover *as kept that year*. True, the dreadful scene was enacted on a Friday, as St. John and the Synoptics agree; but with their traditional dislike of a Passover-Friday the Jews had shifted the feast and made it into the "high" day³ marked with the hyphenated sanctity of a Passover-Sabbath. Thus the Synoptics, as there was nothing to correct in them, remain uncorrected and uncensored by St. John. According to *their* legal-lunar reckoning the Master had died on the Passover. All St. John does is to show that the murderous deed was not perpetrated

¹ The exegetical wriggings over 14 and 15 Nisan are almost matched by those over "a third hour," Mark 15:25. It is quite possible that the phrase has nothing to do with the third hour or any other hour of the day.

² *Hær.* 51. Migne, P.G., XLI, 924.

³ John 19:31.

on a Friday that was kept as a Passover, but on a Friday whence that distinction was removed to be placed on the Sabbath following.

It is not to be supposed that St. John was under any obligation to enlighten the Quartodecimans and Quintodecimans of the whole Christian Era as to the character of the camouflage that makes *his* Passover-Eve (14 Nisan) identical with the Passover-Day (15 Nisan) of the earlier summarists of the life of Christ. St. John knew what he was writing and knew what the others had written before him. Is it likely that he knew he was in contradiction with them? Anyhow he is not bound to explain how he is in harmony with them. It is for us to find it out as best we may.

III. THE ALLEGED FRIDAY-PASSOVER IN THE TALMUD

The main reason why the Jews recoiled and still recoil from a Friday-Passover was and is undoubtedly a business one. Such a combination would leave on Jewish shoulders the intolerable burden of two successive days of abstention from servile work and consequent forfeiture or reduction of income or wage. The only way to obviate this financial calamity was to transfer the Passover to the Sabbath, and so leave Friday free for commercial and other lucrative pursuits and thus indirectly enhance the honors of the weekly Sabbath. The practice of the Synagogue in cutting down holy days was one which every business man must commend and no religious man is at liberty to condemn.

When all is said and done, the opponents of the theory of transference fall back on one argument which they seem to regard as unanswerable. The Talmud, say they, far from countenancing the removal of the Passover from the Friday, distinctly recognizes the existence and validity of a Friday-Passover. It should be added that the Talmud, even supposing that it sanctions the combination, gives no indication of the time or the century in which the Friday was so honored in Israel. To try to fix it is a wild speculation. It is urged, without the least attempt at argument, that a Friday-Passover was possible in the time of Christ. Thus He could have died on a Friday-Passover. It is vital to note what follows this admission. It follows (1) that the Synoptics

are probably right, and (2) that St. John, who most assuredly affirms that He did not suffer on the Passover but on its eve, i.e., on 14 Nisan, is hopelessly in error. On the other hand, if we assume that at the Passover of His death there was a true transference of the feast from the legal and lunar Friday-Passover to the Sabbath, it will be seen at a glance and enforced in the sequel that both accounts of the day of His death are strictly accurate.

Now to the question of fact. Does the colossal compilation known as the Talmud anywhere state that the Jews at any period of their history kept their Passover on a Friday?

A. THE "LOCUS CLASSICUS" IN THE TALMUD

It is safe to say that only one passage in the Talmud is relevant to the issue. It is found in the tractate *Pesachim* translated by two eminent Latin interpreters, Blasio Ugolino, of Venice,¹ and Wilhelm Surenhuys, of Amsterdam.² Here we follow without abridgment the latter version as slightly the better, with some variants from Ugolino, marked "U."

Pesachim,³ VII, 9, 10:⁴ Pascha quod exivit⁵ aut pollutum est⁶ comburatur statim. Si possessores⁷ polluti fuerint aut mortui fuerint, transeat forma⁸ ejus et comburatur decimo sexto die. R. Johanan filius Berokæ dicit etiam hoc statim comburatur quia non habet comedentes.

Ossa, nervi et reliquæ comburuntur decimo sexto.⁹ Si decimus sextus dies inciderit in Sabbatum, comburunt¹⁰ decimo septimo, quia non pellunt¹¹ Sabbatum neque diem festum.

¹ Ugolino, *Gemara Hieros. Tract. de Pascha: Thes. Antiq. Sacr.*, tom. XVII, p. dccc.

² Surenhus., *Mishnah, De Paschate*, tom. II, pp. 161 ff.

³ The Hebrew title is a plural, always translated by the Latin singular *Pascha*.

⁴ The reference is wrongly given as "*Pes.*, X, 7" by Knabenbauer in *Comm. in Matt.*, II, 414.

⁵ "Si Pascha exierit" (U). The best translation is "Quodsi Pascha," etc.

⁶ "Pollutum fuerit" (U).

⁷ "Si domini," etc. (U). *Domini* and *possessores* mean the same thing, i.e., eaters in possession of a dish.

⁸ "Mutetur ejus forma" (U). The original text is obscure but seems to mean that the *unbroken* bones of the lamb were to be heaped up for cremation (Exod. 12:46), thus leaving the lamb unrecognizable as such. Here the Talmudists revel in guesswork about the decomposition of the meat. How could it decompose thus swiftly?

⁹ The writer in *Pesachim* has still in view the "Pascha quod exivit," *supra*.

¹⁰ "Comburent" (U).

¹¹ The subject of the verb is "Judæi." On "pellunt" see *infra*.

The Latin is no more crude or crabbed than the original and gives a good idea of the kind of shorthand notes taken by official scribes at the sessions of the Committee of the Sanhedrin on Rites and Ceremonies. Short as the excerpt is, it faithfully reflects the style of a great part of the Talmud.

B. EXAMINATION OF THE PASSAGE IN "PESACHIM"

To deal with a minor point first, perhaps a better rendering than "non pellunt Sabbatum" would be "non propellunt Sabbatum." The technical verb used to denote the "propulsion" or throwing forward of feasts in the sacred calendar of the Jews is *הִדְחִיף*, "to push" or "shove on."¹ The process is found in vigorous use in the *Megillah*.² R. Johanan Beroka, or Berokæ, cleverly extricated himself from a ritual trap by the cry, "Pellatur in diem crastinum."³ For reasons too intricate to detail, several fasts and feasts were so "propelled." Thus a feast legally due on the eighth of a month might find itself on the ninth, and this without the least attempt at disguise. But to the average Jew a similar treatment of the Passover is unthinkable. Never in Jewish literature is the admission explicitly made that the Passover could be treated with the scant courtesy of "propulsion" or forced to change its sacred signature of the fifteenth day of Nisan. Under the action of transference it will be seen in every Jewish calendar to be subject to aberration or "exit." It strays, it drifts, it slips from the Friday, but it is never strictly "propelled." It may quit its hebdomadal moorings, but, thanks to *Badhu*, never its menstrual place.

This leads us to the first sentence in the foregoing excerpt from *Pesachim*:

"The Passover which has passed out [of its place] or become defiled is to be burnt straightway."

¹ Closely akin to the Catholic method of the "translation" of feasts.

² See *De Volumine Esteris*; Surenhus., *Mish.*, tom. II. In this treatise the "anticipation" of feasts is denounced as an abuse, but it could not be kept out. In the Roman ecclesiastical calendar of today signs of this process have appeared.

³ See Ugol., *op. cit.*, tom. XVIII, p. 808.

⁴ The Hebrew article is unfortunately lost in the Latin.

In the Gemara of Jerusalem, as well as in ordinary English, the word "Passover" may stand for the whole of the sacred celebration covering seven or eight days,¹ or for the fare that lay on the table on the night that closed 14 Nisan and ushered in 15 Nisan.² Here in *Pesachim*, to judge by the reference to burning, the second meaning is the only possible one. Nor is there any difficulty about the etiology of defilement at the great supper.³ To touch the heap of bitter herbs or the stacks of unleavened biscuits with unwashed hands and, still more, to ply a soiled wooden *spatula*⁴ on the roasted lamb would entail uncleanness on the subject touching and the object touched.

Attention must now be concentrated on the first phrase here translated, "The Passover which has passed out [of its place]," and on the verb in the original נִסַּח, wherein נִסַּח⁵ coalesces with the relative.

The efforts of the two great commentators on the Mishnah, RR. de Bartenora and Maimonides, to explain this *crux* leave one under the impression that either they are trying to wrestle with a difficulty which eludes their grasp, or possibly they are

¹ In the light of Jewish tradition it is imperative to introduce the phrase "seven or eight days." *Infra*.

² The two meanings of "Passover" will be found in any large dictionary. Cf. *The Standard Dict.* (Funk & Wagnalls Co.). This authority makes the very common mistake of supposing that there was a "sacrifice" of a lamb at the Passover supper. Knabenbauer falls into the same error, *Comm. in Matt.*, II, 425; also Edersheim, *Life and Times*, etc., II, 491. In the days of our Lord every sacrifice proper was consummated at a public altar in the temple by consecrated priests, and never at a private table by a *paterfamilias*. True to his rôle as an allegorical free lance, Philo is most misleading here (*De Vita Mosis*).

³ The fare was not that of a "banquet." So frugal indeed was it, that long before the time of Christ the ascetic Passover supper necessitated the introduction of the very liberal feast called the *Chagigah*, the Jewish ancestor of the Christian Agape. With extraordinary insight, Maldonatus (*Comm. in Matt.*), the most conscientious of commentators, who had never even heard of this Hebrew name for *festivitas*, sees three distinct meals at the Last Supper: (1) the Passover proper, (2) the *Chagigah*, (3) the Holy Eucharist. The question, which is very large and complicated, has never been fully treated by any critic of any school.

⁴ As is well known, no knives or forks were used.

⁵ The very word in Gen. 24:50, translated by "proceedeth" in the Authorized and Revised Versions, and in the Vulgate by "egressus est." "Exiit" would do quite as well.

throwing dust in the eyes of the reader in their effort to conceal the surreptitious movement of the supper of the Passover lamb from one day to the next.

The Spanish Jew solves the problem in a very cavalier fashion. The fare that "passed out" (*exiit*) was carried out "extra murum."¹ This is worse than the wildest of schoolboy "shots." De Bartenora, who was well acquainted with *Tosapha*,² must have known that it was absolutely forbidden to take any eatable, least of all the lamb, from the Passover table outside the walls of the house. He knew equally well, when engaged in this solemn trifling, that the traditional prohibition was based on Scripture.³

If anything, the reputation of Maimonides, in his struggle with this very common Hebrew equivalent for *exiit*, suffers more severely than that of his colleague. His remark is, "Sensus est quod exivit a domicilio in quo comedebatur."⁴ The words of Exodus, on which the greatest of Jewish scholars, saluted by his Christian contemporaries as "eruditissimus Judæorum" had commented, are a standing protest against him. "In one house shall it be eaten. Thou shalt not carry forth ought of the flesh abroad out of the house."⁵

The exegesis is so flagrantly bad that a suspicion is aroused that the Talmudists are poking fun at the reader or trading on his ignorance. Petavius, prince of patristic commentators, would take a more serious view. He holds positively that Maimonides was acquainted with the rule *Badhu*⁶ and the double reckoning which it necessitated. Is the Jewish scholar afraid to let out some secret bearing on the mysterious *exit* of the Passover feast?

But the Talmudists are not yet done with the simple נֶצַח, (*quod exiit*) of *Pesachim*. It confronts them once again in one of the most occult passages in that treatise.

In some kind of way a limb of the lamb has protruded (*exiit*). The text bristles with difficulties, but the meaning seems to be

¹ Surenhus., *Pes.*, tom. II, p. 161.

² See the references to *Tosaphia* given by the Hebrew scholar John Lightfoot, *The Temple Service*, *op. om.*, IX, 130; ed. Paton. Lightfoot would reject with scorn the erratic guesswork of de Bartenora.

³ Exod. 12:46.

⁴ Surenhus., *Pes.*, *loc. cit.*

⁵ Exod. 12:46.

⁶ *Animadvers. in Epiph.*, *op. om.*, *Epiph.*, tom. II, pp. 180 ff.

that one of the legs which were trussed up inside the lamb had forced itself out and caused a "pocket" in the contour of the animal, much as a big raisin pressing against the linen wrap of a plum pudding may spoil the spheroidal shape of the latter. What was to be done with this abnormal "exit" of the leg, if it was a leg? The puerile problem and its fantastic solution—is it not all written in the Gemara? A surgeon commentator might say, "Cut down through the skin and seize and depress the erring *tibia*," but this may or may not be the prescription of the "wise." Not less puerile, but more disingenuous, is the comment by de Bartenora. The "*exiit*," he says, must mean that the animal has somehow got "*extra parietem suum*." It will be remembered that this "explanation" about a "wall" was given when the "*Pascha quod exiit*" was under examination. Now it is the "*membrum quod exiit*." *Risum teneatis amici!* To elucidate his fancy, de Bartenora refers to Exod. 22:30, which only makes matters worse. Here, as often happens with men, semiconscious that they are talking nonsense, the Talmudist seems to lose his temper, and has a fling at "*omnem carnem quæ exierit in campum*."² It were sheer waste of time to give the words of Maimonides on the same problem. More prolix and grandiose than those of his fellow-commentator, they are more irrelevant and quaint.³ The lamb has somehow been caught *flagrante delicto*, doing something outside the "precincts" or in the "field," but what constitutes the offense, or whether it has been committed in life or after death, is not stated.

Enough to say that the treatment by these two illustrious Jews of the simple Hebrew⁴ for *exiit* puts them out of court as authorities on the Passover feast that has "quitted" its place.

In extenuation of this critical collapse it may be added that both the "Passover-exit" and the "limb-exit" seem to belong to the very oldest stratum in the Gemara of Jerusalem. Thus Maimonides and his colleague undertook the task of expounding this Sphinx-like riddle much more than a thousand years after the words were written. Maimonides is fond of appealing to "the

² Surenhus., *Pes.*, *op. cit.*, tom. II, p. 162.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ See its use in Gen. 24:50; Exod. 21:34, 23:16; Lev. 25:28; Deut. 14:22; Josh. 15:3, 4, 9, 11; Ps. 19:5 (Authorized Version); Eccles. 7:18.

tradition of the fathers," and he uses this *façon de parler* here again,¹ but there is no trace of any such tradition about either "exit" in Jewish antiquity.

Can it be that the Hebrew verb, rightly translated by *exiit*, refers to the Passover feast as quitting its menological place (15 Nisan), and not the room where it was eaten? The former kind of *exit* would explain fairly well the speed with which the supper was eaten and the fragments burned.² On the hypothesis of transference one can readily understand how the feasters were loth to prolong the interval and thus to accentuate the distinction between the normal-legal Passover and the transferred one.

This, it will be said, is only a conjecture introduced to fill up a marked ellipsis in the Talmud. That is so, but it is also a conjecture which, unlike the exegetical antics of Maimonides and de Bartenora, does no violence to Bible or Gemara or the traditional ritual of the Passover. It fits in with the whole tenor of the passage from *Pesachim* and accounts for the total omission therein of 15 Nisan and the extraordinary stress laid on 16 Nisan though the latter was unquestionably a non-legal day for the cremation of the remains of the lamb.

The very colorlessness of the common Hebrew verb in "Pascha *exiit*" may perhaps be taken as an indication that a *camouflage*, known or unknown to Maimonides, is being employed in the construction. Again we submit that the Passover feast has quitted its rightful berth, not locally, but menologically. Anyhow the tangled twaddle which so often disfigures the finest pages of the Talmud will not prove helpful in the problem of the *exit* of the Passover.

C. THE ALLEGED OPPOSITION OF "PESACHIM" TO THE THEORY OF TRANSFERENCE

There is danger of exaggerating the strength of the alleged opposition of *Pesachim*³ to the theory of Passover transference from Friday to Sabbath. It has been said above that in every Jewish calendar known to history such transference is invariably practiced, though never avowedly. It does not seem to

¹ Surenhus., *ibid.*

² "Combaturatur statim."—*Pes.*, VII, *supra cit.*

³ *Supra cit.*

matter very much if the opponents of transference in their search for evidence against it have lighted on one short phrase in all Jewish literature where two definite week-days, Sabbath and Sunday, are attached to two definite menstrual signatures, 16 and 17 Nisan.¹ The inference of course is that on this particular occasion the equation Friday = 15 Nisan = Passover is established. Is it?

The case for the opposition would be strengthened if, instead of a curt reference to Ugolino or Surenhuys, as is always given, a tabulated statement of the week-days and month-days involved in the famous passage were drawn up thus:

- (1) Friday, 15 Nisan
- (2) Sabbath, 16 Nisan
- (3) Sunday, 17 Nisan

All is now beautifully simple. *Causa finita est.* The first entry is seen to be the Passover. It is also a Friday. Therefore there is such a combination recognized in the Talmud as a Friday-Passover.

The case is not ended. It is barely opened. Talk of the chronological camouflages of the Old and the New Testament! They are as wisps of gauze compared to the impenetrable disguises which Talmudic figures can assume. When the whole context is carefully scanned, the hasty judgment of the anti-transference critics will probably be reversed.

As has been already intimated, there is no mention whatever in the whole of *Pesachim* of a Friday-Passover. The "Friday, 15 Nisan" of our last table, though quite correct, is an interpolation of our own and does not imply that the Passover was kept on that particular day. It was kept on the Sabbath, the true legal signature for which is 16 Nisan. The proof is simple enough.

The eating of the meat and the burning of the bones took place most certainly on the same night,² i.e., the night running into the small hours of the morning. But the remains were burned on 16 Nisan.³ Therefore the sacred meal was also on 16 Nisan.

¹ *Pes.*, VII, 9, 10.

² "Ye shall let nothing [edible] of it remain until the morning, but that which remaineth of it until the morning ye shall burn with fire."—Exod. 12:10. It is quite certain that Jesus and his apostles before leaving the supper-room complied with this law; yet the incident is passed over without a word by a whole host of Christian commentators.

³ *Pes.*, *ibid.*

Therefore that day was the Passover; that is, the great feast was forcibly excluded from the Friday which fell on the true legal day, the fifteenth. Hence there is no Friday-Passover in *Pesachim*.

Again, the postponement of the cremation from the fifteenth to the sixteenth, whenever the fifteenth fell on a Sabbath, was undoubtedly the rule and a direct derivative from the principle of Sabbatic sanctity which forbade the lighting of a fire even in the rabbinical kitchen on the Sabbath.¹ Thus the postponement of the cremation was from the sacrosanct Passover-Sabbath to the non-holy Sunday following. Here in *Pesachim* this universal rule is observed, but with this noteworthy feature that the Sabbath, as the *terminus a quo* of the postponement, is explicitly given the signature 16 Nisan and not 15 Nisan. *Had there been a Friday-Passover, kept on 15 Nisan, there would have been no Sabbatic motive for deferring the lighting of the fire to Sunday, 17 Nisan.* Hence the postponement recorded in *Pesachim* is not from a Friday-Passover falling on 15 Nisan, but from a Sabbath-Passover falling on 16 Nisan.

To put it in another way: the *terminus a quo* of the postponement of the fire-kindling is always a Sabbath-Passover. But in the excerpt from *Pesachim*, that *terminus a quo* is a Sabbath. Therefore that Sabbath is a Sabbath-Passover. Now that same Sabbath is explicitly said to fall on 16 Nisan. Therefore, the day before, which is unquestionably Friday, 15 Nisan, is *not* the Passover. Hence no Friday-Passover is to be found in the one passage in all Jewish literature, which is cited to prove that the Talmud recognizes such a combination.

Here too, for the first and last time in Jewish documents, the *Badhu*-mask which turns the legal day "Sabbath-Passover, 16 Nisan" into "Sabbath-Passover, 15 Nisan" is not thrust on the face of the sacred calendar. Here the Committee clerks have surreptitiously lifted a corner of the veil to let us see behind the

¹ The point need not be labored; but cf. Burton, *Jew, Gypsy, etc.*, p. 80; Zangwill, *Dreamers Ghetto*, p. 14, and *Children Ghetto* (one-volume ed.), p. 88; and St. Jerome's joke against the Jews and their *cold* Sabbath dietary in Isa. 65:4. The inference is that on a Sabbath-Passover the *Chagigah* meats (lambs and kids, roasted and boiled) were served cold. Kitchen fires were not forbidden on the Passover as such.

scenes how the sixteenth is the true legal signature, while the fifteenth is the published one. The process is going on today visible to all eyes that are not holden.

The secret of transference has ever been in the keeping of the professional class.¹ Not a word from them about the *modus operandi* which eliminates a Friday-Passover and substitutes a Sabbath-Passover has ever reached the ears of the common herd of Jews or Christians.

The rule of transference is found working out its occult intercalation, first upon Elul (August–September), then upon Hesvan (October–November), all the while effectively securing the noiseless transference of the Passover. The Talmudists shuffled over Elul as their successors do over Hesvan. The former proclaimed that Elul, a *mensis cavus*, always has 29 days; the latter say that Hesvan's quota is similarly restricted. When it is shown to demonstration that these two lunar months are sometimes awarded, against all lunar rules, a thirtieth day, the retort is "Yes, but that thirtieth day is to be regarded in the one case as the Kalends of Tishri, and in the other as the Kalends of Chisleu." It is a transparent subterfuge. The award is made in implicit obedience to *Badhu* and without the knowledge of the masses of Israel.

The remark of Houtingius, a learned collaborator of Surenhusius, is correct but not illuminating: "Authority was granted the Sanhedrin to intercalate, and this for various reasons."² It was the Sanhedrin that settled it all. With childlike faith in this august and super-lunar body, de Bartenora writes: "Deputies from the *Sanhedrin* used to go forth to proclaim the time which the *Sanhedrin* had sanctified for the month³ and the time which it [the Sanhedrin] had fixed for the feast of the Passover."⁴

¹ Sometimes three men only were in the secret. *Tr. de Syned.* c, 1. 2; Surenhus., IV, 278.

² "Idque varias ob causas." Hout. *ap.* Surenhus., tom. II, p. 317. If he is right in saying that Elul was "raro intercalatus," he might have added that the Talmudists who boasted of the cessation of the operation "from the days of Ezra onwards," had simply transferred their attentions from Elul to Hesvan. Maimonides is very guarded. "Generally speaking Elul has 29 days. . . . It might be that the month Elul should have 30 days." Maim. in *Tr. de Princip. Ann.*; Surenhus., *op cit.*, tom. II, p. 315. The learned Jew, Poznański, well known to readers of the *Jewish Quart. Rev.* (ed. C. G. Montefiore), knows nothing of *Badhu*.

³ I.e., New Moon Day.

⁴ *De Volum. Ester.*; Surenhus., tom. II, p. 388.

Maimonides is equally submissive to authority and uses almost identical words.¹

As before, we turn for enlightenment on the sixteenth and seventeenth days of the Nisan of *Pesachim* to the Talmudic commentators, to be again disappointed.

De Bartenora is content to make the obvious remark that the sixteenth is an "intermedius festi dies," that is, presumably, it falls between the fifteenth and seventeenth. On the same point the absolute silence of Maimonides, considering how long-winded he can be on the most trivial points, is indeed eloquent. Again it may be asked, Is he loath to face a difficulty which might reveal the secret he is resolved not to divulge?

Not less striking than the studied reticence of the Sanhedrin on the transference of the Passover under the rule *Badhu* was the almost universal propagandism of the Jewish conviction that Christ died on a day that was not the Passover, or, as we should say, on a day whence the true legal Passover was transferred.

IV. NISAN FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH IN THE "CHRONICON PASCHALE"

This document,² as is well known, betrays marked Judaizing tendencies. Its statements on the chronology of the Passover of the crucifixion may be tabulated thus:

Friday, 14 Nisan. Crucifixion. *Eve of Passover of the Jews.*
 Sabbath, 15 Nisan. Christ in the tomb. *Passover of the Jews.*
 Sunday, 16 Nisan. Resurrection.

A parallel to the foregoing is found in a little work on the Christian and Jewish Passover by Eutychius, patriarch of Constantinople.³ Not only did the Jews, for reasons above given, clutch at the *Badhu*-regulated Passover of the Fourth Gospel, but they industriously circulated this form of reckoning in every Christian colony they could influence in Asia and Africa. It matters little whether we call Peter of Alexandria and Apollinaris of Hierapolis "Quartodecimans." One thing is certain about them. In the dates they give from the *Badhu*-ridden calendar of the Jews, they invoke, and rightly invoke, the authority of St. John.

¹ *De Princip. Anni*; Surenhus., tom. II, p. 315.

² Ed. Du Cange. ³ Migne, *P.G.*, LXXXVI, 2398.

His *chronotaxis* appears to be identical with the table just given, and his example is a good precedent for the universal acceptance of the *Badhu* reckoning which he chose to follow just as the Synoptics chose to follow the other "Style."

V. THE DOUBLE RECKONING OF ST. JOHN AND THE SYNOPTICS

On Thursday, 13 Nisan, according to St. John, and on Thursday, 14 Nisan, according to the Synoptics, our Lord sat down for his Last Supper.

It only remains now to draw up a table showing the relation between the *Badhu*-regulated calendar followed by St. John and the strictly legal-lunar calendar followed by the Synoptics, for three all-important days.

Thursday=	13 Nisan.	Johannine. ¹	<i>With Badhu.</i>
	14 Nisan.	Synoptic.	<i>Without Badhu.</i>
Good Friday=	14 Nisan.	Johannine. ²	<i>With Badhu.</i>
	15 Nisan.	Synoptic.	<i>Without Badhu.</i>
Saturday=	15 Nisan.	Johannine. ³	<i>With Badhu.</i>
	16 Nisan.	Synoptic.	<i>Without Badhu.</i>

All that has been attempted in these pages is to use the instrument of the Jewish calendar to open up the main line toward the solution of the "contradiction" in the Gospels. A very rough road it is, and the effort to plane it may be deemed ambitious and pronounced abortive. Still it may be well to make it.

¹ No matter which reckoning we follow, the Thursday of the Last Supper was one of "the days of unleavened bread." Thus the age-long controversy between Greeks and Latins seems to be settled in favor of the latter. On this vital question of the days of abstinence from leaven modern Jews and Christians are responsible for the extraordinary confusion of thought that now prevails.

The learned Lithuanian and ex-Jew Chwolson is grievously mistaken in *Das letzte Passamahl* (*Mém. de l'Acad. des Sciences*, Petrograd), tom. XLI, 1893. The problem has been long since solved. See Maim. in *Pes.*; Surenhus., tom. II, p. 135; *Jos. Ant.* ii. 15. 1; *Bell. Jud.* v. 3. 1; *Philo. op. om.*, p. 293; *Chron. Pasch.*, pp. 5, 17 (ed. Du Cange); St. Thomas Aq., *Summa Theol.*, Pars. III, Q. 46, art. 9, and Q. 74, art. 4; Suarez, *op. om.*, tom. XIX, p. 657 (ed. Berton); Hardouin, *De Ult. Christi Pasch.*, p. 374; Mansi, *Calmet; Dissertat. V. et N.T.*, tom. III, p. 47. How the honors of 15 Nisan were shared by 14 Nisan, "participatione quadam," is clearly shown by Mansi. Even if we say that our Lord began his Last Supper at the close of the Jewish day, 13 Nisan, we must remember that at that very hour he was entering on the new Jewish day of 14 Nisan and had before him nothing but *unleavened* bread.

² Implied in John 19:14.

³ Implied in John 18:28.

ARE PAUL'S PRISON LETTERS FROM EPHESUS? (Concluded)

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Lightfoot and others, against all probability, have tried to place Philippians very early in the Roman imprisonment, prior to the other prison letters, and with as great an interval as possible between it and them, because of apparent affinities of thought and expression between it and the great letters of the earlier group (Galatians, I and II Corinthians, Romans), and of apparent divergencies between it and the Colossians-"Ephesians" group. The latter divergencies disappear with the realization that "Ephesians" is pseudo-Pauline, and that the text of Colossians, chapters 1 and 2, has undergone revision and interpolation since Paul wrote it.¹ But the affinities with the great letters are really more notable than Lightfoot realized and are of very great suggestiveness. This paper can make only brief reference to some of the more obvious parallels.

In Col. 2:8 and 2:20 the allusions to *στοιχεῖα* offer a close parallel to Gal. 4:3, 8-10, and that whether the Colossians passages are thought to be written by Paul or not. If not, the interpolator of Colossians at this point took his cue from the Galatians passages. Col. 2:11-13 is a close reproduction of Rom. 6:3-11, Paul's only other allusion to baptism as a being buried with Christ. The insertion into this figure of the figure of circumcision which is *ἀχειροποιήτος* (i.e., not literal but spiritual) suggests Rom. 2:28 f and the polemic against the demand for circumcision in Galatians, chapters 5 and 6 (cf. also Gal. 2:3, 12; 3:3). If Col. 2:15 be written by Paul, he refers to the giving of the law by angels (Gal. 3:19); the abolition of the law is a triumph over its promulgators. If the words are due to an interpolator, he still has in mind Paul's

¹ The present writer regards it as highly probable that all the allusions to the heresy in Col., chaps. 1 and 2, and all the exalted Christology which is set in definite contrast to the heresy, do not belong to Paul's original letter.

suggestion as to the *provenance* of the law, spoken by the apostle in Gal. 3:19 only. Col. 2:16 (again, whether Paul's wording or not) is Gal. 4:10. The whole point is set forth at length in Romans, chapter 14; cf. especially verses 5 f. Col. 2:20 f. again owes much to Romans, chapter 14. Col. 2:19 introduces the figure of the body (as does 3:5, briefly) which Paul uses at greater length in I Cor. 12:12-27; Rom. 12:4 f. *Ἐπιχορηγέω*, used in this verse, is used by Paul again only in Gal. 3:5; II Cor. 9:10. The "catalogue of vices" in Col. 3:5-9a has parallels in Paul in Galatians (5:19-21), I Corinthians (5:10 f.; 6:9 f.), II Corinthians (12:20 f.), and Romans (1:29-31; 13:13). Compare Col. 3:7 with I Cor. 6:11. *Εἰδωλολατρεία* Paul uses only here, in Gal. 5:20 and I Cor. 10:14; *νεκρώ* only in Col. 3:5 and Rom. 4:9; with this word cf. Rom. 6:6; 8:13; Gal. 5:24. Col. 3:9 f. is Rom. 6:5-8; *ἀνακαινῶ* occurs only here and in II Cor. 4:16; *κατ'εἰκόνα τοῦ κτίσαντος αὐτόν* is Rom. 8:29. Col. 3:11 is Gal. 3:28; Col. 3:12 is Rom. 13:14. Col. 3:11-14 is repeated in reverse order, in Gal. 3:27 f. Col. 3:16 refers to the charismatic utterances in the Christian meeting, dwelt on at length in I Corinthians, chapters 12-14 (cf. especially 12:8; 14:2 f., 15, 26, 28), and Rom. 12:3-8. Col. 3:22 is Gal. 3:28; I Cor. 7:17-24; 12:13. The word "men-pleasers" in Col. 3:22 recalls a similar contrast between pleasing men and being a *δοῦλος Χριστοῦ* in Gal. 1:10. In this verse occurs the word *ἀπλότης*, used by Paul only here and in Romans and II Corinthians. Col. 3:23 f. is Gal. 3:28-4:7; Rom. 8:15-17. Col. 4:1b is I Cor. 7:22a; *προσωποληψία* in 3:25 Paul uses again only in Rom. 2:11; *ἰσότης* in 4:1 again only in II Cor. 8:13 f. Col. 4:2 (*τῇ προσευχῇ προσκαρτερεῖτε*) is repeated in Rom. 12:2 (*τῇ προσευχῇ προσκαρτεροῦντες*). "A door for the word" in Col. 4:3 uses the figure of I Cor. 16:9; II Cor. 2:12; "mystery of Christ" is a concept of I Cor. 2:1 (*μαρτύριον* v.l.); 4:1; Rom. 11:25. Col. 4:5 advises the recent converts as to their procedure with reference to pagan neighbors and outsiders generally; similar advice is found in I Cor. 5:12 f.; 6:1-6; 10:29-32. The word *ἐξαγοράζομαι* is used only here (repeated in Eph. 5:16) and in Gal. 3:13; 4:5.

Even more parallels of thought and expression may be observed between Philippians and the four great letters, and many exegetical

observations serve to connect this letter with the Ephesian period, some of which may be set down. The word *ἐπίσκοπος* in Phil. 1:1 has always excited comment; it is to be observed that the only other church in connection with which Paul is recorded to have used the term is the church of *Ephesus* (Acts 20:28). The reference to the many Christian preachers, some of whom mingle with their preaching unworthy motives of spite and jealousy toward each other and even toward Paul, fits very well our knowledge of the situation in Ephesus; that there was a similar situation in Rome we can only infer in case this letter comes from Rome. The church in Ephesus was not really founded by Paul (Acts 18:18-21), though he preached there once at the beginning of the movement; the church was well established by others during his absence, and he came back to find it in full course (Acts 19:1). "All that dwelt in Asia heard the word" (19:10) from his helpers, some of whom are named: there are Prisca and Aquila (18:19, 26), Timothy and Erastus (19:22), Gaius and Aristarchus (19:29). Moreover, Romans, chapter 16, which assuredly is addressed to Ephesus, mentions an astonishing number of preachers and workers there, male and female. These are mostly greeted with warm affection, but there are some (16:17 f.) "that are causing divisions and occasions of stumbling, contrary to the teaching" which the Ephesians had learned from Paul. This was written after leaving Ephesus, and the *φθόρος* and *ἔρις* of these teachers have become more dangerous. We can trace the development of this pernicious tendency in Ephesus in clearly marked stages. After Rom. 16:17 f. we have Paul's comment to the Ephesian elders at Miletus a few weeks or months later: "From among your own selves shall men arise, speaking perverse things, to draw away the disciples after them" (Acts 20:30). So accurate is this forecast that II Tim. 1:15 (whether Paul's wording or not) announces sadly: "All that are in Asia turned away from me." Last of all, the message to Ephesus in Rev. 2:1-7, with its reference to evil men who call themselves apostles and are not, but are false, with the accusation, "thou didst leave thy first love" and its exhortation, "remember whence thou art fallen, and repent and do the first works," completes the process begun in strife and envy when Paul was in bonds for the gospel.

An independent and long-standing church like that in Rome would not so naturally be stirred into new preaching zeal because Paul was brought from Caesarea under guard to await the issue of his appeal.

Phil. 1:19 has the noun *ἐπιχορηγία*, which occurs again only in Eph. 4:16, there probably suggested by the cognate verb in Col. 2:19. The verb occurs also in Gal. 3:5; II Cor. 9:10. *ἀποκαταδοκία* (1:20) occurs again only in Rom. 8:19. In 1:26 we have the noun *καύχημα*, which with its cognates is a favorite expression of Paul's. The verb *καυχάομαι* is found in the New Testament only in the Pauline letters and twice in James. Galatians, I and II Corinthians, and Romans have it thirty times; Philippians has it once and Ephesians once. Moule remarks that its frequent use in Galatians, Corinthians, and Romans is "a fact bearing on the date of this epistle" (Philippians).¹ If so, it would support the Ephesian hypothesis. *καύχημα*, similarly, occurs eight times in Galatians, Corinthians, Romans, twice in Philippians, and only once more in the New Testament (Heb. 3:6). *καύχῃς*, also, occurs nine times in I and II Corinthians and Romans, and only once more in the New Testament (Jas. 4:16). Phil. 1:28 speaks of the *ἀντικείμενοι* in Philippi as I Cor. 16:9 speaks of the *ἀντικείμενοι πολλοί* in Ephesus. In both cases the gentile (not Jewish nor Jewish-Christian) foes of the gospel are meant, such persons as attacked the first Christian propaganda in Philippi (Acts 16:19-22) and are still keeping up the attack, as Paul indicates by *ἔξωθεν μάχαι* (II Cor. 7:5), words written at Philippi shortly after leaving Ephesus. Phil. 1:30 continues the reference to the persecution in Philippi; the Christians there have the same struggle which they witnessed in Paul's case when he was founding their church (Acts, chap. 16) and now hear of in his case (at Ephesus or Rome), namely, abuse and imprisonment. Phil. 1:28, 30 is best understood of a time not too far removed from Paul's first preaching in Philippi, and roughly contemporary with the *μάχαι* in Philippi of II Cor. 7:5. *ἐνδείξις* in 1:28 is found only here, II Cor. 8:24; Rom. 3:25 f., and *ἐνδείκνυμι* in Paul only (II Cor. 8:24; Rom. 2:15; 9:17, 22). The whole passage (1:12-30) shows clearly that Paul is facing the

¹ H. C. G. Moule, *The Epistle to the Philippians* (Cambridge Greek Testament [1897]), ad 1:26.

prospect of death, though for his friends' sake he puts the most hopeful construction on the situation. In other words, it fits exactly the Ephesian experience of II Cor. 1:8-11.

In Phil. 2:1 *παραμύθιον* is *harpax legomenon*, but *παραμυθία* is found in I Cor. 14:3. So in 2:2 *κενοδοξία* is *harpax legomenon*, but Gal. 5:26 has *κενοδόξοι*. The Christology of 2:6 f. may be illustrated by II Cor. 3:17; 4:4; 5:21; 8:9; Gal. 4:4 f.; Rom. 8:3, 29; 15:2 f., 5; and 2:10 f. echoes Rom. 15:6 as 2:11b echoes I Cor. 15:28. *μόρφη* in 2:5 is not used again by Paul, but cognates are found (besides in Phil. 3:10 and 21) in Gal. 4:9; II Cor. 3:18; Rom. 12:2. *κενώ* (2:7) occurs again in Paul (I Cor. 1:17; 9:15; II Cor. 9:3; Rom. 4:14). *ὁμοίωμα* (Phil. 2:7) is used again by Paul only in Romans. Phil. 2:9 has its equivalent in Rom. 8:34, and Phil. 2:10 f. is closely paralleled in Rom. 14:9 and 11, also in I Cor. 15:25. "Fear and trembling" (2:12) occurs in Paul again (I Cor. 2:3; II Cor. 7:15). In Phil. 2:16 *ὅτι οὐκ εἰς κενὸν ἔδραμον οὐδὲ εἰς κενὸν ἐκοπίασα* simply unites two phrases found separately in Galatians (2:2 and 4:11). Phil. 2:21 criticizes certain Christians in Paul's environment who go their way following their own interests, not Christ's. The language fits exactly the preachers with mixed motives in 1:15-17 and the situation in Ephesus as we know it. Phil. 2:25 uses *ἀπόστολος* in the sense of "delegate," as does II Cor. 8:23.

The sudden break at Phil. 3:2 is probably due to some interruption.¹ Jones has plausibly suggested that Paul hears just here of some specially hostile act of the Jews against him, perhaps the arrival in Rome of the witnesses sent by the Sanhedrin from Jerusalem, to testify against him before Caesar. Such news might indeed cause him to flame out in sharp words. But had Paul heard of the arrival of this hostile deputation he would quite certainly have mentioned the fact to the Philippians, who were so anxious to know the latest concerning his affair. The coming of these people would be a most important factor in the development of Paul's case, might even hasten it to an issue. Especially if he were writing from distant Rome would he give all the information at his disposal,

¹ So Lightfoot, Jones, and many commentators.

since another letter could not reach them for six weeks. Doubtless the interruption is due to news of the activity of these *κίνες*, but not in Philippi (there is no indication that they were at work there), nor yet necessarily in the place where Paul is confined. There is no suggestion that they are the persons who are persecuting Paul and responsible for his imprisonment; his warning against them is not on personal grounds. Their wrongdoing is wrong teaching, as the contrast in verse 3 makes absolutely certain; they are the Judaists, and the report which is responsible for the burst of sharp words at Phil. 3:2 is most probably the news of their nefarious work in Galatia. The letter to the Galatians may have been written between Phil. 3:1 and 3:2. Less probably the disturbing news is that of Judaistic machinations in Corinthians (II Cor. 11:18-23). We can now account for the extraordinary number of parallels between Philippians on the one hand and Galatians and II Corinthians on the other. The opinion of commentators is divided on the question whether these *κίνες* are Jews or Judaists. If they were Jews they might fit the Roman hypothesis of the letter's origin, since the Jews were responsible for the arrest and imprisonment that brought him to Rome; cf. Acts 20:3 and the whole story of Jewish hostility from that point till the end. But, as already pointed out, these men are not described as Paul's persecutors at all but as false teachers, and the language of verses 7-10, as well as the parallels in Galatians and I and II Corinthians, make it certain that they were Judaists. We know of no continued Judaistic activity as late as the Roman period; that crisis had its culmination in the Ephesian period, to which Philippians assuredly belongs, if only for the likeness of 3:2-21 to Galatians. The Judaists are called here in Philippians *κίνες, κακοὶ ἐργάται, ἡ κατατομή*. II Cor. 11:13 calls the same people, for the same activities, *δόλιοι ἐργάται*, and Gal. 5:2-12 is a fuller reaction on the demand for circumcision which calls out the savage epithet *κατατομή*; this word itself has its illuminating parallel in the even sharper expression *ὄφελον καὶ ἀποκύνονται* (Gal. 5:12). The fruitful idea of the Christians as the true Israel (3:2), inheritors of all the promises and prerogatives of Judaism, is found in I Cor. 10:18; Gal. 3:7-14; 4:21-31; 6:16; and Romans, *passim*. Phil. 3:5, as already pointed out, is II Cor. 11:18-23,

written of the same Judaists, and Phil. 3:6 is precisely Gal. 1:13 f. Phil. 3:7 f. is Gal. 6:14, while Phil. 3:10 f. has close parallels in Rom. 6:4-11; II Cor. 1:5; 4:10 f.; Gal. 2:20; 6:14. The figure of the race in 3:12-14 has its parallels in I Cor. 9:24-27 (*βραβεῖον* only Phil. 3:14 and I Cor. 9:24); Gal. 5:7 (Gal. 2:2; Rom. 9:16), and in words spoken by Paul to the elders of Ephesus, *ὡς τελειώσω τὸν δρόμον μου* (Acts 20:24). *τέλειος* of Phil. 3:15 and *τετελειώμαι* of 3:12 are explained by I Cor. 2:6 and 3:1, and Phil. 3:16 is Gal. 6:16. The injunction of Phil. 3:17, *συνμμηταί μου γίνεσθε*, is found again in I Cor. 4:16 and 11:1, as well as in Acts 20:35 (to the Ephesian elders), *πάντα ὑπέδειξα ὑμῖν κ.τ.λ.* Of the Judaists Paul speaks *κλαίων* (Phil. 3:18); his tears are due, not to any evil these persons are doing in Philippi, nor primarily to their hostility to his own person, but to the havoc they are working in certain of his churches. The Galatian episode gives the precise explanation, and the Galatian letter was surely written *διὰ πολλῶν δακρῶν*, as the "sorrowful letter" to Corinth was, about the same period (II Cor. 2:4), which flamed into such bitter wrath against these same Judaists at work in Corinth (II Cor. 10:12-18; 11:12-15, 21 f.). The tears of II Corinthians and of Philippians are contemporary and due to the same cause. "Enemies of the cross of Christ" (Phil. 3:18) has its commentary in Gal. 2:21, and Phil. 3:18-21 has its close parallel in Gal. 6:12-14. The Judaists' glory is in their *αλοχύνῃ* (*prudenda*), they glory in the flesh, while Paul glories in the cross (Gal. 3:13 f.), of which they are the enemies. Rom. 16:18 has the language of Phil. 3:19 (*δουλεύουσιν τῇ ἑαυτῶν κοιλίᾳ* = *ὧν ὁ θεὸς ἡ κοιλία*), but probably not applied to the Judaists. So Rom. 16:17 is parallel to Phil. 3:17, with its injunction to *σκοπεῖν* those who do not walk according to the teaching and example received from Paul. Phil. 3:21 is explained by the parallels in I Cor. 15:27 f., 50-53. The tactful expressions of gratitude for the Philippians' gift in 4:10-20 recall Paul's insistence in I Cor. 9; II Cor. 11:7-12; 12:13, that he would not accept financial support from his churches, *with the exception of Philippi* (II Cor. 11:9), and the situation of poverty and distress relieved by the Philippians' gift is well pictured in the words in which Paul describes his situation during the Ephesian period in Acts 20:33-35. The sacrificial

metaphor of Phil. 4:18 suggests the λογικὴ λατρεία of Romans, chapter 12, the living sacrifice of your bodies, which is τῷ θεῷ εὐαρεστών. The whole of Romans, chapter 12, is just an explication in detail of the λογικὴ λατρεία, and has many parallels of phrasing and of thought to Philippians. It may be submitted that the extraordinary number of points of contact in thought and phrase (often very close) between the prison letters and the utterances of Paul during the Ephesian period and just after cannot be adequately explained, save by referring to the prison letters to the same period as the others, especially since no valid argument can be offered for dating them years later in Rome.

It may be inquired whether the Ephesian imprisonment, granting that it took place, was long enough to allow for the composition of the letters in question. Since Colossians and Philemon are written at the same time, we have to account only for an interval between Colossians and Philippians, and here, on any hypothesis, we are left entirely to inference. Nothing in the letters themselves demands an extended imprisonment; in fact, if Paul were arrested at all as a result of hostility in Ephesus, the probability is that he would be either condemned or freed within a short time. Granting the Ephesian imprisonment, we simply do not know how long it lasted, or how soon after the letters to Colossae that the letter to Philippi was sent. The only reason why the prison letters have generally been supposed to be spread out over a considerable time is that the Roman imprisonment allowed two years or more during which their composition might fall.

Finally, it ought to be pointed out that we definitely know that Paul expected death in Ephesus (II Cor. 1:8-10; Rom. 16:3 f.), as he says in absolutely plain words; whereas, although it is likely that Paul perished in the Neronian massacre of Christians in Rome in the year 64, it is altogether unlikely that he could expect the result of his process in Rome to be his execution. In other words, the expectation of death expressed in Philippians is strong presumptive evidence against Rome and for Ephesus. Paul had appealed to Caesar, but there is not the faintest reason to suppose that Caesar, on hearing the case, would condemn him to death. Let us be reminded again that Rome had no interest in punishing Paul,

had made no charge against him, indeed, had not arrested him, least of all on the ground of any crime against the Roman state. A Roman officer had rescued him from a Jewish mob that was trying to kill him, and to save him from assassination by his Jewish enemies had sent him for safe-keeping to the custody of the governor at Caesarea. From that custody, for various reasons, he was not released, until, in despair of regaining his liberty to resume work, he appealed to Caesar, obviously and naturally expecting that when Caesar heard the case he would be set free. If one attentively reads Acts 21:27 to the end of the book, one will see clearly that Rome has no hostility whatever to Paul, no concern in his imprisonment, and of its own initiative would never have arrested him, still less have put him to death. It is most unlikely that if the Sanhedrists had sent delegates to Rome to argue against Paul before Nero (and there is not the slightest evidence that they did so), the Emperor would have regarded their complaints as sufficient to justify condemnation. What would have happened is precisely illustrated by Gallio's comment when the Jews dragged Paul before his judgment seat, with the same complaint which the Jerusalem Jews made (Acts 21:28) and the only complaint they could have made before Caesar: "This man persuadeth men to worship God contrary to the Law." Caesar would have answered as Gallio did: "If indeed it were a matter of wrong or of wicked villainy, O ye Jews, reason would that I should bear with you; but if they are questions about words and names and your own law, look to it yourselves; I am not minded to be a judge of these matters," and, like Gallio, would have driven them from the judgment seat, caring for none of these things (Acts 18:14-17). Read Acts 21:31-40; 22:23-30; note the friendliness of the chiliarch Claudius Lysias in 23:22-24 and his careful explanation in the letter to Felix (23:26-30), the friendliness also of Felix in 23:35; 24:22 f. Read Festus' words to Agrippa (25:14-21, 24-27) and the judgment of 26:31 f.: "This man doeth nothing worthy of death or of bonds . . . he might have been set at liberty if he had not appealed to Caesar." Is Caesar himself likely to have a contrary verdict? It is certain that the letter of Festus to Caesar (25:26 f.) would put a favorable construction on Paul's case. So

the officer in charge of Paul on the journey treats him with respect and kindness (27:3, 43) and in Rome he has every consideration (28:16, 30 f.). No one can read this account, with its optimistic, almost triumphant close, where the apostle, living in his own dwelling, receives all that come to him, preaching the Kingdom of God and teaching the things concerning the Lord Jesus Christ with all boldness, no one hindering him—no one can read all this and believe that the natural sequence is the prospect of condemnation and death revealed in Philippians. Wherever, whenever, we place the situation out of which Philippians is written, it cannot be the issue of Paul's appeal to Caesar. And no one would ever have supposed it to be so, except for the supposition that letters written "in bonds" must be written in Rome. If the Sanhedrists had been going to send witnesses to plead against Paul in Rome, they would not have waited two whole years to do so, nor would a case so old as that have much consideration. Paul's situation in Philippians is one of immediate danger, a great *θλίψις*, where death seems imminent. By every consideration of probability it must be assigned to some other occasion than Paul's detention in Rome, awaiting decision on his appeal. And that other occasion is almost certainly the *θλίψις* that befell him in Asia.

This article does not pretend to make an original contribution to the discussion of the place of origin of the prison letters, but is concerned only to bring together the data contributed by the scholars listed below. To prevent multiplication of references, their names have seldom been cited in the course of the article, but its positions are mainly taken from one or another of the contributions summarized.

For the Ephesian hypothesis:

- H. Lisco, *Vincula Sanctorum* (1900); *Roma Peregrina* (1901). (The four prison letters and original form of Past. from Ephesus.)
- A. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten* (1908), pp. 165 f. (2d ed. 1909), pp. 171 f. English translation *Light from the Ancient East* (1910), pp. 229 f. (At least Colossians, Philemon, Ephesians from Ephesus. Deissmann had taught this view as early as 1897.)
- M. Albertz, "Über die Abfassung des Philipperbriefes des Paulus zu Ephesus," *Theol. Studien und Kritiken* (1910), pp. 551 ff. (Philippians from Ephesus, but Colossians, Philemon, Ephesians from Rome or possibly Caesarea.)

- B. W. Robinson, "An Ephesian Imprisonment of Paul," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, XXIX (1910), 181-89. (Colossians, Philemon, Ephesians, and probably Philippians from Ephesus.)
- Westberg, *Zur Neutestamentliche Chronologie* (1911).
- M. Dibelius, *An die Philipper* (1911), *An die Kolosser* (1912), *Handbuch zum N.T.* (Vol. III, Part II), comments on Phil. 1:13 and Col. 4:13. (Favors Colossians, Philemon, Philippians from Ephesus without making definite decision. Ephesians not considered Paul's.)
- M. Goguel, "La date et le lieu de composition de l'épître aux Philippiens," *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* (November-December 1912), pp. 330-42. (Philippians from Ephesus; the others apparently from Rome.)
- P. Feine, *Einleitung in das N.T.* (1913), pp. 50-53, 58, 65 f. (Philippians from Ephesus; Colossians, Philemon, Ephesians from Caesarea.)
- K. Lake, "Critical Problems of the Epistle to the Philippians," *Expositor* (June, 1914), pp. 489-93. (As Albertz.)
- B. W. Bacon, "Again the Ephesian Imprisonment of Paul," *Expositor* (March, 1915), pp. 235-42. (The letters not assigned.)
- E. W. Winstanley, "Pauline Letters from an Ephesian Prison," *Expositor* (June, 1915), pp. 481-98. (Colossians, Philemon, Ephesians, and probably Philippians from Ephesus.)

Against the Ephesian hypothesis:

- E. Haupt, *Die Gefangenschaftsbrieve* (Meyer, ed. 6/7, 1902), *Einleitung*, p. 82, n. 1. (Briefly rejects Lisco's theory.)
- Gerard Ball: "The Epistle to the Philippians: A Reply [to Lake]," *Expositor* (August, 1914), pp. 143-47. (Against Ephesian origin of Philippians.)
- Maurice Jones, "The Epistles of the Captivity: Where Were They Written?" *Expositor* (October, 1915), and "The Epistle to the Philippians," *Westminster Commentaries* (1918), pp. xxv-xxv. (The fullest discussion; all the prison letters from Rome, but Philippians could come from Ephesus more easily than the others.)
- J. Moffatt, *Introduction to the New Testament* (3d ed., 1918), Appendix C. (Colossians, Philemon, Philippians from Rome, Ephesians not Paul's.)
- Reviews of Lisco's *Vincula Sanctorum*, by Arnold Meyer in the *Theologischer Jahresbericht* (1900), p. 267, and by Carl Clemen in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* (1900), cols. 631 f., reject his theory. Lisco's view seems to be so complicated by fantastic detail as not easily to be judged on its own merits.
- Max Krenkel, *Beiträge zur Aufhellung der Geschichte und der Briefe des Apostel Paulus* (2d ed., 1895), p. 148, and J. Weiss, *Das Urchristentum*, Part I (1914), pp. 242-44, argue for an imprisonment of Paul in Ephesus, apart from assignment of letters to this period.

These are all the discussions of the matter known to the present writer, though there are surely others. Lisco and Westberg have not been seen, the reference to Westberg being taken from Moffatt (*loc. cit.*) Goguel (p. 332) reports that Harnack, lecturing in 1912, while not adopting the Ephesian hypothesis, admitted that he had no decisive argument against it.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE

RECENT WORKS ON ORIENTAL RELIGIONS

It is no longer fanciful to look forward to an era when the social consciousness of educated men will be as wide as the world and as rich as the cultural heritages of all branches of the human family. East and West are flowing together. The barriers of distance, language, racial pride, and religious dogmatism have given way, and honest efforts are being made by scholars to secure an understanding and appreciation of the values of oriental religious development and to interpret those values to East and West alike. Each year shows a larger number of works by competent scholars, a growing sympathy, and a reduction of the spirit of Western arrogance.

Dr. W. S. Urquhart's volume *Pantheism and the Value of Life*¹ is a symbol of the new era. This masterful critique of pantheism is based upon the systems of India and uses Western philosophy merely as corroborative. The author is thoroughly acquainted with Indian social conditions, goes to the sources for his exposition, and shows throughout an appreciation of the origin of the philosophies of India in the life-history of the race. Out of this knowledge he writes a convincing, refreshing, and timely criticism of the pantheistic world-view.

His definition of pantheism makes it include both meanings—God is all and all is God—thus sweeping into one term abstract idealism and the deification of the actual in the religious forms of naturalism. He shows that both types lead to determinism, to conservatism, to a denial of progress, and hence to pessimism. The case is proved by an elaborate survey of the Vedanta, of Indian popular religion, of contemporary literature, and of the influence of pantheism upon the religious thought of modern India. This sketch of Indian thought is in itself sufficient to justify the appearance of the volume.

The inevitable tendency of pantheism, the author thinks, is to become either acosmism or naturalism according to whether God is sought in the actual world or behind it. In the one case the world becomes all and we are driven logically to a mechanistic determinism and atheism;

¹ *Pantheism and the Value of Life*. By W. S. Urquhart. London: J. Alfred Sharp, 1919. xii+732 pages. 12s. 6d.

in the other, God is all and the world becomes *Maya* or illusion. In both cases life is a gloomy and worthless affair, and pessimism waits in the path.

Any philosophy which is to be valuable for life must come to terms with the facts of suffering and evil. It must also provide for freedom, personality, and immortality. Pantheism is shown to fail on all these counts. Suffering and evil are not made acceptable either by calling them illusion or by pronouncing them inevitable. The determinism of both forms of pantheism destroys free personality and all the value of immortality, for to be absorbed in God is of value to no one but God. Dr. Urquhart sees that pantheism arises in the effort to master the alien world, but he is impatient with a solution which commands the moral personality to abdicate and to seek salvation in disgraceful escape. He demands conflict, not contemplation; victory, not flight. Since the world actually does contain evil and pain the only valuable philosophy of life is one that offers to free personalities the hope of progress toward the ideal, that is, the possibility of transforming the actual by purposive striving.

In the final chapter the author presents his own theistic philosophy. Written from the standpoint of personal idealism, however, it is all the time poised on the brink of absolutism, from which he is so determined to escape. There is much inspiration and charm in his presentation of a finite God, who is Creator of free spirits, guide and co-worker in the world-progress; but he is also transcendent, ultimate value, sufficient guide, and guarantor of the world-order, beginning and end. It is infinitely better than pantheism but with the car of progress always anchored from disaster and the whole pageant arranged in the mind of God, "moral holidays" are too easy and the drama still too idealistic to demand the heroic struble and iron responsibility that the conquest and control of cosmic forces demand.

Two more volumes have lately appeared in the promising "Heritage of India Series." These works are intended primarily to make easily available to all educated Indians a knowledge of the most valuable elements in the rich ancient culture of their native land. They will certainly reach and influence a far larger public. One could even hope that their main work might be to assist in breaking down the smug provincialism of the West which finds it so easy to talk about the "white man's burden."

The work on *Asoka*¹ by Dr. Macphail is an appreciative treatment of this royal disciple of the Buddha. It makes use of Vincent Smith's

¹ *Asoka*. By J. M. Macphail. ("Heritage of India Series.") New York: Oxford University Press, 1918. iii+88 pages. \$0.60.

writing on the same subject and is not intended to supersede it. Dr. Macphail writes as one who is entirely satisfied to make Christianity the final standard and yet is able to see the importance and vital power of a religion able to produce the type of character manifested in Asoka. The author sketches the political history of India from the invasion of Alexander and the early development and teaching of Buddhism up to the time of Asoka. In a chapter, weighted with much interesting and suggestive but extraneous material, Asoka is presented as the great missionary of the faith. The rock edicts are used to reveal his character and religious enthusiasm. As a generous ruler, a lover of men, a great religious reformer and propagandist, this royal Buddhist stands before us as worthy of a permanent place among the world's greatest men.

A more difficult subject, treated with careful objectivity, is a history of the Sāṅkhya philosophy¹ by Professor A. B. Keith. The author is already well known as an authority in Indian research. In a quest for origins and early development he makes, in successive chapters, a critical examination of the evidence for Sāṅkhya elements in the Upanishads; of the possible priority of Sāṅkhya to Buddhism and the interdependence of the two systems; of the evidence of the existence of forms which resemble the later Sāṅkhya in the great epic; of the relation of Sāṅkhya proper to its religious form in Yoga; of the significance of the concluding verses of the Sāṅkhya Karika regarding the Śaṣṭitantra; of the possible mutual influence of Greek philosophy and the Sāṅkhya. He then discusses the classical system as found in the Sāṅkhya Karika, which Professor Keith dates fourth century A.D. The book concludes with an examination of the Sāṅkhya as it appears in later works, its criticism of contemporary philosophies and their interdependence.

For the Indian reader, familiar with the thought-forms and terminology, this work may be easy reading. It is not adapted for popular reading in the West; yet to the Western student of the thought of India it will be more than welcome. It is cautious, non-dogmatic, carefully weighs rival theories, and refers the student constantly to the sources by exact citation. A glance at the index of the volume is enough, however, to convince the ordinary reader of his helplessness. So long as there is available no handy dictionary of religion to which one can turn for the explanation of common Indian terms it would seem reasonable to suggest that, if these works are really intended to be used by the "ordinary reader" of English-speaking lands, a glossary explaining the

¹ *The Sāṅkhya System*. By A. Berriedale Keith. ("Heritage of India Series.") New York: Oxford University Press, 1918. 109 pages. 1s. 6d.

most important words should be added. For the public of India, to be sure, this is superfluous; for the student in the West it is unnecessary, but without it the books must fail to be completely intelligible to the great body of general readers; and this series is too valuable to be allowed to fail of its largest value.

"The Religious Life of India Series," of which Mr. H. A. Walter's book, *The Ahmadiya Movement*,¹ is the second volume, is intended to give to all who are interested in India a knowledge of the various existing forms of her religious life. This volume is a fine example of sympathetic interpretation of an alien faith. The author, who, unfortunately for India and scholarship, did not live to see his book through the press, says that he has attempted only to give an unprejudiced, accurate sketch of the Ahmadiya movement "as its founder and his disciples themselves conceived it and, so far as I could, in their own language."

Islam in India has been subjected to the impact of modern cultural currents. In the All-Indian Moslem League it is a political movement. Under the leadership of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and Syed Amir 'Ali it has become a religion, on the one hand, of rationalistic eclecticism and of assertion of Moslem spiritual superiority on the other. In both cases the old standards of Islam are abandoned. Ghulam Ahmad came as the prophet of a revival of genuine religion. He claimed to be the Messiah of the Jews, the expected Madhi of Islam as well as the embodiment of the spirit of Jesus and the incarnation of Kṛiṣṇa. Out of this claim sprang the Ahmadiya movement in 1889. It did not break with orthodoxy, though it criticized its formalism and abuses. While claiming that no religion is worthy of the name of religion which is not sympathetic to all humanity, its founder nevertheless urged an unceasing polemic against all contemporary religions as well as against Western civilization. Mr. Walter finds the secret of the success of the movement in the fact that it provided a religion of emotional power for Moslems who were stifled by rationalism and the empty formalism of orthodoxy.

One moves easily in this narrative. All unusual terms and obscure references are explained at once in the footnotes; and the maker of the index maintained the high excellence of the book.

A title like *Korean Buddhism*² awakens immediate interest in the mind of the student of that multiform religion, for Korea may have some

¹ *The Ahmadiya Movement*. By H. A. Walter. ("Religious Life of India Series.") New York: Oxford University Press, 1918. 185 pages. 3s. 6d.

² *Korean Buddhism*. By Frederick Starr. Boston: Marshall Jones, 1918. xix + 104 pages. \$2.00.

clues for understanding Buddhism in both China and Japan. Professor Starr's book, however, is not for the student who is seeking interpretation and genetic relationships. It consists of three popular lectures on the history, condition, and art of Buddhism in Korea. There is always a pathos about a printed popular lecture like that of a pressed flower in the family Bible—so much is lost! This is particularly true in regard to these lectures, which were illustrated by one hundred and fifty exquisite pictures. The illustrations given in the text make one envy the original audience. The disjointed, scrappy way in which the interesting facts are presented, the reference to pictures which do not appear in the book, the injection of extraneous material, may all be explained by the origin of the text; and Professor Starr's original ideas regarding the development of religion in India may be forgiven for the sake of the thirty-seven splendid pictures.

The new relationship of East and West is perhaps best illustrated in Dr. J. L. Barton's volume, *The Christian Approach to Islam*.² Probably the most urgent problem of today is how to interpret persuasively to the Orient the saving life-values of our Western world-view while conserving the values of the cultural heritage of the various peoples. It is a task that demands an unfettered mind, a sympathetic spirit, and a large knowledge of racial and religious history, of social conditions, and of religious psychology and pedagogy. It requires a corps of specialists working in the many fields. Bishop Hume approached it in his lectures on India. Dr. Barton has here suggested the general method of a successful approach to Islam. He realizes that it will require extension to the varied cultural groups in which Islam is the dominant force.

The first two parts of the book deal with the general history of the religion of Mohammed and its doctrinal interpretation. The third part is devoted to the real problem of presenting Christianity to the Moslem peoples. The history of past efforts reveals so many difficulties, such bitterness and antagonism, such a Christian-like confidence in the superiority of their own religion and holy book on the part of Islam, that the task is one of extreme difficulty. Yet a better spirit is now evident owing to a more sympathetic understanding on both sides. Dr. Barton would yield to Islam in many details of church architecture and external form. He would emphasize the practical approach, seeking to establish first the Christian way of living rather than the Christian way of thinking. Some Christian doctrines may properly be held in

² *The Christian Approach to Islam*. By James L. Barton. Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1918. xv+316 pages. \$2.00.

abeyance such as the immaculate conception (*sic*), Christology, the fatherhood of God, redemption through Christ alone, the use of wine at the sacraments, and the assertion that Christianity is the only true religion. This would overcome prejudice while the heart and life of the Moslem were being won to the Christian way of living. An appeal may at once be made to Islam by urging the unity of God, his omnipotence and goodness, the miracles of Christ, Christian eschatology, the nobility of the teaching of Jesus and his ideal life, the emphasis of Christianity upon social regeneration and human service, a worship of God which is personal and free from formalism and casuistry, and the use of the Christian Bible, which is also Scripture for the Moslem. It is plainly evident that Dr. Barton places the emphasis upon life rather than upon creed, and that he would avoid the witty Japanese criticism of the Christian attempt to replace one mythology by another. A few decades ago he would have been accused of sacrificing the things essential to salvation. But having gone so far may it not be possible to go farther and let the future theology of the Orient build itself out of the regenerated social life which will have incorporated the social values of the West into the cultural heritage of the East? Theologies are not normally imposed; they grow, as living ideals, out of the life of each age and are dynamic because they interpret the deep meanings of life. It is futile to expect that the new Christian Orient will interpret its religious life in terms of old Western theology.

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THE INTERPRETATION OF RELIGION

For more than two decades students of the rapidly developing science of religion have been subjected to the confusion of rival dogmatisms as to ultimate origins, rival theories of development, an endless variety of methods, contradictory yet plausible generalizations, and at least a half-hundred definitions of religion *überhaupt*. The air is full of catchwords—primitive monotheism, animism, naturism, preanimism, mana, totemism, fetishism, magic—each one of them selected by some group of writers as the very beginning of religion. And so this book was bound to come to proclaim the need of a methodology for the new science and to challenge superficial generalization and artistic theorizing. Under the strange title *Religion and Culture*¹ Dr. Schleiter has given us

¹ *Religion and Culture*. By Frederick Schleiter. New York: Columbia University Press, 1919. x+206 pages. \$2.00.

a critique of method which not only challenges modern methods and theories but deliberately drives them all from the field, some more gently than others. The victim of the confused strife of the past follows from chapter to chapter in eager enjoyment but closes the book with a sense of dismay, for he is offered no methodology; he is warned against making generalizations regarding religion; he feels certain that the author means that we do not yet know enough to make definite statements regarding religious origins and that if we want to know what religion is we must study it piecemeal in its cultural milieu in all its thousand-fold variety. How different and how much more difficult this is from the easy method of eclectic selection of materials for broad generalizations or from the building of evolutionary theories as "products of the cloister."

The author's constant protest is against the attempt to define "religion as such and at large" apart from its specific cultural and temporal setting. Writers with philosophic presuppositions are particularly liable to this error, but even students of specific elements of religion, such as magic or fetishism, tend to tear illustrative material from its setting in group life and to make hasty and delusive generalizations. The attempt to arrive at the meaning of religion in racial history by the study of a supposedly secluded group like the Australians is condemned, but still more hopeless is the comparative method. The same thing is not the same thing when it is different, and its differentia in its own life-milieu is obscured when it is pigeonholed under the familiar rubrics of the generalizer.

The effort of so many of the great pioneers of the religious sciences to discover a single line of religious evolution is characterized as "purely arbitrary" and the result as "a quasi-dramatic narrative." These "hypothetical schemes" are rarely tested "by means of concrete historical studies," and since "all evolutionary theories go back to a hypothetical primordium which furnishes the starting-point of their serial arrangement of data" if "the writer contrives to seize the wrong pig by the ear his further periods of development will not exhibit progressive improvement." The result is the present confusion of theories, all of them superficially plausible, but made so because the writers have neglected many cultural facts.

In a series of chapters Dr. Schleier then examines the favored primordia—spirit, magical power, and its more particularized form "emanation"—and refuses to commit himself to any primordium, single and alone, as the actual origin of magico-religious practices.

In the three concluding chapters he sets forth the dangers incident to the use of the concept of causality, since "the nature of the articulating mechanism may not rise into the consciousness of the person who holds the belief." The dynamic relationship between the two elements in primitive religion Dr. Schleiter describes as the result of convergence. In the drift of time things and activities have flowed together, and the actors in the actual religious drama have no idea of a causal nexus, "so causality at large, when separated from its embodiment in concrete mental operations, is an artificial unit which does not assist us in the understanding, the comparison, or the elucidation of the phenomena involved."

As a preparation for a methodology—a destruction of methods to make way for method—Dr. Schleiter's work deserves the serious attention of all workers in the field of origins, social and religious, and may well be the most significant work of recent years.

An excellent illustration of the methods of generalization criticized by Schleiter is furnished by a recent volume on *Animism* by Dr. George W. Gilmore.¹ The author is not a novice in the field of history of religions. He might even rank as one of the pioneers in this science in America. This work shows a rich background of reading and to an uncritical reader will be a plausible, even convincing, sketch of the development of religious thought. It is necessary to say also that Dr. Gilmore is quite aware that he is treating only one element of a rich complex of life; yet the influence of Tyler is strong upon him, and one is sure that in his own mind totemism, taboo, magic and divination, mythology, witchcraft, fetishism, sacrifice, and the relation of magic to religion all find their explanation in the light of animism. A score of modern writers will be immediately tempted to say, in Schleiter's phrase, that he has "the wrong pig by the ear."

Animism for Dr. Gilmore means "a stage of culture in which man may regard any object, real or imaginary, as possessing emotional, volitional, and actional potency like that he himself possesses." Aligning himself with "the many" who regard animism as "the earliest form which religion took and as the root from which was derived all religious beliefs which the world has known" he shows how his animistic key unlocks the various doors in the temple of primitive religious thought. But it is *thought*, and the ghosts of social psychologists dance upon the page in warning. The explanations and generalizations are simple, but

¹ *Animism, or Thought Currents of Primitive People*. By George William Gilmore. Boston: Marshall Jones, 1919. xiii+250 pages. \$1.75.

it is a simplicity achieved by abstracting from the cultural milieu. In one section of the chapter on "Parity of Being" illustrations are given from America, Arabia, Greece, France, India, Mongolia, Banks Islands, New Hebrides, Africa, New Mexico, Alaska, and Australia to establish the existence in primitivity of the idea that inanimate objects in nature possess souls. Many of these illustrations are from culture religions and most of the others would with equal plausibility be explained by the preanimists in terms of the "mysterious power" or dynamism. It is against this false simplicity which loses religious life in religious formulas and so misses its rich particularity that modern students are beginning to rebel.

Dr. Gilmore is no half-hearted champion of his theory. He is ready to say "that it was the discovery of the soul which was the most momentous in the history of the human race"; to it must be traced all man's uplift in the millenniums of his existence. Animism gave us the belief in the soul of man, in life beyond the grave, and in superhuman powers. "For these three greatest conceptions entertained by humanity the race has to thank the stage of culture we have been studying." In the light of the struggle of the last half-century to find an interpretation of the significance of life which will overcome this very dualism one may perhaps be pardoned for a lack of enthusiasm in returning thanks. It is however much more important that we shall understand, and toward an understanding of the rise of dualism Dr. Gilmore's work is a welcome contribution.

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A COMMENTARY ON DEUTERONOMY

It is rather significant that the original edition of the Cambridge Bible contained no commentary on the Pentateuch. The editors of the revised edition have made ample amends for this omission. The commentaries which have already appeared on Genesis, Exodus, and Numbers are among the strongest in the series. And the latest addition is worthy to stand beside the best of them.¹ To the interpretation of Deuteronomy Sir George Adam Smith brings the remarkable gifts of exposition he has proved on so many fields of Old Testament study, the result being a book that is a delight both to heart and understanding.

¹ *The Book of Deuteronomy*. [The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges.] By Sir George Adam Smith. Cambridge: University Press, 1918. cxxii+396 pages. 6s. 6d.

In the Introduction the reader is led at once to the heart of the subject. Deuteronomy is no mere echo of other books, but a work distinctive alike in standpoint and style, moral emphasis and religious appeal. Even as literature it strikes a new note. "No other Hebrew prose, except parts of Isaiah, chapters 40-55, is so elevated and so sustained, or has such a swing and such a sweep" (p. xii). And the style is no extraneous adornment: it is "the music of winds that blow and sing through it alone—that sing even among its laws." This music can be caught in the high ethical idealism of the book, its sense of justice tempered by a fine feeling for humanity, its democratic sympathies, its chivalrous respect for woman and the family, its claim of rights for the poor and distressed, the widow, the fatherless, and the stranger, all quickened and pointed by "its searching examination of moral moods and of motives, and its inclusion of thoughts and desires as well as actions in its purview" (p. xxxvii). The true glory of the book, however, is found in the purity and tenderness of its religious emotion. Deuteronomy is instinct with the spirit of worship, and calls for reverence and awe in presence of the one holy, sovereign God. But its main emphasis is on love. "These two, God's love to man and man's love to God, are everywhere in Deuteronomy. They are the essence of its creed, the motives and power of the full obedience it demands, the passion of its wistful appeals *to remember, to know, and to consider*, of all its constant cry for the *hearts* of its hearers" (pp. xxvi f.).

The Code of Deuteronomy, then, is law suffused by the spirit of prophecy, not yet hardened into rigid, unbending forms. As such it occupies a standpoint "on the whole midway between JE and P." Historically, it is linked with the Reformation under Josiah (621 B.C.), which saw the law of the single sanctuary, with all its revolutionary consequences, carried into effect. Yet we cannot simply identify our present Book of Deuteronomy with the "Book of the Law" which inspired the Reformation. The closing section (chaps. 31-34) is now generally recognized to be "a later, editorial supplement to Deuteronomy, belonging less to it than to the Pentateuch as a whole, and designed to connect the Pentateuch with the Book of Joshua" (p. xii). The introductory discourse is clearly divisible into two parallel strands (chaps. 1-4, 5-11). The heterogeneous mixture of elements in chapter 27 rudely breaks the flow of Moses' discourse from chapters 26 to 28. Not only so, but each of the main divisions of the book is marked by doublets, independent groups of law, "distinguished by differences of form and phraseology," divergent conceptions of Israel, varying modes of

address, and "editorial rearrangements and additions, some of them reflecting the Exile" (p. lxii). Of the distinctions in form the most striking are the changes between singular and plural, which have been so thoroughly canvassed by Steuernagel and Staerk. Our author submits these changes to a fresh penetrating examination. His conclusions are distinctly more reserved than those of the critics just mentioned. The attempt to trace separate editions throughout both discourses and laws "mainly on the difference of singular and plural," he finds upon the evidence "most precarious if not utterly impossible." The examination, however, confirms the other evidence we have "that the book is a compilation—not only in the sense that the materials of its Code have been partly drawn from other codes and ancient practices, not only in the sense that both the discourses and the Code have been expanded by editors and copyists, but that there were once different editions of the Code probably with different introductions; yet whether these were from different hands the evidence of the singular and plural passages does not enable us to decide in full confidence" (pp. lxxxvii f.).

It is thus impossible to define exactly the contents of Josiah's law book. It must, at all events, have embraced the cardinal principle of the single sanctuary with all its implicates, and "some form of the discourses now in chapters 1-11, 28-30." But no doubt also it embodied a considerable portion of the ritual and other precepts wrapped up in the heart of the book. Sir George accepts as reasonable Bertholet's principle that "everything is to be reckoned to the original Deuteronomy, which is not on quite definite grounds to be excluded from the time of Josiah" (p. xcvi). How near to the date of its discovery this original Deuteronomy falls is a moot question among scholars. Of the three alternatives Sir George regards as least probable the theory of composition during the reign of Manasseh. He inclines personally to the idea that, "if not the original form of Deuteronomy, yet some code or program with similar aims came into being with Hezekiah's reforms." But, "even if the book was written in the early part of Josiah's reign, there is no evidence that the priest Hilkiah or his colleagues in the Temple had anything to do with its composition; while its contents afford not a little proof to the contrary" (p. cvi).

The influence of Hosea and Isaiah is most strongly impressed on Deuteronomy. But, "whatever the book owed to the prophets, it did not owe everything. The style is its own. The spiritual fruits of the past, the practical urgencies of the present, the memories, passions, and hopes of both, are all tuned to a new and original rhythm—the gift, we

cannot but believe, of one man to the literature of his people. He remains as unknown to us as the author of Job or the great Evangelist of the Exile" (p. cvii). But, while unknown, he is one of the great figures in the onward march of religion. "Deuteronomy is a living and divine book, because it is at once loyal to the essential truth revealed in the past, while daring to cast off all tradition, however ancient and sacred in origin, that in practice has become dangerous and corruptive, vigilant to the new perils and exigencies of faith and receptive of the fresh directions of the living God for their removal or conquest." Not only so, but "Deuteronomy gave utterance to truths which are always and everywhere sovereign—that God is One, and that man is wholly His, that it is He who finds us rather than we who find Him; that God is Righteousness and Faithfulness, Mercy and Love, and that these also are what He requires from us toward Himself and one another. . . . Thus in the preparation for Jesus Christ Deuteronomy stands very high. Did He not Himself attest the divine authority both of its doctrine and of its style by accepting its central creed as the highest and ultimate law not for Israel only but for all mankind?" (P. cxx.)

The commentary proper is singularly illuminating. Sir George lingers lovingly over the separate words and phrases, and seeks not merely to elucidate their exact meaning, but to reproduce as nearly as possible the literary flavor of the original. His translations of the poetical passages are specially noteworthy. The exposition is enriched, too, by the author's intimate knowledge of Eastern scenery and customs, as well as apt allusions to modern literature. The main stress, however, is laid on the spiritual teaching of the book, its insistence on love and loyalty to God, which alone means "buoyancy and progress," and whose fruit is a life without reproach before both God and man. Limitations are, of course, acknowledged. But the underlying spirit of the Code tends to surmount these, and the interest it shows in the common people—especially the poorest and most needy—makes it prophetic of Christian democracy. This aspect of the Code finds in Sir George a sympathetic and enthusiastic interpreter.

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THE BOOK OF REVELATION

In his two previous works, *The Evolution of Christianity* and *The Millennial Hope*, Professor Case set himself to explain to the modern reader how Christian ideas were modified and in some instances created

by the peculiar conditions of the first century. He continues his task in the present volume,¹ in which he illustrates his thesis from the concrete example of the Book of Revelation. To most people who are not directly concerned with New Testament studies this book is still a monstrosity or a divine mystery, according to their different points of view. Professor Case undertakes to show that the only key required to guess its riddles is a knowledge of the age and circumstances which produced it. This has long been recognized by scholars, and the facts are presented so clearly and cogently in the book before us that no intelligent layman will find much difficulty in understanding and accepting them.

Nearly half of the volume is occupied with a discussion of the literary and historical background. The author first examines the situation of the church, and especially of the Asian church, at the time when Revelation was written. He then devotes two chapters to an account of Jewish and Christian apocalyptic, showing that John's prophecy, so far from standing mysteriously alone, conforms in almost all respects to a type of literature which was cultivated more than any other in the circles out of which Christianity arose. The rest of the book, apart from a closing chapter on the history of Revelation criticism, is devoted to exposition. Instead of offering a commentary of the conventional pattern Professor Case takes the Apocalypse in its broad sections, and considers the place of each of them in the development of the main theme. Within these larger sections he deals with the separate passages, which are translated into modern English and then expounded, with a view to their purport as a whole rather than to exegetical detail. The aim throughout is to trace the connection between the seemingly fantastic visions and the historical situation which affords the clue to their real meaning. To this purpose the plan of the commentary is admirably adapted, and it has the further advantage that it sustains the reader's interest and attention. Many who have previously known the Apocalypse only as a jumble of obscure and disjointed chapters will now be able to appreciate its dramatic unity and to read it from beginning to end for the first time.

One of the chief services the author has rendered is to bring out in such a convincing manner the essential unity of the book. He acknowledges that its writer may have drawn from a variety of sources. "The completed book combined items from his own ecstatic experience, elements created by his own literary skill, data from current apocalyptic tradition, suggestions from fanciful imagery belonging to the mythology

¹*The Revelation of John. A Historical Interpretation.* By Shirley Jackson Case. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1919. xii+419 pages. \$2.00.

of the contemporary Gentile world." But the attempts to explain the book as a mere patchwork of apocalyptic fragments, dating from different periods, are set aside as futile. The various inconsistencies of which so much has been made can be sufficiently accounted for, in Professor Case's view, by the writer's negligence or by the peculiarities of his mind. Emphasis is laid on the fact that the book is concerned everywhere with the one definite crisis which broke on the church in the reign of Domitian. It is highly improbable that material relevant to this particular set of circumstances could have been borrowed to any great extent from earlier apocalypses.

Professor Case refuses to be drawn into any lengthy and inevitably futile discussion of the problem of authorship. Admitting though he does that pseudonymity is a regular mark of the apocalyptic books he argues that the motives which led to this concealment did not apply to the writing of Revelation. In all probability it has come down under the name of its true author, but the question of his identity is left open. "All that may be said is that he was a Christian of Asia, bearing the familiar name of John." As to the purpose and occasion of the book Professor Case is in no doubt. It was written to confirm the church in its resistance to Caesar-worship, which was enforced by the Roman magistracy and the imperial priesthood of Asia in the time of Domitian. In the demand for this blasphemous worship the apocalypticist sees the crowning iniquity which presages the final woes and the decisive struggle between Christ and Satan, who will manifest his power through a reincarnation of the persecutor Nero. We are inclined to think that the motive of Caesar-worship is emphasized too exclusively. In almost every vision and episode Professor Case perceives some reference to it. Even in the description of the worship of God in heaven he sees a deliberate contrast to the adoration offered to the emperor. Few scholars would now deny that the revulsion from Caesar-worship was the immediate occasion of the book, and Professor Case, by his insistence on this central theme, has brought out its unity, more successfully, perhaps, than any previous commentator. But one feels at times that his effort to assert its unity is too successful. Such a writer as John was not likely to confine himself rigidly to a single object. The question of Caesar-worship affords him a starting-point, and he comes back to it repeatedly, but he allows himself to be led aside ever and again into regions of speculation in which it seems to be forgotten altogether.

On the special difficulties which are presented in every chapter of Revelation Professor Case is always illuminating, although his

conclusions are sometimes open to challenge. He appears not even to entertain the hypothesis that chapter 13 was originally a Jewish apocalypse of the time of Caligula; but does not the name "Gaius Caesar" correspond more perfectly to the number of the beast than that of Nero? The difficult passage 12:1-6 is not adequately solved by the conjecture that "the Messiah in the future would temporarily assume the form of an infant born of a strange astral mother, in order that Satan's enmity might find opportunity of expression." Still more unsatisfying is the treatment of the crucial verse concerning the seven emperors—the verse on which the whole discussion of the date and composition of Revelation so largely hinges. Professor Case disposes of all the perplexities by the simple assumption that John has mistaken the place of Domitian, just as a citizen of the United States may fail to remember the precise order of the presidents. This does not appear probable. A writer at the end of the first century had only a short list of emperors to remember, and had himself lived through most of the reigns. It must have been an uncommonly poor memory that could not get them right. On matters of detail, however, expositors of Revelation will always differ, and Professor Case is entitled to his own opinions, which he never fails to defend with abundant learning and solid argument. His chief concern is always with those larger purposes of the book to which the details are subordinate. He tries to interpret to the modern mind a noble work of the past which looks forbidding and mysterious for no other reason than that its setting and literary character have been so grievously misunderstood. This task he has accomplished in a conspicuously able and effectual manner, and it is to be hoped that his book will find its way to a large circle of readers. Revelation, with its call to an indomitable faith in the face of overwhelming troubles, has a real message for the world of today. This message has been too long obscured by absurd and ignorant interpretations, and we cannot but welcome a book which enables us once more to apprehend it.

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MANICHEAN STUDIES

Two small volumes from the pen of a French scholar, Prosper Alfarc, form a valuable contribution to the history of Manicheism.¹ Although the author professes merely to give a survey of data regarding the Mani-

¹ *Les écritures Manichéennes: I. Vue général. II. Étude analytique.* By Prosper Alfarc. Paris: Nourry, 1918. iii+154 and 240 pages.

chean writings, in reality he has made a comprehensive collection of such materials as are at present available for a study of the life and work of Mani and his disciples. An examination of early Gnostic sects and writings furnishes the point of departure for a summary statement of the tradition regarding the career of Mani and the literary activities of himself and his successors. Then follows a general description of both the content and the literary form of Manichean writings. In sketching the history of this literature, it is found to have been somewhat widely known in ancient times. The circumstances which brought about its ultimate disappearance are noted and a detailed account is given of such testimonies as are at present available regarding its original character and content. While it is recognized that these testimonies, coming as they do from Christian polemicists and from Arabic, Persian, and Chinese sources, are often prejudiced and inaccurate, yet they are believed to contain a considerable amount of reliable data. These secondary sources are supplemented by the comparatively recent finds at Tun-huang and Turfan, which though brief in content add important items to the historian's information.

The second volume contains a more detailed description of the content of the writings used by the Manicheans. First, there were books actually composed by Mani and his disciples. These works are no longer extant, but a fairly accurate notion of their contents is obtainable from Christian and pagan authors who sought either to describe, to refute, or to ridicule the sect. Certain characteristics of Manicheism are also disclosed by the type of Jewish, Christian, and pagan writings which Mani and his followers appropriated from time to time for their own use. The tradition regarding these matters is examined carefully, and the inclusion of extensive quotations from the ancient authorities makes this second volume of Alfarc's work virtually a source book for the study of Manicheism.

Many thanks are due the author for the faithful labor which he has expended upon this obscure subject. From the standpoint of critical historical inquiry, it is of interest to note that he does not make Manicheism primarily a perversion of an original Christianity through the adoption of Gnosticism on the one hand or Persian, Babylonian, or Buddhistic vagaries on the other. Nor does he follow the well-known view of Kessler, who saw in the Manichean movement essentially a revival of Babylonian paganism. On the contrary, the most immediate genetic connections of Manicheism are found in an original type of interest characteristic of the time and locality which produced

both Mani and the early Gnostics. Starting from this source Mani's movement gradually took on a distinctiveness derived from the personality of its founder and from the syncretistic life of its environment as it came in contact with both Christianity and paganism.

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RECENT INTERPRETATIONS OF NEOPLATONISM

Every valuable addition to the interpretation of Neoplatonism is incidentally an aid to the study of church history. By the third century Christianity had entered very substantially upon the task of making itself a vehicle of culture, and in Neoplatonism it found a vigorous rival as well as an important source of inspiration and guidance in its own endeavor. The debt of successive generations of Christians to their Neoplatonic predecessors is today a widely recognized fact, but to estimate the actual extent and nature of this obligation requires special familiarity with that perplexing and elusive system of philosophy founded by Plotinus. Two recent discussions, one by Thomas Whittaker and the other by William Ralph Inge, are distinct contributions toward a better understanding of this subject.

Whittaker's *Neoplatonists*,¹ which now appears in a second edition, has commonly been cited as a standard work ever since its first publication in 1901. So far as the main body of the book is concerned the new edition is scarcely more than a reprint of the old, but in a supplement of eighty-four pages the author discusses separately the commentaries of Proclus. Whether this formal arrangement is a happy one may be questioned. In an earlier part of the book a chapter is given to "The Athenian School," of which Proclus is of course the most distinguished representative. A recasting of this chapter to include a thorough treatment of both the views and the writings of Proclus would seem to have been the more desirable method of procedure. Then a reader would have been more adequately prepared to appreciate the succeeding discussion on the influence of Neoplatonism and the concluding summary of the final chapter.

A few pages of the Appendix which deal with Gnosticism have been substantially re-written to conform to the views of Reitzenstein

¹ *The Neoplatonists: A Study in the History of Hellenism*. By Thomas Whittaker. Second edition, with a supplement on the commentaries of Proclus. Cambridge: University Press, 1918. xvi+318 pages. 12s.

regarding the significance of Egyptian elements in the origin of the movement. But Reitzenstein's theory of the genesis of Gnosticism is hardly so well established that readers can entirely dispense with references to other views held by such modern scholars as Bousset and De Faye.

Of the outstanding merits already evident in the first edition of Whittaker's book little at this date needs to be said. The author is sufficiently sympathetic with the Neoplatonists to be able to depict their views intelligently, and at the same time he is sufficiently independent to insure a thoroughly objective interpretation of his data. The relative brevity of his book is another distinct merit. Instead of presenting an elaborate exposition of the whole subject, discussion centers about those items which best indicate the originality and historical importance of Neoplatonism. Strictly speaking, Whittaker does not aim to furnish a comprehensive history of the school, but is content to provide a concise exposition of the teaching of Plotinus with enough attention given to his historical antecedents and to the work of his successors to make intelligible the main outlines of the school's character and influence.

Dean Inge, of St. Paul's in London, Gifford lecturer for 1917-18, chose as his subject the philosophy of Plotinus.¹ Professing himself to be not merely a student and critic of Plotinus but his actual disciple, our author frequently displays the zeal of the ardent advocate rather than the calm analytical temper of the sober judge. Nevertheless he has made himself thoroughly familiar with the writings of his hero and has produced one of the most elaborate works ever composed to expound their content.

The opening lecture is a plea for the fundamental position of mysticism in religion, and in the realm of mysticism Plotinus is declared to have no equal in power and insight and spiritual penetration. He represents the climax of Platonism in the ancient world, and modern Christianity's future welfare is thought to depend for its safety upon a renewal of that alliance with Neoplatonism which began to exhibit itself in pronounced fashion as early as the time of Augustine. To state the point in the author's own language, "for us the whole heritage of the past is at stake together; we cannot preserve Platonism without Christianity, nor Christianity without Platonism, nor civilization without both."

¹ *The Philosophy of Plotinus*. By William Ralph Inge. In two volumes. New York: Longmans, 1918. xvi+270 and xii+253 pages. \$9.00.

Two lectures are devoted to a survey of conditions in the Mediterranean world of Plotinus' day and two others give an account of his forerunners. The cradle of Neoplatonism is found to have been not Athens but Alexandria, where Orientals and Occidentals freely mingled, yet the system of Plotinus is held to have been an almost completely pure revival of Platonism. The suggestion that mystical tendencies cherished by the oriental cults may have contributed features to Neoplatonism is emphatically rejected. Successive chapters deal at length with the characteristic Plotinian notions regarding the world of sense, the soul and its immortality, the intelligible world—or the "spiritual" world, as this writer terms it—the absolute, ethics, religion, and aesthetics.

Dean Inge has accomplished the somewhat unusual feat of writing interestingly about even the most abstruse phases of Neoplatonism. He has also written with abundant knowledge at his command and with a personal interest in his subject that made him capable of appreciating many an obscure color that would have escaped a less admiring observer. At the same time his desire to make the third-century Plotinus the model exponent of a twentieth-century idealism renders it somewhat difficult for a reader to maintain an undistorted historical perspective. The value of Plotinus as an interpreter of life's problems in the Mediterranean world of the third century is one thing; his worth as a guide for the solution of the problems of twentieth-century civilization in a very different world is quite another matter. This, however, is a distinction which seems never to have been specifically made by Dean Inge. But some such historical discrimination would seem necessary to a scientifically valid estimate of Neoplatonism as a whole and of Plotinus in particular.

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A HISTORY OF FOREIGN MISSIONS

A compact volume by the scholarly president of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions¹ represents two interesting and highly significant movements in the field of missions. The first is seen in the form of the work, a handbook which may serve as a text in college or university classes or in more advanced church study groups. That such a book could be published is evidence of a conviction that

¹ *The Spread of Christianity in the Modern World*. "Handbooks of Ethics and Religion." By Edward Caldwell Moore. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1919. xi+352 pages. \$2.00.

missions should find a place on the curriculums of our institutions of higher education. It is one more of the indications, of which there are today so many, that Protestant communions are beginning to take seriously the task of bringing the Christian gospel to bear upon the entire world, and that the missionary enterprise, once supported by a comparative few, is today winning increasing recognition from the thoughtful and scholarly leaders of our nation.

The second movement which the book represents is that toward the conception of Christian missions as a process having as part of its goal the transformation by the spirit of Jesus of all phases of the world's life, religious, social, political, economic, and intellectual. The author represents "the prevailing mood of our time" to be "that which esteems that the problem [of missions] is neither to make for another world nor yet to make another world in this, but through men who are being saved to make this another world." He conceives missions as the means for "the gradual embodiment of the spirit of Jesus in the life of mankind." In close consistency with this position Professor Moore treats the missionary enterprise during the past several centuries as an integral part of the expansion of Europe, not divorced from but intimately associated with the touching of the life of non-European peoples and the filling of the comparatively unoccupied quarters of the earth by the energetic races of Europe.

With this point of view, Professor Moore opens his book with a brief account of the growth of Christendom since the time of Christ and the expansion of Modern Europe since the latter part of the fifteenth century, pointing out specifically the relation of the latter movement to the missionary enterprise. He then takes up, country by country, the main areas of the earth, giving in compact summary the story of the invasion of these lands by occidental commerce, races, nations, and ideals, and dwelling especially on the missionary enterprise. The book thus constitutes a brief history of modern missions regarded as a part of the impact of occidental peoples and culture upon other lands and as constantly conditioned by that relationship.

Inevitably the story is too big to be told in so brief a compass, except in compact, outline form, and the book accordingly suffers partly by necessary omissions and partly from the scanty mention of so many names. It is obviously, moreover, written from the Protestant standpoint, and while appreciative mention is made of Catholic missions, especially of the period before the nineteenth century, there is but slight attention paid them in the years since the rise of Protestant

missions. The reader goes away almost uninformed as to the remarkable progress made in non-Christian lands during the past hundred years by missionaries of the Roman church. More attention, too, could well be given to the means by which the church has followed the European settler in the Americas, Africa, and Australia, and has affected his life. The author, moreover, seems not to appreciate the change that was wrought in Protestantism when it became missionary.

In spite of these defects, the book is a most admirable one, and it is to be hoped that its publication will serve to stimulate in many colleges and universities the introduction of a course on the history of missions.

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THE LEVELLERS

The Leveller Movement has been interpreted in a doctoral dissertation, to which was awarded the Herbert Baxter Adams prize in European history.¹ The greater part of the material used in its preparation was collected by the writer in the British Museum, and an important contribution is his condensation of the most significant documents, which he has incorporated in the body of the argument. Years have passed in the maturing of the author's conclusions, in the presentation of which he has been remarkably forceful and clear. His skilful use of biographical material has kept this constitutional study from becoming abstruse and dull. Interest is more than sustained; it steadily grows right through to the end. The part played by Lilburne is told with gripping interest. Cromwell comes in for some severe strictures, but not for more than the facts seem to warrant. A noteworthy service to the student of church history is the writer's excellent analysis of Erastianism and Independency.

In the Leveller, the writer discovers a rationalist; an advocate of the compact theory of government, pronouncing laws valid only in so far as they harmonize with reason and nature; the proponent of a written constitution of fundamental laws, framed under the guidance of the people and enforced like other laws through the courts. These laws, moreover, he maintained, should be simplified. As an idealist he believed citizens though untrained in democracy could safely commit

¹ *The Leveller Movement*. By Theodore Calvin Pease. Washington: American Historical Association, 1918. x+406 pages.

themselves to self-government. For the attainment of his ideal, unlike the Cromwellian who fell back upon the arbitrament of the sword, finding in military success the approving intervention of Providence, the Leveller relied on persuasion, intrusting his propaganda to a party organized on a democratic basis. Though partial to a republican type of government, he could and did accept a monarchy. His ideas come from two sources—the long-standing theory of the English constitution as fundamental law, and the polity of Independency with its impulse toward progress, its respect for divine law, and its use of the Covenant. His influence is to be seen in the idea that citizens have ability to do more than merely carry out the political decisions of their superiors, in the radicalism that has remained as an undercurrent in English politics since the American Revolution, and in the limitation of government by paramount law as manifested in the American Constitution. The author does not find the Leveller's influence in the English Parliament of today, where the "idea of a supreme law that commands their obedience is completely absent, since it may violate the English constitution and there is no constitutional remedy for its act." It is at this point that English students of parliamentary institutions may be disposed to disagree. They will find the spirit of the Leveller in the ever-present solicitude of the Cabinet to conform to public opinion, and in the power of the House of Commons at any moment through an adverse vote to force a change of government.

PETER GEORGE MODE

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AN EXPOSITION OF NIETZSCHE

Dr. Salter deserves the cordial congratulation and thanks of everyone interested in the work of Friedrich Nietzsche for the very careful, very informing, and very timely book which he has given us.¹ The results of a long and diligent research are presented in a lucid, attractive style. The scattered fragments of one of the most dispersive writers who ever lived have been brought together with tireless patience, and the most persevering effort has been put forth to construct out of them an ordered whole. Nietzsche has been made to appear as consistent with himself as it was possible for the most friendly exegesis to make him. Whatever is of value in the long series of works, from *The Birth of Tragedy* to *Ecce Homo*, has been sought out, placed in the most favorable light,

¹*Nietzsche the Thinker*. By William Mackintyre Salter. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1917. x+539 pages. \$3.50.

and brought into connection with the surrounding thought of the period. This is the first debt which a critic owes to the notable man whom he has undertaken to exhibit to his public, and Dr. Salter has paid it with scrupulous and exceptional fidelity. Moreover we are supplied with a copious apparatus of references by which each suggested interpretation may be verified at once. It is not too much to say that future writers on the subject will find this book among the most indispensable for their purpose. With special pleasure this tribute is paid at the outset of a review by one who means to dissent very radically indeed from Dr. Salter's general estimate, and who has himself written on Nietzsche from a point of view which is often the polar opposite of that which this book adopts. All competent work in this field is to be welcomed, and it is a special joy to break a lance with so well-equipped an opponent.

It seems unfortunate that Dr. Salter's expository purpose has almost overwhelmed all thought of *criticism*. We are given much help in ascertaining what Nietzsche meant, but little help in deciding how far he meant what is true. His opinions are admirably arranged, classified, developed. But they are very inadequately weighed. A multitude of judgments is reproduced with very slight scrutiny indeed of the tremendous generalizations—anthropological, religious, ethical, historical—upon which these judgments rest and with whose rebuttal they would be rebutted. The generalizations are in many an instance just such as recent inquiry makes the true scholar most diffident about hazarding. The evolution of priesthood and kingship, savage ideas of obligation, the relative place of instinct and reason in early culture, democratic feeling in the primitive church, the ascetic element in the Gospels—each of these is a sphere upon which the learning of our time has cast light, a sphere in which the most learned walk very warily indeed, but in which we can see from many a defiant and abusive paragraph that Friedrich Nietzsche thought it sufficient to be brilliant and needless to be informed. One may surely complain that Dr. Salter has so seldom erected a signpost to warn his readers of the crazy foundation for social doctrines which Zarathustra did not hesitate to crystallize in an aphorism.

It may be said that the book expressly disclaims a critical purpose, because in the epilogue we are told that it aims to make us understand and leaves us to form our own judgment afterward. An author is, of course, entitled to confine himself to exposition if he chooses. But pure exposition in such a case is not feasible. Criticism is implicit in any such presentation. Coleridge's rule of "experimentative faith," which would assume a writer to be coherent until it has been found impossible

to regard him so, is excellent as a preliminary to criticism. But in Dr. Salter's work the revising judgment hardly emerges at all, so that we are left to suppose an internal coherence which was not really there. Nietzsche's discordances are so far as possible smoothed over instead of being set in bold relief, and the effect often reminds one of a Harmony of the Gospels. When he contradicts in one place what he has said in some other place, this is not emphasized, as it ought to have been, to his discredit as a thinker. His apologist inclines to use each extreme view in turn as something to be quoted for the relief of Nietzsche's fame when the other extreme is being urged against him, so that his very inconsistencies are dexterously utilized for his defense. It is plain that such indulgent treatment would absolve any man who had the forethought to insert somewhere in his work the denial of each risky judgment that he had inserted somewhere else.

For example, Nietzsche held that no ethical code can be based on objective reason, and that the codes of aristocrat, priest, and mob are so many instruments in the campaign of each class to get the upper hand. The fundamental human instinct is "will to power," and the sole question to be settled is *whose* will to power shall prevail. The difficulty of such a view is, first, that it seems to reduce altruism and self-denial to an illusion, and, second, that in destroying the objectivity of previous codes by making human nature wholly subject to an impulse that varies rather than a reason that is one and the same it cuts the ground from Nietzsche's own ethic and makes all debate about morals merely psychological. Dr. Salter denies the force of both these objections, but how does he meet them? He points out that for Nietzsche the self-sacrificing parent or philanthropist acts as he does because "his soul is full, over-full, and has to give." "For love may be of two kinds; here a soul is empty and wants to be full; there a soul is overflowing and wants to pour itself out. Both seek an object to satisfy their needs, and really the full soul is as needy and is as much prompted by the sense of need as the empty one—neither is strictly speaking unegoistic." So it turns out that in the end the parent and the philanthropist are unconsciously in cunning pursuit of a more satisfying *state of themselves*, and altruism has in truth been swept away. Yet Dr. Salter seems to think that Nietzsche has thus cleared himself of the very charge which he has admitted. It is surely plain that a human agent in anything he does must alter his own state. But, as the critics of Hobbes pointed out long ago, the question is whether this changed state of himself is that at which he aims. And most of us had thought that Butler's reply, which is equally valid against Nietzsche,

was borne out by all candid introspection. But Dr. Salter does not even notice it. Again, he stoutly denies that the analysis of moral action into "will to power" involves the abandonment of ethics. "We must not be led to think that there is any lack of stringency, whether logical or practical, in the aim when once accepted." And though an objective goal must not be laid down as an authoritative dictum of reason, it may fitly enough be "recommended." But, on Nietzsche's assumptions, how is anyone to "accept" anyone else's aim? What sense is there in "recommending" it to one who is forced by the very law of his being to act solely upon his own will to power? Dr. Salter, who seems to favor the analogy between the moral and the aesthetic judgment, may retort that musical tastes differ, and yet the trained taste may be a criticism upon the untrained. Did not Kant in his last *Critique* use this very fact with success as a proof that a rational element must underlie even our aesthetic preferences? Still more clearly, if reason is tabooed, are we deprived of any criterion by which A's will to power can be judged more worthy than B's. If every man is doomed from his cradle to be an egoist, why waste time in preaching to him the duty of submitting to be a "bridge"? The complaint here made is not of the view which Dr. Salter has taken. It is of his method in leaving us with a mere *exposition* of his author so worked out as to hide rather than to prominently exhibit those respects in which he is vulnerable to attack. The most powerful objections are somewhat perfunctorily cited in brief "Notes" at the end of the volume, where they are often merely stated without being discussed. In truth our author, like most of those who have commended Nietzsche to the public, has involved himself in an embarrassing dilemma. The prophet of superman is either an unsparing iconoclast of Christian morality, or else he is a mere moralist correcting crudenesses, and making us all more thorough in working out with insight our old principles. In the former alternative we must have it explained to us why the "mutilating of millions of men" after the fashion of Napoleon Bonaparte is really better than observance of the Golden Rule, why Kant is to be despised as "the old Chinaman of Königsberg" for his advocacy of peace and Herbert Spencer for daring to hope that some day war would be needless, why the development of transcendent personality in the blond beast is worth effecting through the blood and tears of countless "slaves." If on the other hand Nietzsche had nothing more to give us than some prosaic common sense about pity being apt to defeat its own end, about the occasional need for being cruel that we may be kind, about the deeper humanity which underlies a stern program of eugenics, or about the

lamentable dangers of religious asceticism, then we must ask why the prophet himself plainly thought that he had a root-and-branch affair in hand, why so copious rhetoric was used about applying "dynamite" to the Christian ideals, what, in a word, he can possibly have meant by promising within a short time to "make Europe writhe in convulsions." Dr. Salter oscillates between the two alternatives, and not seldom appears to avail himself of both at once. He would insinuate Nietzsche's doctrine by making it grow naturally out of the past, so that it will not destroy but only fulfil; and at the same time he would vindicate Nietzsche's originality by pointing out how much he has destroyed with a thoroughness that no charity can mistake for fulfilment. In the one mood large liberties have to be taken with the modern conscience, in the other equally large liberties with the Nietzschean text.

Dr. Salter thinks that writers on this subject are being misled by the passions of the war. No doubt he is right in this. But if he had not told us that his own book was in substance complete before the war began there would be ground for a like suspicion of himself, and one may be allowed to think that the additions made "in working over the material subsequently" have not been improvements. It seems probable that to this stage of revision we owe some at least of that singular argument which represents Nietzschean militarism as a high campaign for ideals, and the sort of weapon it approves as spiritual rather than carnal. The present reviewer has encountered nothing like this since he last met with an allegorizing exegesis of the Song of Solomon. Clamors of the hour may mislead a man in two ways. He may exaggerate in order to reinforce them, or he may fall into supersubtleties in order to denounce them. He may be suggestible, or he may be contra-suggestible, and the second is the more usual vice in scholars.

Let no one suppose that the strength of these strictures has proceeded from any judgment on the part of the reviewer that this book is on the whole poor workmanship. On the contrary it is workmanship of great skill, and, one need not say, of quite obvious sincerity. It deserves a place beside the brilliant monograph by Henri Lichtenberger, and is not to be named with the sloppy stuff by writers like Ludovici and Thomas Common whom Dr. Salter in his Preface has mentioned with generous but little-merited respect. It is indeed a perfect mine of information, which an unconscious bias has badly misused but whose value as learning is not thereby lost. Carlyle once laid down the admirable maxim that he who has not first appreciated the degree of truth in a writer's work is thereby disqualified from detecting the degree of his error. This book

is an excellent corrective to those who refuse in judging Nietzsche to pass through the essential stage of appreciation. But a converse maxim of equal value, and perhaps of more immediate urgency to biographers, would bid us remember that only those who are vigilantly critical of a writer's faults can give a discerning and hence an enduring estimate of his merits. With a sincere sense of gratitude to Dr. Salter for his services to Nietzsche scholarship, though not to Nietzsche criticism, let this supplementary canon be brought under his notice.

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BRIEF MENTION

NEW TESTAMENT

KENT, CHARLES FOSTER. *The Shorter Bible. The New Testament*. Translated and arranged with the collaboration of Charles Cutler Torrey, Henry A. Sherman, Frederick Harris, and Ethel Cutler. New York: Scribner, 1918. xix+305 pages. \$1.00.

The task which the authors of this work set themselves was well worth undertaking. They have endeavored to set forth the principal historic facts recorded in the New Testament and its principal teachings stripped of the obstacles to an understanding which are created by an archaic translation and by the inclusion of duplicate accounts of events and of passages which are so closely associated with forgotten or unfamiliar events or thinking as to make little or no appeal to the modern reader. The historical method of study seeks to take the reader back to the times in which the book was written and the event occurred and put them in the position of reading as men of that day read and hearing as they heard. Professor Kent and his associates have aimed to bring the New Testament down to the present day, and as far as possible to put the reader in a position to read it as if it were written yesterday.

Yet with this purpose they have attempted to combine a measure of the historical point of view. Even their Preface betrays this when it says that the book aims to set in *logical* and as far as possible *chronological* order those parts of the Bible which are of vital interest and practical value to the present age. But why chronological? And if the purpose is to give to the reader as much of Paul's thought as is of "practical value to the present age," why try to put in this chronological order those portions of his letters which the book includes? The abbreviation of the book destroys largely the indications of the historic situations out of which they arose. Why then retain a chronological order? Why not indeed drop the names of the people addressed and arrange the selections in a purely logical order calculated to make clear the apostles' general scheme of thought, as had previously been done in the case of Jesus? This is the main thing to be said in adverse criticism of the book. Adopting in the main a modernizing and logical point of view, it nevertheless clings to the historical sufficiently to mar the success of its modernization, but without giving a real chronological view.

The gospel material is divided into three parts: the life of Jesus mainly taken from the Synoptic Gospels, the teaching of Jesus likewise taken mainly from the synoptists, and, at the very end of the book, the Gospel of John in abbreviated form. This arrangement of course presupposes a critical point of view, yet it is also called for by the nature of the material and the practical purpose of the book. One only wonders why two or three passages from John are used in the life of Jesus, and why the particular passages used are selected.

The translation is frankly modern, and in the main good. It follows the Revised Version in its frequent ignoring of the distinction between the noun with the article and without it, but there is little else to criticize. It is a manifest slip of proofreading when in the beginning of Galatians Paul makes his apostolic commission to be derived from Jesus Christ and God the Father "and from all the brothers who are with me."

As the authors in their Preface state, the book will not take the place of the standard versions of the complete New Testament, least of all for historical study, but it is a valuable supplement to them, especially for the reader with but little time at his disposal.

E. D. B.

CHURCH HISTORY

KÖHLER, W. *Martin Luther und die deutsche Reformation*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1916. v+135 pages. M. 1.50.

The author is a Zürich professor who has written somewhat extensively on the German Reformation, and has also interested himself in the field of early Pietism. This book is a brief popular presentation of Luther for German readers, calculated to promote admiration for the Reformer as a personal embodiment of the German spirit. Of the one hundred thirty-five pages twelve are devoted to an introduction covering the principal aspects of Christian society at the opening of the sixteenth century—the emperor, the Diet, the knights, the pope, and humanism. The usual information is given on Luther's family and education to the thunderstorm at Stotternheim, which was "his Damascus," and decided him to enter a monastery. The visit to Rome in 1511 is regarded as not decisive in Luther's career, although it roused his national feeling against Italy. The struggle with the papacy is rapidly outlined. In the chapter on "Organization of the Reformation" attention is called to Luther's efforts to promote evangelical worship, and to his contributions to church song. His intolerance, especially toward the Anabaptists, is recognized, but is distinguished from that of the medieval church toward heretics. "Luther wanted heresy punished not as an offence against church dogma and faith, but as blasphemy against the outwardly Christian order of society." This, we are told, while apparently a trivial sophistry, is really the key to Protestant toleration. His attitude toward the peasants is explained on the basis of his fundamental idea of the duty of obedience to rulers. Similarly his dualistic view of life accounts for his teaching that "When Christians engage in war they do so not as Christians but as obedient subjects." Luther was unshakably loyal to the Emperor ("*Kaisertreu ist Luther bis in die Knochen*"). His adoption of the territorial principle for the church, made necessary by the times, was by no means in accord with his ideals. The church, he thought, should be unhampered by political considerations; "Christ did not trouble himself about politics." The final chapter, on "Luther, the Man and His Work," is an edifying discourse on the text, furnished by Mme de Staël, "Luther is the most German among the great Germans."

J. T. M.

WILKINS, H. J. *Westbury College from a. 1194 to 1544 A.D.* Bristol: J. W. Arrowsmith, 1917. 208 pages.

This is a compilation of material gathered with a view to a history of Westbury College. Sections set forth the early days of the college, Bishop Giffard's efforts toward its enlargement, its deans, and canons, with a chronological statement of their preferments, its dissolution, a Westbury tradition, and the careers of John Carpenter, Henry Sampson, and William Canynge. The most notable chapter is one that gives information concerning John Wyclif. The compiler has covered considerable new ground by conscientiously examining episcopal registers, patents rolls, papal correspondence, and miscellaneous documentary material embodied in the publications of several county historical societies. This service will be appreciated by a select circle of investigators whose scholarly instincts may suggest some parallels between the history of Westbury College and that of the particular institution they are examining. To others this compilation will be of little value.

P. G. M.

FAULKNER, JOHN ALFRED. *Wesley as Sociologist, Theologian, Churchman.* New York: Methodist Book Concern, 1918. 173 pages. \$0.75.

From an analysis of Wesley's teachings on riches, the making of money, luxury, scarcity of provisions, the rum traffic, tobacco, militarism, and slavery, the writer concludes (with Lecky) that it was the religious enthusiasm of the Wesleyan revival which saved England from a social upheaval corresponding to the French Revolution. Though conservative in his devotion to the central truths of the gospel, Wesley is represented as liberal in his definition of the church, in his terms of admission to his societies, and in his wide mental outlook and fellowship with the spirits of all races, times, and creeds. His churchmanship abounds in contradictions. The whole drift of his life after 1738—notably his use of lay preachers—was a repudiation in practice of the church for which he kept professing such unabated devotion.

An appendix dismisses the Erasmus tradition of Wesley's ordination as wholly untenable. The author's study as a whole is fresh, interesting, and scholarly.

P. G. M.

PURCELL, RICHARD J. *Connecticut in Transition, 1775-1818.* Washington: American Historical Association, 1918. x+471 pages.

This is a doctoral dissertation submitted to the graduate faculty of Yale University to which was awarded the John Addison Porter and the Justin Winsor prizes. It appears with revisions and abridgments, especially in respect to charts and notes.

The first two chapters deal with the growth of irreligion, deism, and dissent, and the consequent revolt against Calvinism. The author convincingly shows that through the combination at the polls of the unorthodox and heretical, religious liberty was secured for Connecticut, and Congregationalism bereft of its control over the state. Chapters iii and iv discuss the economic awakening of Connecticut during the period. Agriculture, banking, commerce, education, and immigration are treated in detail as affording in the changes involved an understanding of the struggle for democracy, governmental and social. The concluding four chapters give an account of the alignment of parties involving ecclesiastical forces, and the steps by which a constitution was finally secured.

For the church historian, this study has considerable information bearing upon the progress of religious bodies during the period. Statistics are freely given, and conclusions drawn from a wide range of source literature. A good map of the location of churches is attached. The part played by the churches in politics is well presented. The bibliography is comprehensive and well arranged.

P. G. M.

ZOLLMANN, CARL. *American Civil Church Law*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1917. 473 pages. \$3.50.

This volume is the first attempt to set forth the legislation by which the several state and the federal governments have protected the various church organizations in their civil, contract, and property rights. The author has derived his conclusions not only from the statutes but from scores of court decisions based thereon. He has sought to meet the requirements of clergymen, church trustees, students of American institutional history, and lawyers. His style is free from technical phrases, and his viewpoint is strictly non-sectarian. Citations have been made in illuminating but not superfluous proportions. Historical development has been introduced where such knowledge has seemed necessary. The first chapter reviews in a general way what is protected by the states under the term "religious liberty." The following chapters give the law on corporations, church constitutions, trusts, schisms, church decisions, tax exemptions, disturbance of meetings, contracts, clergymen, officers, dedication and possession, pew rights, cemeteries, and Methodist Episcopal deeds. Only a thoroughly trained and long-experienced lawyer is competent to pass on the many fine points raised by a book so wide in its range and technical in its bearings. From the thoroughness of his documentation and the spirit in which he writes, it would seem that the author has given us a contribution as trustworthy as it is lucid.

P. G. M.

DOCTRINAL

YOUTZ, HERBERT ALDEN. *Democratizing Theology*. Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1919. 39 pages. \$0.25.

A discussion of the task of theology in a day of democratic ideals marked by genuine appreciation of the power of the spiritual inheritance of Christianity and an equally clear representation of the demands of democracy. The three enemies of a democratic theology are orthodoxy (as a type of autocratic thinking), mechanism (as a dehumanizing force), and externalism (as a type of activity which lacks spiritual depth).

G. B. S.

HEFELBOWER, S. G. *The Relation of John Locke to English Deism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1918. viii+188 pages. \$1.00.

The author challenges the very common assumption that Locke was an influential figure in the development of English deism. His study consists of a thoroughly objective consideration of all the facts at our disposal. He shows conclusively that rationalistic ideas were the common property of all liberal thinkers of the age, and that the fundamental validity of "natural religion" was almost universally conceded. To trace these exclusively or principally to Locke is to ignore the evidence. When we come to the specific question of attitude toward supernatural religion, Locke was

decidedly conservative, while the deists were depreciatory or hostile. No significant use of Locke can be found in deistic writers. Locke himself refused to be classed with the deists. The fundamental traits of deism were already formulated and had been explicitly criticized before the publication of Locke's essay. Dr. Hefelbower concludes that both Locke and the deists belong in a much wider and more varied movement of rationalistic thinking, which includes liberal theologians as well, and that direct relationship between Locke and the deists is surprisingly small. He might have emphasized further the fact that early deism assumed the validity of innate ideas, while Locke denied the existence of such ideas. However, Locke's theological conservatism has little connection with his epistemology.

The study is well organized and clearly worked out. Apart from its specific inquiry it is an illuminating exposition of the criticism of religious ideas current in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

G. B. S.

PRACTICAL THEOLOGY

GILLIES, ANDREW. *The Individualistic Gospel and Other Essays*. New York: Methodist Book Concern, 1919. 208 pages. \$1.00.

The author is well known on account of his pastorate in the Hennepin Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church in Minneapolis. These essays, prepared during his opportunity for mature thought since leaving that active work, represent the rich fruit of his practical and pastoral labor. The heart of the book is in the contention that the gospel is for the individual as well as for the group; and that we are in grave danger of losing the concern for the salvation of the soul in the urgent pressure of social service. This is the burden of chapters x-xiii, which might well have been elaborated, to the exclusion of several chapters made up of interesting articles on other subjects, but plainly used here as padding. The unity of the book is badly marred by the unrelated character of the contents, while the major purpose of the writer is not carried out as fully as it might have been. For the danger of stressing the "religion of the deed" and the social program of the church in the community needs to be met by precisely such an emphasis upon the complementary phase of the Christian religion that Dr. Gillies gives us. We come at social service through the acts of those who have been "saved" into the Christian life. "The man who is normally and healthily concerned about the salvation of his own soul, to the exclusion of everything else, will ultimately be more concerned for the complete salvation of the race and do more for the race than the man who looks upon all concern for one's soul as a selfish business." Dr. Gillies makes his point emphatically; he must, for he is trying to meet a position that has been making its way without due regard for the validity of the individualistic factor in the Christian program.

We question the accuracy of the statement that happiness is not affirmed by the New Testament to be a part of the Christian life. On the contrary Jesus and Paul make it integral to the new life in Christ. Dr. Gillies says that the abused words "as he thinketh in his heart, so is he," are perverted in current use; and then proceeds to pervert them again (p. 110).

By chance Professor Barker's *The Social Gospel of the New Era* lies on the desk as we write. We have read them both with care. The Methodist pastor and the Methodist professor state with Methodist fervor the two sides on the one truth of Christian salvation. They ought to be read together.

O. S. D.

BOOKS RECEIVED

The more important books in this list will be reviewed at length

OLD TESTAMENT AND SEMITICS

Chiera, Edward. Lists of Personal Names from the Temple School of Nippur—Lists of Sumerian Personal Names (Publications of Babylonian Section, University of Pennsylvania Museum, Vol. XI, No. 3). Philadelphia: University Museum, 1919. 179-278 pages+lxix-civ plates.

Davidson, Israel. Mahzor Yannai. New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1919. xlix+55+iv pages. \$2.00.

König, Eduard. Hermeneutik des Alten Testaments. Bonn: A. Marcus & E. Weber, 1916. viii+178 pages. M. 8.40.

Langdon, Stephen. Sumerian Liturgies and Psalms (Publications of Babylonian Section, University of Pennsylvania Museum, Vol. X, No. 4). Philadelphia: University Museum, 1919. 231-351 pages+lxix-cv plates.

Mercer, Samuel A. B. The Book of Genesis (Biblical and Oriental Series). Milwaukee: Morehouse Publishing Co., 1919. xiii+193 pages. \$1.25.

NEW TESTAMENT

Graves, Frank Pierrepont. What Did Jesus Teach? New York: Macmillan, 1919. xi+195 pages. \$1.75.

Perry, Alfred Morris. The Sources of Luke's Passion-Narrative. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1920. vii+128 pages. \$0.75.

Robertson, James Alex. The Gospel and the Epistles of St. John. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1919. 129 pages. 9d.

CHURCH HISTORY

Bakel, Oliver S. (editor). The Methodist Year Book, 1920. New York: Methodist Book Concern, 1920. 276 pages. \$0.35.

Holloway, Henry. The Reformation in Ireland (Studies in Church History).

New York: Macmillan, 1919. 240 pages. \$2.75.

Martin, Edward J. The Emperor Julian (Studies in Church History). New York: Macmillan, 1919. 128 pages. \$1.50.

Moore, Herbert. The Treatise of Novatian on the Trinity (Translations of Christian Literature. Series II). New York: Macmillan, 1919. 147 pages. 6s.

Walthers, Wilhelm. Luthers Charakter. Leipzig: Werner Scholl, 1917. vi+214 pages. M. 3.80.

HISTORY OF RELIGIONS

Cave, Sydney. Redemption, Hindu and Christian (The Religious Quest of India). New York: Oxford University Press, 1919. xii+263 pages.

Stanton, H. U. Weitbrecht. The Teaching of the Qur'an. New York: Macmillan, 1919. 136 pages. 7s.

PRACTICAL THEOLOGY

Blachly, Clarence Dan. The Treatment of the Problem of Capital and Labor in Social-Study Courses in the Churches. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1920. viii+90 pages. \$0.50.

Mahoney, Carl K. Social Evolution and the Development of Religion. New York: Methodist Book Concern, 1919. 204 pages. \$1.00.

Morgan, G. Campbell. The Ministry of the World. New York: Revell, 1919. 222 pages. \$1.50.

DOCTRINAL

Bliemetzrieder, Franz. Anselms von Laon Systematische Sentenzen. I. Texte (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters. Band XVIII. Heft 2-3). Münster: Aschendorff, 1919. xxv+167 pages. \$1.10.

- Cooke, George Willis. *The Social Evolution of Religion*. Boston: Stratford Co., 1920. xxiv+416 pages. \$3.50.
- Hastings, James (editor). *The Christian Doctrine of Faith (The Great Christian Doctrines)*. New York: Scribner, 1919. ix+419 pages. \$4.00.
- McComb, Samuel. *The Future Life in the Light of Modern Inquiry*. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1919. ix+240 pages. \$1.50.
- Rashdall, Hastings. *The Idea of Atonement in Christian Theology (Bampton Lectures, 1915)*. New York: Macmillan, 1919. xx+502 pages. \$5.50.
- Streeter, B. H. (editor). *The Spirit*. New York: Macmillan, 1919. xii+377 pages. \$2.50.
- Walcott, Gregory Dexter. *Tsing Hua Lectures on Ethics*. Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1919. 193 pages. \$1.75.
- Woodburne, Angus Stewart. *The Relation between Religion and Science: A Biological Approach*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1920. vii+103 pages. \$0.75.

MISCELLANEOUS

- Cram, Ralph Adams. *Gold, Frankincense, and Myrrh*. Boston: Marshall Jones, 1919. ix+111 pages. \$1.25.
- Cram, Ralph Adams. *Walled Towns*. Boston: Marshall Jones, 1919. 105 pages. \$1.25.
- Fiske, Charles. *The Perils of Respectability*. New York: Revell, 1920. 224 pages. \$1.50.
- Fort, Charles. *The Book of the Damned*. New York: Boni and Liveright, 1919. 298 pages. \$1.90.
- House, Elwin Lincoln. *The Drama of the Face*. New York: Revell, 1919. 258 pages. \$1.75.
- Joseph, Oscar L. *Freedom and Advance*. New York: Macmillan, 1919. ix+272 pages. \$1.75.
- Leighton, Joseph Alexander. *The Field of Philosophy*. Columbus, Ohio: R. G. Adams, 1919. xii+485 pages. \$2.00.
- Olrik, Axel. *The Heroic Legends of Denmark (Scandinavian Monographs, No. IV)*. New York: American-Scandinavian Foundation, 1919. xviii+530 pages. \$5.00.

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RECENT TENDENCIES IN THE NORTHERN BAPTIST CHURCHES¹

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Though I do not know that the Baptist denomination has ever formally chosen as its motto the words of Peter in Acts, "We ought to obey God rather than men," there are perhaps none that more perfectly express its genius and spirit than these. It is by no means affirmed that Baptists have in fact been more loyal to God than other Christians, but that the impulses that gave rise to the denomination and its subsequent history have created among them a habitual attitude of mind which is well expressed in the words of the apostle.

Implicit in this recognition of divine authority as over against any human will, civil or ecclesiastical, yet also often explicitly affirmed, is the recognition of the value and dignity of the human personality. Whether we consciously derived it from Jesus and traced it back to him, or unconsciously absorbed it from our reading

¹ Though the Baptist churches of the northern and southern states of the United States are the products of the same original historical movement, they have now for three quarters of a century employed for the most part different agencies for the prosecution of their missionary work and for the expression of their opinions. Partly as a consequence of this fact, they have developed somewhat different tendencies, both of thought and of action. The present article deals only with the churches now associated together in the Northern Baptist Convention.

of the New Testament, we have in fact always believed that a human person was supremely valuable and ought not to be enslaved to another's will or made a means to an impersonal end.

This twofold attitude has found expression in: (1) A refusal to submit either our religious lives as individuals, or the corporate action of our local churches, or the enterprises of the denomination, to the control of the civil authority. (2) A refusal to recognize any ecclesiastical authority over the individual or the churches, either coming from without the denomination or created within it. We recognize no pope or bishop, Roman Catholic or Episcopalian; we create none for ourselves. (3) An insistence upon the independence of the local church. As churches we co-operate one with another and accept advice from the larger bodies which we create for purposes of co-operation, but we do not surrender our autonomy to convention or association. (4) Steadfast maintenance of the right of the individual to a direct relation to God without the intervention of priest or ceremony. We may recommend, we may even insist upon, baptism and the Lord's Supper, but we regard these as expressions of personal religion and helps to the development of it, not as efficient and essential causes of it. (5) The limitation of church membership to those who profess, and are believed to exercise, personal faith; this carries with it the rejection of inherited membership in the church and of infant baptism. (6) A reluctance to adopt a creed either for the denomination or for the local church. There are indeed current among us certain confessions of faith which have been extensively used, but these are not themselves uniform in doctrine, and standing in the denomination is not dependent upon the adoption of any one of them. The Northern Baptist Convention has by-laws, but no creed, unless indeed the "Declaration" of the Convention that it believes in the independence of the local church be a creed. (7) Reluctance to create or employ church courts. A state convention or an association may exclude from its membership a church which it regards as heretical or obstreperous. A council may recommend that a minister who has been guilty of immoral conduct be deposed from the ministry, and a church may exclude him, but trials for heresy are extremely rare among us.

In these things we are practically all agreed, and in respect to them there has been little change in the denomination for a hundred years. But there are certain other things in which we are not now wholly agreed, and probably not as nearly so as we were a generation or a century ago. Interestingly enough, the differences which have arisen have sprung to a very considerable extent from the same great ideas which have been the basis of our unity, the conviction that we ought to obey God rather than men, and our recognition of the value of human personalities. It will contribute to a clear presentation of the changes which have taken place if I first state certain positions which the denomination generally held a generation or so ago.

1. *The Bible*.—Once practically all of us added to our fundamental principle of obedience to God an acceptance of the further proposition that the Bible is the Word of God, inspired, authoritative, inerrant. Thirty years ago it was a common maxim among us that "the Bible is the sole rule of faith and conduct." In practice this meant not only that the doctrinal statements of all parts of the Bible were true, and its commands binding on our consciences, but that the precedents, of the New Testament at least, were to be followed.

2. *Baptism*.—Adding to this the further proposition that the word "to baptize" as used in the New Testament means "to immerse," and that the early church practiced immersion only, we accepted this practice as binding on us, and emphatically rejected both infant baptism and sprinkling or pouring as substitutes for immersion in the confession of Christian faith.

3. *The Lord's Supper*.—Discovering in the New Testament what we regarded as conclusive evidence that in the early church only those who had been baptized participated in the Lord's Supper, we practiced close communion and invited to participation in the Lord's Supper as we celebrated it only "members of sister churches of like faith and order with ourselves." Most Baptist churches of forty years ago in the northern states held firmly to this opinion and practice, though there were doubtless not a few among us who silently dissented from the opinion of the majority.

4. *Christology*.—In common with other so-called evangelical churches we held to the deity of Christ and the doctrine of the Trinity.

5. *The coming of the Lord*.—Discovering also in the New Testament evidence that the early church believed that Jesus would return to earth on the clouds of heaven to raise the dead and judge the world, we made this expectation a part of our own Christian faith. Finding in the Book of Revelation a promise that those who have part in the first resurrection shall reign with Christ a thousand years, after which Satan shall be loosed out of his prison, we disputed whether the coming of the Lord would be at the beginning or the end of the thousand years, but we did not doubt that he would come again bodily and visibly, according to the promise of Acts 1:11.

6. *Method of interpretation*.—Partly as the cause, partly as the effect, of all these things, a great many of us were almost as thoroughly literalistic in our interpretation and legalistic in our conception of religion and morals as were the Pharisees of Jesus' day. We had a larger Bible than they, and a consequently more difficult problem of adjustment of part to part. But we bravely held our faith that all parts of the Scriptures could be harmonized, and settled all questions of doctrine and of practice by an appeal to "Thus saith the scriptures."

But we were in fact never quite consistent in the matter. We kept the Old Testament command to observe the Sabbath, but we never practiced circumcision: we followed the Old Testament in preference to Jesus in respect to the former; we followed Paul in preference to the Old Testament in respect to the latter. We practiced immersion, but not footwashing. Only here and there did we forbid women to speak in the churches. Our fundamental principle of obedience to God and recognition of the right of the individual conscience prevailed at this point over our second principle that the Bible was the Word of God and that its commands ought to be obeyed and its precedents followed. The impulse of the Spirit in the hearts of living Christians carried a stronger imperative than the inspired words of the apostles.

It was not unnatural, therefore, that as we came into a closer contact with our fellow-Christians of other denominations and learned to recognize in them a type of Christian character quite as high as anything that we ourselves possessed, the question should be raised whether we really had a sound basis for our attitude toward other churches, especially in the matter of close communion. Something like fifty years ago a few eminent ministers of the denomination left it rather than submit to the criticism to which they were subjected for abandoning the previous practice of our churches in the matter of close communion. The leaven which they left behind went on working quietly with little discussion and few if any church trials or acts of discipline. Today open communion is tolerated without protest throughout the northern churches, and is probably the actual if not the avowed practice of four-fifths of the churches in the territory of the Northern Baptist Convention.

When again the progress of biblical study, for which we were ourselves only in small part responsible, brought to the front the question whether the Bible really was inerrant in history, science, and morals, whether in fact it contained a body of self-consistent opinions or did not rather represent a stream of changing thought, our fundamental principle that we ought to obey God rather than men reinforced the influences impelling us to look into these matters. There grew among us a feeling that our clear duty to obey God carried with it an equally clear duty to inquire honestly and without fear how God's thoughts were revealed in the Scriptures. We asked ourselves whether we could in fact appeal to brief texts here and there throughout the Bible and find in each of them a *verbum dei*, or whether it was incumbent upon us here as in other realms of knowledge to ascertain if possible just what the facts were and what was the bearing of these facts upon the doctrine, which we had previously accepted, of a Bible inerrant and authoritative in all parts. The result was to convince many among us, not that the Bible was less valuable than we supposed, but that it was far more interesting and demanded a far more thoroughgoing study than we had given to it, and that from the

moving stream of historic event and thought which it disclosed to such thorough study, we must judge, first what the prophets and writers of ancient times believed and taught, and then in the light of these records of thought, and in the light of all history as known to us, judge what we ought to believe and practice in our day. The result of this process, which has been going on for a generation, has been the widespread adoption of the historical point of view and method of study.

From this and other causes it has come to pass that opinions of which there were scarcely any representatives a generation ago are now not uncommon among us.

Some of us are not as sure as we once were that baptism, by immersion or otherwise, is essential to membership in the church. To a very limited extent, and on the part of very few, this doubt is associated with a question whether the great commission in Matt. 28:20 has come down to us in the words of Jesus, or is not rather, in form at least, the expression of the practice and convictions of the early apostolic church. But to a far greater extent it springs from the positive conviction, based on a study of the New Testament, that the religion of Jesus, the religion of the New Testament, is essentially spiritual in character and cannot include as essential elements any outward ordinance. This conviction rests of course upon the judgment that to ascertain what the thought of Jesus or Paul was, one must rely not upon sentences detached from their context, or indeed upon single sentences taken in their context, but upon the interpretation of the total evidence. Here too our old Baptist feeling that we ought to obey God rather than men comes in to reinforce our new point of view. It reminds us that true loyalty to God shrinks from no necessary effort to ascertain the real mind of God. It suggests that as in the course of a generation or more we have come to look upon the Lord's Supper rather as one of the privileges of a Christian than as a duty to be enforced by the authority and under the scrutiny of the church, so also we should be more in conformity with the will of God if we should put baptism among these privileges. We are led to inquire whether to insist that a man about whose genuine faith we have no doubt shall express that faith in one particular form rather than in

another which to his conscience is better, is not dangerously near to demanding that he shall obey man rather than God, or else is affirming, in a sense which the facts do not warrant, that every sentence of the New Testament is a word of God, and that through all the centuries since it was written there has been no disclosure of the divine will which could by any possibility supersede such a sentence of the New Testament, or set it in a new light.

A few churches among us have already taken the step of welcoming to their membership all who give credible evidence of faith in Jesus Christ and the acceptance of his ideals of life. They indeed recommend that such persons profess this faith by baptism in the form always practiced among us, but do not impose it as a condition of membership. A much larger number have adopted some halfway plan, receiving to associate membership, or membership in the society as distinguished from the church, those Christians who desire to share in the religious life of the church but feel no duty to be immersed. Should any considerable number of our churches adopt the first of these two plans, the result might be in the course of another generation that as a denomination we should stand in reference to baptism where we already stand in reference to communion.

The adoption of the historical point of view has raised in not a few minds a question less obvious, but not less far-reaching in its significance, than that of baptism. We had refused to vest authority in the field of religion in the state or the pope or the church. We had said it was in God, and then we had accepted the Bible as the chief—sometimes we had said the only—expression of God's will in the field of religion and morals. But coming to the study of the Scriptures with a desire to discover both how they came into existence and what were their actual characteristics, some among us have been constrained to admit that the books are not infallible in history or in matters of science, and not wholly consistent, and therefore not ultimately and as a whole inerrant in the field of morals and religion. Many of us freely admit that the apostle Paul expected the visible return of the Lord on the clouds of heaven in the then near future, but do not feel obliged or authorized still to cherish in our day that hope which history

has proved he mistakenly held in his. Seeking then a substitute for the authoritative Scriptures, many of us have found it in the authority and lordship of the Christ, the supreme and final revelation of God. Yet the acceptance of this position has not altogether put a stop to further thinking on the subject. It still remains to ask whether the lordship of Jesus is expressed for us in a certain definite body of commands which we ought to obey in that same spirit of legalistic loyalty in which the Pharisees of Jesus' day endeavored to keep the Old Testament; or whether on the other hand Jesus was a teacher of great principles, which it is incumbent upon us to apply to the multitudinous phases and experiences of life, and the embodiment of an ideal, which it is ours to endeavor as best we can to achieve. Probably most of those among us who no longer hold that the Scriptures are the sole rule of faith and practice are governing our thinking and to a large extent our lives by a recognition of the lordship of Jesus in one or the other of the two forms just spoken of. Yet some perhaps have been constrained to press on to the further inquiry as to what is the ultimate basis of authority in religion, and what is the criterion by which we recognize it. How did Jesus decide that this or that was right and true, and what is our ultimate reason for accepting his judgments on these subjects? These questions are, however, but little mooted among us, and belong rather in the realm of the scholar's study than in that of the practical religious life.

Similarly belonging to the study rather than to the pulpit or the parish is the fact that some who have come to recognize the vast difference between the philosophy of the fourth century in whose terminology the Nicene Creed was stated, and that of our own day, have learned to think of the deity of Christ as meaning that he is the supreme revelation of God in human life, rather than a proposition to be metaphysically understood. This has of course in turn affected somewhat their interpretation of the doctrine of the Trinity.

A more obvious change, one of which any intelligent observer must be aware, has come about in our attitude toward other denominations in other matters than that of communion, and especially in respect to co-operation with them. Brought by a

variety of causes into closer contact with our fellow-Christians than was common a generation ago, we are no longer as sure as we once were that we are wholly right and they are wholly wrong, and there are fewer among us than there were a generation ago who believe that the Baptist church is the only true church, and that all the other so-called churches are societies but imperfectly realizing the ideal of the church. Our zeal for proselyting Presbyterians and Methodists has notably diminished, and we are far more ready to co-operate with them than formerly. While making certain reservations, which indeed were dictated by the more conservative among us, but which in practice have proved less harmful than some of us at the outset feared they would be, we yet were among the first to give our adherence to the Interchurch World Movement. There have been few more enthusiastic advocates of the principles of that movement than some of our own ministers and laymen, notably the latter.

On the matter of organic union there is doubtless a wide diversity of opinion among us. Some there are who, believing in the divine authority of the congregational church order and of baptism of believers by immersion, cannot in fidelity to their own convictions favor organic union on any other basis than the acceptance of these fundamental principles. Others there are who, seeing these things not as authoritative divine commands but at the most as things which are desirable to maintain because of their contribution to religious life, look eagerly for the day when all Protestant churches at least shall be united in one inclusive Christian church. Between these two extremes there are not a few who, essentially in sympathy with the second class, are yet so impressed with the necessity of maintaining freedom of religious life and thought and with the extreme difficulty of maintaining these in an organization which should bring together Christians of as widely diverging opinions, tastes, and practices as are those of the Protestant churches of today, that they have little practical interest in the promotion of organic union. They believe that more can be accomplished by efforts within the several denominations looking toward greater tolerance and sympathy with other Christians, and by co-operation in the promotion of the ideals of Christianity,

without attempts at organic union, than by such efforts coupled with a program for organic union. It was essentially this last, mediating, position which found expression in the resolutions adopted at the meeting of the Northern Baptist Convention at Denver in 1919, though to some who desired a declaration in favor of organic union they seemed like an affirmation of the first position.

But not only are there among us a considerable number who look with greater toleration upon other denominations than did their fathers, but the study of other religions, prosecuted in connection with missionary work and in our schools, has led many of us to a recognition of elements of value in those religions, and has compelled us to abandon the classification which recognizes one true religion, Christianity, and ranks all others among the false. Indeed some among us have been led to adopt and to apply even to Christianity the thesis that religion, like all other phenomena of human experience, is the product of an evolutionary process. Each generation is both the heir of its religious ancestry and the maker of its own religion. Those who hold this view would not deny the supremacy of the revelation that God made through the Hebrew race and pre-eminently through Jesus, but would affirm the larger faith that in all parts of his world and in all ages God speaks in the hearts of men and works on essentially the same principles. Though doubtless influenced in the adoption of it by the currents of modern thought, they yet believe that they find the basis of their faith even in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, and that they are but following in the footsteps of those men of old who for an older and a narrower idea of God accepted a larger and truer conception of him.

It might be supposed that in so far as these latter views prevail, they are accompanied by a loss of interest in the work of extending Christianity throughout the world. A generation ago Joseph Cook and others of his type of thought used to say that any doubt about the future perdition of all who had not received the gospel, would "cut the nerve of missions." Were these men still living and holding to the same point of view, they would doubtless say this with even greater emphasis of those who hold such views as have just

been referred to. But like many other men of fear these also have proved false prophets. The doctrine of future punishment has fallen into the background, and the Wellingtonian argument for missions, as well as the argument from the eternal perdition of the unevangelized heathen, is rarely heard. But not only among those who hold to the older views, possibly even more among those who have departed in the directions indicated from the thought of our fathers, is the interest in the extension of Christianity throughout the world deeper than ever before, expressing itself alike in gifts of money and in the consecration of lives. It would lie beyond the limited scope of this paper to attempt to point out the main causes which have contributed to this, but one of them is undoubtedly to be found in a broadening of the conception of the purpose for which missions to non-Christian peoples are carried on.

Along with this deepening of interest in the missionary work of the church, and the change in the conception of its purpose, has gone the adoption of a somewhat different policy from that which was followed fifty years ago in reference to the qualifications for missionary service. Availing themselves of the results of the struggle through which our Congregational brethren passed in the ninth decade of the last century, our own denomination has accepted substantially the principles at which they arrived with respect to the basis for appointment to missionary service. For many years the Board of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society has followed the principle that the ordination of a man by a duly constituted council settles the question of his orthodoxy, and that the Board has no mandate from the denomination to go behind the council and inquire into his theological views. The result of this policy, and of the changes of theological thought that have been going on in the denomination at home, is that our missionaries represent in themselves practically the same varieties of opinion and point of view that prevail at home. We share also a transfer of emphasis, which is common to most Protestant denominations, from the effort to rescue individual souls from perdition to the endeavor to create Christian communities enjoying all the benefits of the religion of Jesus and permeated by his spirit. Seeking to exemplify that spirit in the effort to create such communities,

we have no longer an exclusive or preponderant interest in evangelistic work in the strict sense of that term, but found hospitals, maintain schools, conduct industrial work, and seek in all possible ways in the spirit of our Master to develop communities that exemplify the highest type of Christian life.

Somewhat parallel to these changes that have taken place in our work abroad, are changes in our methods at home. The old type of evangelism which was represented by Elder Swan and Elder Knapp and other scarcely less famous men of fifty or sixty years ago, has largely passed away. In many of our churches the emphasis is laid today on religious education, and on methods and influences under which the young are led to adopt the principles of Jesus and to accept his leadership quietly and gradually, though no less effectively and finally. But if this older type of evangelism is gone, evangelism is not. Many of our best preachers count evangelistic preaching to be their greatest task, as it is also their highest joy, and our Home Mission Society has lately created a department of evangelism with a special officer in charge of it, and is vigorously promoting evangelistic work, albeit of a more quiet and less emotional type than that which was common fifty years ago.

In common with other denominations and in no material respect differently from them, we are awaking to the importance of the application of the principles of Jesus to all phases of human life, not least to those which have to do with industry. We are unable to shut our eyes to the fact that Jesus found the chief value of the world in men, women, and children. Recognizing this, we are compelled also as his disciples to share his interest and take his point of view. We are by no means agreed as yet among ourselves as to what changes in the organization of society or the conduct of business the application of his principles and spirit will carry with them. Perhaps some of us are unconsciously resisting the tendency to apply the religion of Jesus to our common life and to our own business. But certainly our eyes are being opened and the tide of interest in these matters is a rising one. It is a fact that seems to some of us of no little significance, that it is precisely among some of our members who have the greatest wealth that there is the keenest interest in this aspect of our religion and the

strongest desire in this as in other things to follow the teaching of Jesus.

It is implicit in several of the statements made above that to a considerable extent we have transferred the emphasis of our thought as a denomination from orthodoxy of doctrine to Christ-likeness of life, and from the salvation of the individual, with emphasis upon rescue from future woe, to the creation of a human society dominated by the spirit of Jesus.

But if these statements have given the impression that the new opinions and attitudes are characteristic of the denomination as a whole, that impression should be at once corrected. On the contrary, while some have been adopting the newer type of thought, there are many who stand firmly for the doctrines and practices of the fathers of forty years ago. A considerable part of our denomination, though probably in fact only a small minority, expects the early bodily return of Christ, while a still larger part, probably a majority, believes in the infallible Bible, the blood atonement, and the deity of Christ in the metaphysical sense.

Indeed there are some among us who, holding these or similar views, regard the maintenance of them as so important to the life of the church that they desire the Northern Baptist Convention to adopt a creed and to remand into the position of dissenters and heretics all who do not assent to it. To some, especially of those who recall the past history of the denomination, this demand itself seems a most serious heresy and its acceptance the most radical and reactionary step that the denomination could take. Between the two extremes there are so many intermediate positions that it is impossible to enumerate them.

It might seem, therefore, as if in their total effect the changes of the last forty or fifty years have been divisive and centrifugal. Some indeed might conclude that a denomination in which there are such differences of opinion and tendency could not long hold together. There is, however, another side of the matter, not less important to take into account than that which has been presented above.

As already pointed out, the local church is the supreme authority in the Baptist denomination. Associations and conventions are

voluntary groups of local churches, as local churches are voluntary associations of Christians. Our so-called national societies have arisen in practically every case as voluntary associations of individuals interested in a particular type of religious activity. But these voluntary associations always appealed to as large a portion of the total constituency of our churches as they were able to reach. Their position was in a sense illogical. They were not created by the denomination as such; they were not controlled by it; but they continually appealed to it for support. It is now about fifteen years since the sense of dissatisfaction with this rather anomalous situation and the desire for the development of a real denominational consciousness and activity, found vocal expression in the proposal for a Northern Baptist Convention. This Convention came into existence at Oklahoma City in 1908. True, however, to our democratic principles this Convention was given no authority over churches, associations, state conventions, or societies. Its powers were advisory, and its function the creation of denominational consciousness and conviction.

Ten years of experience under this organization brought about a much larger measure of co-operation than had previously existed among our national societies, but also created the conviction that for the greatest effectiveness in the accomplishment of our common task actual unity of effort must take the place of the co-operation which was often laboriously secured and maintained. Even more important, out of the denominational consciousness which had by this time been created, there sprang also a desire to see with greater clearness than ever before the whole of our task as a denomination.

The Northern Baptist Convention at its session at Atlantic City in May, 1918, requested the National Committee of Northern Baptist Laymen, a temporary organization which had arisen under the influence of the ideals of which we have been speaking, to make a study of the work of the denomination with a view to discovering better methods of financial co-operation between the Convention and the bodies co-operating with it. In obedience to these instructions, the Laymen's Committee appointed a special committee with instructions to present to the Convention at its

next annual meeting a survey of the whole work and task of the denomination. This committee, made up of representative men and women from various parts of the territory of the Convention, after months of arduous labor presented their report at Denver in 1919. The impression made by it, both then and afterward, was profound and far-reaching. The immediate result was that the Convention voted to undertake to raise for the work of the denomination the sum of \$100,000,000 in the next five years. The same Convention adopted also the recommendation of another committee creating a General Board of Promotion, to which was assigned the task of disseminating information throughout the denomination concerning all the work of the Convention and of its affiliating and co-operating organizations, and of devising and promoting means of raising the money for these organizations. The tremendous task thus thrown upon the new organization has already been in large measure achieved.

The whole matter is referred to, however, at this point, not to announce the success of the financial effort, but for the purpose of pointing out that while the process of diversification of opinion has gone steadily on, co-operation in the practical religious tasks of the denomination and a growing perception of the magnitude of its task has been a powerful unifying force. Men whose theological views are far apart, and who are perfectly aware of this fact, not only work shoulder to shoulder in every organization of the denomination but loyally trust one another and cherish for one another a strong friendship and deep affection. This is of course not true of all the men who hold divers opinions. Some suspicion and some bitterness there has been, but there has been far more co-operation and friendship between men of differing views, and participation in a common task and fellowship in work has been a great unifying force.

What then is the outlook for the future?

Thus far the writer has endeavored to speak in the spirit of the historian, reporting what he has observed, though of course not wholly escaping the influence of the personal equation. The rôle of the prophet is a difficult one, yet some things are fairly clear.

There is no sign that as a whole we shall abandon our fundamental principle of obeying God rather than men, or that we shall give up that independence of the local church or that recognition of the right of the individual to his own personal relation to God which has been characteristic of us throughout our history.

There is no sign that we shall ever come to uniformity of belief. We differ widely on many questions and shall probably continue to do so.

Emphasis on a physical rite will not much longer suffice to hold us together. There is too large a minority who are convinced that the religion of Jesus is essentially a spiritual religion, and to whom loyalty to the fundamental principles of Jesus' religion seems to forbid insistence upon any physical ceremony as a condition of church fellowship, to make it probable that we shall much longer be known as Baptists because we insist on immersion.

Mere emphasis on freedom will not hold us together. There is not sufficient centripetal power in the agreement to disagree to make this alone an adequate cohesive force.

So far negatives, and though negatives may be in a measure regulative, they are not constructive. But there are certain positive elements of a possible denominational program which are not foreign to the Baptist denomination and which, duly emphasized, would give to it a large importance and a definite task in the family of Protestant denominations. The conclusion of this article shall be an attempt to state these.

1. Steadfast insistence on the necessity of personal spiritual religion as over against all formalism, sacerdotalism, and ascription of saving power to church or rite.

2. Continued assertion and practice of the doctrines of soul liberty and right of the individual to think his own thoughts and live his own life responsible directly to God and uncontrolled by doctrine or church or rite, qualified only by the duty of government to restrain individuals from harming others and of the church to disfellowship the unmoral or unruly.

3. Continued emphasis upon evangelism and religious education, not as rivals but as complementary aspects of the same task, if not indeed different names for the same thing.

4. Continued diligence in the study of the Bible, the history of religion, and the condition of the world, with a view to discovering with increasing clearness and completeness the thought and will of God and our own present duty.

5. Education of our whole membership to the acceptance of the spirit of Jesus as the controlling force of their lives, with the devotion of themselves and their business to the permeation of human society by that spirit. A corollary of this attitude would be the devotion of large numbers of our young people to lives of missionary and social service, and the recognition of the rest that, though their occupations may be in a sense secular, their lives must be, equally with those of these others, devoted to the welfare of humanity and the fulfilment of the ideals of Jesus.

6. Development of our educational institutions to the highest practicable efficiency, permeation of them with the highest religious ideals, and the encouragement of our young to seek the largest practicable training to the end that they may be fitted to render the largest service.

7. Frank and intelligent acceptance of Jesus' estimate of the value of men as compared with any or all material things, historic institutions, or statutes, and the inclusion of human welfare in all its aspects, intellectual and religious, physical and industrial, as within the scope of the church's concern; and the adoption of definite and intelligent plans for doing our share in making the world a Christian home for the human race.

8. Continued practice of the ancient and beautiful rite of baptism, but with toleration of the view that it is not a duty to be enforced by the church as a condition of membership, but a privilege to be, like the Lord's Supper, recommended to all who seek membership in the church. This would not signify the adoption of infant baptism even as an alternative to the baptism of believers. It would mean the whole-hearted acceptance, or at least the toleration, of the principle that physical causes do not produce spiritual results, and that neither the Christian life nor membership in the church of Christ is conditioned on any outward rite or physical fact, but solely upon the spiritual qualities of faith and love.

9. Continued loyalty to our own convictions forbidding us to merge ourselves in other bodies when such merging would carry with it as a consequence the loss of our ability to stand for the vision that God has given us; yet an equally loyal recognition of the working of the Spirit in other Christian bodies, leading us to seek friendly co-operation with all other Christians in so far as similarity of aim and plans of work make such co-operation conducive to the progress of God's kingdom on earth, and to stand ready to unite with other denominations whenever it shall be reasonably clear that such union will deepen the spiritual life and increase the effectiveness of the bodies uniting.

There are indeed among us some who would not accept all parts of this platform. They believe that for the conservation of its life the denomination must forsake its historic attitude and adopt a creedal basis, and view with hesitation, if not with alarm, any suggestion of co-operation with other denominations which might eventually lead to changes in denominational boundaries. It is the profound conviction of others of us that if as a denomination we should put the emphasis of our thought and practice upon the matters above enumerated we should be moving in the direction of our normal development, should have a mission and reason for existence which would suffice for the immediate future, and that we could well afford to leave the further development of the denomination to the divinely guided future to determine.

THE PRESENT SITUATION OF CHRISTIANITY IN GERMANY

MARTIN RADE
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In the spring of 1916, at the request of the editors of the *American Journal of Theology*, I wrote an article entitled "The Effect of the War on Religious Thinking in Germany." Two copies of the manuscript were sent, one directly, the other via Switzerland. Unfortunately neither reached its destination. When today I read in the original manuscript what I then wrote, I am impressed by the contrast between that time and the present. What would have been of interest then for readers in America is now no longer a matter of concern. The American public will want to know how matters stand *today* in regard to the soul of my people. I am asked to report concerning the *present* situation of Christianity in Germany.¹ This I shall do in all sincerity, but not with a light heart. For I know very well that the majority of Americans are at present not well disposed toward our people. It is not only the natural after-effects of being opponents in the war which separated us. The fact is that the military war which we lost has been continued against us by our enemies in a realm of moral condemnation with ever greater energy. In such a situation there is danger that the good which one reports concerning his own people will be disbelieved while the unfavorable facts, reported with equal conscientiousness, will serve only to augment Germany's guilty responsibility in the eyes of American readers. Nevertheless

¹ It is unnecessary to say to habitual readers of the *American Journal of Theology* that the editors assume no responsibility for the opinions of contributors. In the existing state of public feeling, however, it seems best to reiterate this in order to make clear that the *Journal* is not attempting any kind of propaganda. Dr. Rade is an influential editor, a member of the faculty of the University of Marburg, and is now a representative in the Prussian Parliament. His frank portrayal of the German point of view during the war and since its close probably furnishes as authoritative a statement as can be secured.

there is only one thing which I can do. I will without reserve set forth our situation, as I see it myself, regardless of what conclusions and judgments may be drawn from my representation of affairs. It is possible, indeed probable, that in details I shall be mistaken; but I shall not intentionally conceal anything, nor deliberately color or pervert the facts. I shall not start by assuming an apologetic standpoint. My desire is objectively to answer the question which has been put to me. Of course no man is completely objective in his view, no matter how good his intentions may be, and I have too much love for my own people to be indifferent. Nevertheless, an honest intention to be objective is a strong pledge of truthfulness, and "God layeth up success for the upright" (Prov. 2:7).¹

I

I am to report on the present situation of Christianity in Germany. I trust I am right in assuming that primary interest lies in the religious thinking which is taking place in Germany since the war. The changes which the war brought about in our outer religious conditions, namely in the status and activities of the churches, are indeed great and crucial. I shall deal with these at the close of the article. In this field everything is as yet in its initial stages. What form will eventually be given to church organization under the impulse of the new conditions will depend entirely upon the religious sentiment of the people.

How now are our people thinking and feeling in the depths of their soul? What is the reaction of religious people to the experience of the five-year war? Have those formerly not religious become more so? What are the religious and ecclesiastical results of the war? These are the questions which must be answered, but the answer is difficult.

Is it more difficult than in the case of the other peoples who passed through the war? Yes and no. There are great differences to be noted. The French and the Belgians physically experienced the terrors of war as we did not. We had no foe invading

¹ If any American reader should wish to reply to my article I will gladly present his message to German readers in the pages of *Die Christliche Welt* (published at Marburg a. L., Germany), or, at any rate, notice the communication in some way in the columns of the publication.

our land. The frightful destruction with its bloody horrors and its immediate brutalities did not ravage our fields and homes. But, on the other hand, we came with increasing astonishment to know the terrors of the blockade, which at first we did not take very seriously, but which eventually made itself felt in the remotest and smallest hovels. Still, all in all, we lived through the war as a triumphant people. By that I mean that we had the feeling that although half the world stood against us we could still defend ourselves against this superior force. This feeling was again and again strengthened in us by the many reports of victories which came from the field of war. We thanked God for these in our churches, and trusted that he would bring all things to the successful issue which we desired. In particular, it should be said that the confidence which we placed in our military leadership was absolute. The fact that God in the hour of Russian danger provided a general like Hindenburg was to us the clearest evidence of divine providence. Consequently we confidently awaited God's further care for us. In the foregoing words I believe that I have accurately characterized the inner attitude of our church-going people at that time.

Now we are a defeated people. Even if some individuals, even if many, were able in the last year of the war to anticipate the catastrophe, the mass of our people was inwardly absolutely unprepared for it. For the comprehension of such a possibility they possessed, as it were, no organ. This is quite in contrast to the French people who, remembering 1870-71 and dreading an unhappy outcome of the conflict, and in addition experiencing the actual severities of the war, were compelled daily to spur their hearts to new determination. By contrast our experience in 1871 was the very basis of our confidence. At that time, judged by the standards of the present war, we had gained a comparatively easy victory; and it was a thorough victory. The older generation among us had lived in the days of William I and Bismarck, and had experienced the establishment of the German Empire. At that time we were acknowledged to be a national power of the first rank. That this power in the days of William II was no longer so strong and secure might indeed have been discerned here and there, but such an idea did not enter at all into the consciousness of people

generally. Consequently the sudden collapse of our resistance on the west front struck us German people as the realization of an impossibility. Even the religious people, the habitual churchgoers, were not in the least prepared for it, though they constantly used the Third Petition of the Lord's Prayer, "Thy will be done," and though preachers may occasionally have used this text in sermons.

All of a sudden, then, we were a conquered people. It was psychologically absolutely impossible for us to adjust ourselves immediately to this unexpected situation. Even today we have not yet made the adjustment, not even in the churches and in our religious worship. But if Christians cannot bring about this change, how is it to be expected from the entire German people?

Then came the *revolution*, an upheaval the magnitude of which can scarcely be rightly estimated by foreigners; for in other lands there is evidently the impression, naturally enough, that the new republic is not sufficiently different from the old imperial state. It is indeed true that in the revolution of November, 1918, less was overthrown and eradicated than might well have been with a more radical coup d'état. There is still much left which must be cleared away if the new régime is to be successful. But so far as German sentiment was concerned, the simple fact that the Kaiser and the other German princes lost their thrones made a tremendous demand upon popular thought. Such an occurrence simply did not permit the minds of men quickly to come to a sense of security. Not even yet has this occurred.

The ordinary effects which the unfortunate ending of the war would otherwise have brought about were seriously complicated by the revolution. Even the Christian groups in the churches were incapable of any calm consideration of our overthrow. The contemplation of the revolution constantly thrust itself in. The question as to what the relation was between the revolution and the war, whether military defeat brought on the revolution or whether the revolution (together with preparation for it) was responsible for our military defeat, simply prevented our people from coming to any unified reflection on the experience of the war and its unhappy outcome.

At this point the foreigner should pause for a moment and understand that a *unified* state of mind absolutely cannot be expected in the German people. There are too many serious hindrances to this, coming from recent experiences as well as from a more remote past.

II

Let us pursue a little farther the study of the historical conditions of the present religious thinking of Germany.

The German people, as a nation, as a unified state, is still in its youth. It is true we have behind us centuries of German history. But this is the history of German tribes and states in their attempts at co-operation on the one hand, and independence on the other. It is difficult to say whether the centrifugal or the centripetal tendencies are stronger in this history. The Middle Ages reveal to us a German king able to assert his authority only when he possesses strong resources of his own. Even the title which he possessed as heir of the imperial crown of Rome was of little value to him. The religious nimbus derived from it was constantly endangered and destroyed by his unceasing conflicts with the Pope. Politically, however, the power of the individual territories grew more independent with time, and thus the national disunity of the German Empire was sealed.

Nevertheless, in spite of all inner discord among its princes and states and tribes, medieval Germany did possess a certain unified culture. Then came the Reformation. It divided the Germans into two parties opposed in sentiment. Only for a short time did it seem as if the ruling powers of most of the imperial states might turn to the evangelical party. There was one period when nine-tenths of the German territory was influenced by Protestantism. But the counter-revolution made permanent the confessional division; the legal principle *cuius regio eius religio* made inherently impossible any correction of this situation.

The spirit of the Illumination and of the modern period has modified the consequences of this confessional division. Nevertheless, the fact remains that of the sixty-six million people of the German Empire in 1914, forty-one million were Protestants and

twenty-four million five hundred thousand were Catholics. To-day it is estimated that Protestants number thirty-nine million and Catholics nineteen million.

In addition to this religious schism the nineteenth century brought the social schism. The social democratic movement has sometimes been called a religion. As a matter of fact, the German social democracy received through Karl Marx a theoretical foundation which had all the effect of a dogma. The middle class, or "bourgeoisie," remained in opposition to this movement with no inner appreciation of it. The working classes belonging to the social democracy took revenge by severing sympathetic relations with the political ideals and the culture of the privileged classes. *Thus there was no common national feeling between the social democrats and the middle class.* If since the Reformation we may speak of two religions in Germany, in the same way since the rise of the social democratic movement we may speak of two nations. Perhaps we may speak also of a third religion, namely the socialistic-Marxian, save that one must beware of giving too high a value to the religious (enthusiastic) element in the social democratic movement. The social democrats were a unit in repudiating the church (which on its part developed no real understanding of the aspirations of the industrial working classes); but their own needs were not primarily religious. Their attention was given to questions of wages and control. Their kingdom of heaven was to be established on this earth.

So the war overtook a Germany already divided and distracted in interests and convictions. Were Germans in any condition to react in a *unified* fashion to the war?

Before we answer this question let us glance for a moment at the very different development which had taken place in the other peoples participating in the war. How early France realized national concentration in the establishment of its monarchy! The Huguenot element,—only a small minority—was thereby condemned to impotence. The Revolution and the rule of Napoleon I, after the crisis was past, were fundamental in the experience of the entire people. Socialistic movements and parties arose, indeed; but they were neither isolated as sects by

the Marxian dogma as occurred in the case of their German comrades, nor did the French Republic oppose them as did the imperial house and the politics of Bismarck. The French social democrats as a whole never felt themselves so international in spirit, so alien and hostile to their own nation, as did their German brethren. One great peril indeed threatened the unity of French feeling, namely the separation of church and state which in 1906 was brought about with strong anti-clerical feeling. But it is an evidence of the genuine unity of French national feeling that it so vigorously survived the severe test of this anti-ecclesiastical legislation.

If we turn to Great Britain, it is true that here we have only a "united kingdom" and the Irish wound is still open. Nevertheless, among the ruling classes the insular situation and history of England created an early and definite national consciousness and a wonderful instinct for politics. Confessional interests since the English revolution have found a happy way of living together, and the social movement has thus far confined itself within the limits of practical utility. Here then, as well as in France, the conditions were already favorable for a definite unity of feeling in reaction to the war.

How different was the situation in Germany! To this day it is a marvel to the critical historian that on the fourth of August, 1914, the German social democratic party in the Reichstag approved the war credit. It was a party based on specific principles, and according to these principles had no right to do this. Indeed, later under the leadership of Liebknecht and Haase the "Social Democratic Workmen's Union" separated from the majority party, a group which today has developed into the "Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany." In agreement with this radical party, the majority social democratic party today also repudiates the war which lies behind us. But at that time, on August 4, 1914, its position meant that the German people stood *in a decisive unity of purpose as never before*. Notice, I say the German *people*, not simply the privileged classes, not simply the rulers and leaders. It was a happy expression of this great fact when Kaiser William II at that time said, "I no longer recognize any parties. I recognize only Germans."

That the confessional schism at that time played no part, or more specifically, that the Catholics through their party, the "center," voted the war credit, was less surprising; for since the outbreak of the *Kulturkampf* (1873-79), in which they gained the victory over Bismarck, the Catholics among us have been sincere supporters of the new German Empire. It is true that through vigorous political presentations they have pushed their peculiar interests with uncompromising energy, and their loyalty to the highest authority (*ultra montes*) must of course be constantly reckoned with. But at the same time they have with equal constancy acknowledged and exercised their German feeling. The test of this feeling which they had to undergo after the outbreak of the war was not whether they were willing to vote the money for the war. Such a course was to be taken for granted so far as they were concerned. The real question was whether in a war waged against their Catholic brothers in other lands, against Catholic states and princes, against Catholic sentiments and accusations throughout the whole world, the sympathies of our German Catholics would be stronger toward the (Protestant) German Empire than toward the Catholicism of other lands. It was the French Catholics who forced their German religious brethren to face this critical question. I have in mind the book, *La Guerre allemande et le Catholicisme*. This book found its complete and definite refutation in the symposium *Deutsche Kultur, Katholizismus und Weltkrieg*, to which the ablest Catholics contributed (1915). The *Kölnische Volkszeitung*, the most brilliant Catholic publication of Germany, passionately defended the German point of view to the very end of the war, and this in spite of Belgium and the sympathy which German Catholics naturally constantly felt for the Belgians.

In short, the German people, which had hitherto been so divided in sentiment, experienced at the outbreak of the war and during the war a unity of feeling and of will such as never before had existed in their entire history. Bismarck's creation, the one German Empire, seemed now first to be attaining its inward completion. Is it not to be expected that religious thinking in Germany *after the war* will reveal and cherish this same attitude?

III

If Germany had conquered in the war, it would have meant a tremendous increase in power for the then existing state. It is absolutely impossible to conjecture what attitude the social democrats would have assumed to this situation. If in case of victory the state had approached them in a conciliatory spirit, if it had expressed genuine confidence in them as an expression of gratitude for what they did on the fourth of August, 1914, the unified sentiment of the German people might without doubt have been made permanent and have been consecrated by the war. But, through the unhappy ending of the war, the door was opened wide for the old differences of opinion. We shall see how this schism today makes itself felt in the religious life of German Protestants. First, however, we must emphasize the fact, that on one point the entire German people is today *a unit*, namely, regarding *guilty responsibility for the war*. By this I mean that the German people to a man are convinced that the people themselves were not to blame for the frightful world-war.

The German people naturally are entirely willing to investigate the causes of such a catastrophe and to assume the blame for any errors made by them. They do not shrink indeed from summoning to account diplomats, generals, governments, and parties, wherever there is any responsibility for the catastrophe. Why should not a people which has suffered such an overthrow seek out the persons responsible for the calamity? To do so is human and natural. But this tendency is not so emphatic as in France, and although responsibility is attributed now to the Pan-Germanists, now to the Socialists, now to Bethmann-Hollweg, and now to Ludendorff, all this with us is a play of theoretical interest rather than an expression of irrepressible passion. Laboriously to investigate, to determine why things turned out as they did, why such an outcome was inevitable, that indeed is a German trait. But to seek a scapegoat and to load everything on to him, to persecute him and execute him in order thereby to free ourselves from any cause of complaint, this is not characteristic of us.

It might indeed be expected of such a people that after so complete a collapse of their power and disintegration of their

happiness they should become repentant and beat their breasts, crying, "God be merciful to me a sinner." Other nations expected this from us, neutrals as well as foes. In official statements (I am thinking of the peace of Versailles), in sermons, in the press, in private letters, a thousand times we were reminded that this was expected of us. But I must frankly say, even at the risk of disillusionizing Christian readers in America, that *there is no trace in Germany of such a penitent attitude*. Rather the suggestion is unanimously repudiated by the entire people, even by Christians—indeed by the latter with peculiar vigor.

Let me not be misunderstood. I am speaking here only of actual guilt for *the war*, of ultimate responsibility for its outbreak, and of inner penitence.

At the beginning of August, in 1914, our people, including the social democrats, believed that we had been attacked, and interpreted the frightful task of maintaining ourselves against strong and powerful foes as purely defensive warfare. So today our people knows itself to be free from guilt for the outbreak of this war. It is indeed possible that Austrian and German statesmen, that certain persons and cliques welcomed and instigated the war. But the people as a whole know that they themselves *desired no war*, and in this they are possessed of a good conscience. They know also that Emperor William desired peace. Granted that in the decisive hour right insight and power to withstand influences were lacking in the men who had to decide; granted also—what is certain—that we made our mistakes and that we furnished causes which led to the outbreak of the conflagration; nevertheless, neither a deliberate nor an impulsive desire for war dominated our government. Even if that had been true, the people themselves had absolutely no share in it. We had experienced more than forty years of peace since 1871. In spite of our constantly increasing power we had left our neighbors unmolested. Even our few colonies (the left-overs which we might appropriate after the division of the world) were peaceably won by us. Thus the earth seemed to have room enough for the free rivalry of European states. Nothing was more unpopular, indeed more unfamiliar among the mass of our people than plans of conquest. Not in vain, so it

seemed, had Bismarck in the imperial proclamation of January 19, 1871, guided the German Empire on the way to the renunciation of all imperialistic ambitions. The new Kaiser was to be the augments of the kingdom, not by warlike conquest but by promoting the goods and the gifts of peace in the realm of national welfare, freedom, and moral life. So in 1914 we were living in profound peace. Treitschke, Nietzsche—who among us regarded them as inciters of war? Bernhardt—who had ever heard of him? The Pan-Germans—what were they but a little group regarded seriously by no one? We are conscious of these facts, and although foreign lands, even neutral nations, by a thousand statements and proofs conclude and establish our responsibility for the war, it never occurs to us—as a people—to acknowledge our guilt. We were at that time *a people of peace*, and in our recollections of that situation today we reaffirm this judgment.

The causes which actually led to the war, who is the most to blame for the bringing on of hostilities and in what degree—such questions we as a people are not able to investigate and to determine. It suffices for us that we had certain experiences of the foe both during the war and at its close. Today indeed we are on the alert. Before the war we paid far too little attention to international politics. Today, for weal or for woe, our sensitiveness to such politics is keen. The tremendous disappointment due to the complete ignoring of Wilson and his Fourteen Points could not make us any more inclined to repentance. We were indeed compelled to agree to the armistice, because our military power was at an end; but agree we did, and we looked for Wilson and his international program to shape the peace which might come to us from the hands of the victors. This may have been foolish on our part. We may have misunderstood Wilson. That is beside the point here. My task is simply to tell how we Germans felt and thought. And the fact is that the way in which peace was made with us, the way in which one hope after another was destroyed first by the regulations of the armistice and then by the articles of Versailles, placed *insuperable obstacles in the way of any repentance on our part*. The manner in which we were treated straightway cured us of any inclination to repent.

At one time it was said to us from across the ocean that the war was being waged not against the German people but against their Kaiser, their government, and their military party. But the people discovered from the blockade that whatever the theory might be, the actual conduct of war by our foes made inevitable to the German people the suffering due to this method of warfare. When, however, the imperial throne was overturned, along with twenty-one other princely thrones, when in November, 1918, democracy had won the victory in every German state and in the Empire as a whole, when after all this, the Western democracies did not in the least alter the methods of warfare against us, then there vanished even in the best of men any inclination to repent in the presence of such foes. It is written in Rom. 2:4, "Knowest thou not that the goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance?" If as a people we had in any way experienced *goodness* on the part of our conquerors, if there had been opened for us at the time of our collapse the door to a *Christian* League of Nations, it would have exercised a tremendous influence on the soul of our people. Through the fact of the unlimited victory of the revolution, the outward conditions for such a League were furnished so far as we Germans were concerned. But when the contrary spirit gained control, and when egoism and imperialism conquered, it was inevitable that the Christian influence of the summons to repentance which came from other lands should be absolutely disregarded.

It is of course comprehensible that the victors in such a world-contest should wish to be reimbursed for all their sacrifices. I have no idea how we and our allies would have behaved if we had conquered. But the democracies of the West under the leadership of Wilson sang to us during the war a lofty song of the freedom with which they would make us free if they conquered. After the victory, however, there was complete silence on this subject. We have detected no trace of the blessing which they promised to us.

Under these circumstances it is impossible for our people to trust and believe the foe's declared repudiation of responsibility for bringing on the terrors of war. It is impossible for them penitently to take the guilt upon themselves. On the contrary the German people continue to attribute to their enemies, even in

regard to the decisive action of the outbreak of war, the worst possible purposes; and so far as they are concerned simply recur to the recollection that at that time they took up arms purely in self-defense. They recall the words of the Kaiser on the second of August, 1914, "With a clean conscience concerning the origin of the war, I am before God certain of the righteousness of our cause."¹ In spite of accusations we were the ones who were attacked. We had been encircled. We had been forced into the war. The untrustworthiness and lack of sympathy exhibited by the victors served to justify in our eyes the war which we had fought against them.

Under these conditions our people unanimously decline to do penance so far as we are concerned.

IV

But the repudiation of the demand that we should repent is the only sentiment in which the German people are a unit. So far as the question of responsibility for the outbreak of the war is concerned there is naturally no lack of accusations made by one party against another. The guilt of the Pan-Germans is brought clearly to light. Even though the group was small and its development in Germany aroused small attention, nevertheless it injured us all the more in foreign lands. The skilful interpretation by our foes of its existence and activity has spread broadcast a picture of German eagerness for war which actually had no existence. For that reason the Pan-Germanists are just now being bitterly rebuked by our non-military democracy. The social democrats lay the fundamental blame on the militarism and the capitalism which they declare brought on the war. But while they regard militarism as at least partially a pre-eminently *Prussian* vice, they consider capitalism as an *international* force. The "Christianity" of Germany is very little concerned with this controversy. Only isolated or small groups attribute the causes of the war to a wrong

¹ How far Kaiser William II shares in the responsibility for the war is a question which is of no importance in this connection. To me it seems clear that, whatever mistakes he may have made, he did not desire the war. See the article by Professor Hans Delbrück in the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, January, 1920, entitled "Die Kautsky-Papiere."

organization of the entire industrial life of the world, or to the dominion of profiteers, or to lust for power and service of Mammon.¹ It is surprising that the standards of the evangelical social movement have not been differently applied in relation to the events of the war and the motives inspiring it. The Evangelical Social Congress and similar factors have completely failed in this respect. Before the war the Congress was a voice receiving respectful attention in the country, but since the war it is scarcely heard of.

This, however, is only a symptom of the *inner uncertainty* which characterizes our people as a result of the military defeat and the revolution. No one able to understand psychological factors will be astonished at this. I earlier called attention to the fact that we were absolutely unprepared for an unfavorable outcome of the war. The same is true concerning the revolution. I well remember the time and place when the thought of a possible political revolution first entered my mind. It was at Easter time, 1917, in Basel, when my friend Professor Wernle asked me whether I did not regard it as possible that the Kaiser would have to abdicate. "Inconceivable," I answered. He then asked if I did not regard a revolution as possible. "Inconceivable," I answered again. To be sure, not everything in our former government was entirely satisfactory to us; but it never entered our minds to raise any question concerning its permanence. Least of all could such a thought be entertained in church circles, for the evangelical national church felt itself most intimately united with the political organization in the land, with the king and the government, felt itself supported by it and pledged to its support.

When now under the pressure of the military defeat the old régime suddenly collapsed and the social democracy with astonishing ease erected in its place the republic, that unity of sentiment which had existed since 1914 completely disappeared. From that time forth, we had in Germany not two religions but rather *two peoples*. Not two religions, for the revolution had absolutely nothing to do with the confessional schism. Of course here and there the difference between Catholic and Protestant sentiment

¹ So, for example, Reinhold Planck in *Die Christliche Welt*, and so Siegmund Schultze and his *Soziale Arbeitsgemeinschaft*.

makes itself felt, down to the present. The German Catholics represented by the Center party found the transition to the new government much easier than did the ecclesiastical Protestants. Inherently more conservative than Protestantism, the Catholic church nevertheless possesses a conscious independence in itself, and therefore with greater complacency, indeed with a certain attitude of indifference, can permit changes of worldly power to take place. Catholicism was never a state church, at least not in Prussian Germany. With its complete organization, it was in a position to engage in conflict with the republic if necessary, as formerly it stood out against the royal power. As a matter of fact, through its political organ, the Center party, Catholicism quickly made peace with the new order of things. The Center party today combines with the democratic party and with the majority Socialist party to form the coalition government which is almost everywhere in control of affairs in the empire and in the single states—of course under the leadership of the majority social democratic party as the numerically strongest group.

Among the Protestants a very different situation obtains. Here both within and without the church an absolute division of opinion has developed.

Disregarding for the present the social democrats, who in general are either hostile or alien toward the church and for the most part indifferent to religion, let us look at the mass of Protestant citizens, those Germans baptized as evangelicals, who as a matter of course claim the services of the church in marriage, baptism, religious instruction, and death, who pay their church tax, take part in the church elections, and attend church services (or fail to do so). This Protestant group was divided by the catastrophe of November, 1918, into two camps, and it was here no religious or dogmatic question which brought about the division. The opposition between "liberal" and "positive" theology plays absolutely no part here. There are adherents of the modern theology who passionately support the old régime, and there are orthodox pastors on the side of the new government, although the latter alignment is less common than the former. I may mention Pastor Dehn in Berlin, the leader of the "Socialist Friends of the Church."

In general it may be said that *the official representatives of the former established church were not inwardly in sympathy with the revolution*, though they have to some extent made earnest efforts outwardly to conform. In explanation of this attitude one incidental circumstance is of great importance. After the ninth of November, 1918, we had to begin with no coalition government in which the former citizens of the empire as such could have a share. The first government was composed exclusively of social democrats of the two parties up to the sixth of January, 1919, when the Center party and the liberal democrats joined in the government of the empire and of Prussia, and the independent social democrats were excluded. Among the Prussian ministers who during these two months represented the radical social democratic party was Adolph Hoffmann, one of the best-known personalities of Prussian German parliamentarianism. Today he is an inconspicuous book dealer, but at that time he was the minister of the Free Religious Society in Berlin. He has always been characterized by determined hostility toward the church. Now he of all men at this critical hour became Prussian minister in charge of the department of religious affairs. To be sure, his incumbency was at the same time balanced up by the appointment of a majority social democrat, namely the author Konrad Haenisch, who is minister of religious affairs in Prussia down to the present writing. He was less energetic than Hoffmann and left matters in the hands of his colleague. On the initiative of Hoffmann the office of minister of religious affairs was after November, 1918, changed to that of minister of science, art, and popular education. The words "religious affairs" were eliminated from the official title. That is significant. Now it was of course inevitable that with the rise of the republic the remnants of the Protestant state church disappeared, and the relationship between state and church had to be constituted anew on the principle of separation of church and state. But Adolph Hoffmann was overzealous and ruthless. On November 9 the republic came into existence. On the twelfth Hoffmann and Haenisch assumed their official duties. On the same day the new government published the following new regulation: "Freedom of religious activity is guaranteed. No one may be compelled to

perform any religious act." On the thirteenth the ministry proclaimed as one of the most pressing tasks of the future: "The emancipation of the schools from all ecclesiastical patronage; the separation of church and state; the children of dissenters and of people of officially unrecognized faiths for whom no religious instruction has been provided in the existing scheme of education are on the motion of the educational authorities to be released from religious instructions without further ceremony." All this shows how hastily the "counselor of the people's representatives" disposed of the question of religion in politics. The general content of the ordinance was not open to serious objection; special dispensation for the children of dissenters had long been demanded even by parties in the church. A true bit of insight appeared in the statement: "No teacher shall any longer be compelled to take part in religious instruction." But other provisions were bound to arouse the greatest opposition among the pastors and among church members. At the end of November the Prussian minister of religious affairs published among others the following order:

Prayer in the school before and after religious instruction is to be omitted. Schools may not oblige their pupils to attend church services or other religious exercises. Moreover the schools may not hold any community religious ceremonies, as for example the celebration of the Lord's Supper. School celebrations must have no religious character. The study of religion is not a subject on which examinations are to be required. No pupil is to be compelled to attend religious instruction. It is improper in the religious instruction given in the school to require such exercises as belong to the home, in particular, the learning of selections from the Catechism, Bible texts, church history, and hymns.

In other German states (Hamburg, Brunswick, Saxony) still more aggressive measures were taken against the confessional state school and against religious instruction. In the eyes of the German people who from time immemorial had been accustomed to the Christian confessional state school, these were truly diabolical innovations. To exclude religious instruction from the school meant to take religion itself away from the people.

In short, by these measures Adolph Hoffmann aroused whatever vital sentiment existed in the churches passionately against himself. Even those theologians and Christians who favored the

separation of church and state and the eventual complete freedom of the church from any political relations were compelled to recognize that the change could not be made in this fashion, that such a program would result only in harm to the life of the church. Christian people generally became uneasy. Agitation on the part of the conservative press, conservative pastors, and other ecclesiastical personages completely dominated the matter. Some opposed the new arrangements purely from religious objections, others because it furnished a convenient means of opposition to the new régime in general. On the sixth of January, 1919, Adolph Hoffmann resigned his office. His colleague Konrad Haenisch, who now held the office alone, was by temperament disinclined to conflict. He had no intention of continuing the *Kulturkampf* of Hoffmann, least of all of employing his brutally aggressive methods, since the effect of these on Christian people was already too evident. For this much was clear. The social democrats in the elections for the German National Assembly and for the Prussian State Assembly in January, 1919, would have fared much better if Hoffmann's regulations had not so completely alienated the Christian voters of both confessions. Nevertheless, although the fanatic himself fortunately had left the ministry, the disastrous results of his fanaticism remained. Moreover, Haenisch offered no substantial security for any change in the relations of church and state which should make for the friendship of the church. In spite of his sympathetic temperament he nevertheless remained a dissenter—one who had left the state church, as indeed was the case with most of the leaders and chosen representatives among the social democrats. It was not to be expected that he would have any intimate understanding of the needs and the demands of the church. Indeed this was not to be expected from the social democratic party which had now come to dominate public affairs. From the very beginning the church and the social democratic movement had established no common interests, and in recent times they had grown farther and farther apart. This to be sure is primarily the fault of the church, which had no vision and no understanding of the awakening self-consciousness, aspirations, and development of the industrial workers. On the contrary, the church in general

had taken sides with the classes enjoying traditional privileges. This brought upon the church first the hatred, and then the indifference of the masses of workers belonging to the social democracy. Under these circumstances, of course, the church could not expect any favors from the social democrats, now that they had the upper hand. It was humanly natural that the church—that is, the church authorities and the pastors particularly, but also laymen loyal to the church—should do all in its power to secure intact so far as possible under the new régime the former status of the church. In particular it felt that it must lay claim to the pecuniary support formerly received from the state, for without money no church can exist on earth. No one dreamed of relinquishing the revenue which the former state annually granted to the churches, namely some twenty-seven million marks for the evangelical churches, and some twelve million for the Catholic church. On the contrary, a just arrangement was demanded on the basis of former rights and obligations (indemnity for the secularization of church property, etc.). In short, church people threw themselves into the arms of conservative parties in opposition to the government.

In my closing section, I shall recur to the particulars of the problem of the separation of church and state. Just now I am concerned with the feeling among evangelical church people toward the revolution and with the attitude of their leaders. As I have already pointed out, at the beginning of the crisis there existed absolutely no positive relationship between the church and the people belonging to the social democracy. On the other hand, the relation between the church and the former government, as well as its relation to the privileged classes under the old régime, was a peculiarly intimate one. The church had enjoyed good outward conditions on this account. I am thinking particularly of its financial needs, which the state gladly met by revenues again and again voted by parliament. This identification of church sentiment with the welfare of the privileged classes made the church insensitive to the growing alienation of the struggling masses, even though this alienation was constantly deplored. Under these conditions, it was inevitable that in the evangelical church the dominant

authorities and persons should feel themselves inwardly bound in loyalty to the monarchy. Since the revolution these people had experienced the terrible pain of bitter loss. Personal dependence on the beloved monarch, and conscientious loyalty to the prince to whom one had pledged allegiance, were especially prominent sentiments among the Christians in the churches. Now came the conviction that only with a return of the monarchy could the future of the established church be secured. Under such circumstances there was no other possibility, no other place in the new world for these Christians save as members of opposition parties desiring the restoration of the monarchy. These parties are the (conservative) German National people's party and the (more liberal) German People's party. In reaction against the attacks of Adolph Hoffmann the pastors rendered vigorous aid to these parties in the elections. The same is true of the church societies. In the next election the same thing will be true. To this day there are plenty of pulpits where every Sunday prayer is offered for the emperor and the empress. If such prayers are offered in the proper spirit, there is of course no objection to them, and it must be said to the credit of the republican government that it quietly permits such prayers. For in religious services prayer must have free rights. Why should it all of a sudden be wrong for a pastor and a congregation prayerfully to remember a person in his misfortune after they had prayed for him every Sunday while he enjoyed good fortune and the exercise of power? The real question is what the intent of such prayer is. If in prayer the Kaiser and his house are mentioned as if absolutely no political change had taken place, then such prayer does not fulfil the requirements which a truthful facing of the facts demands of religious people. No sparrow falls from the roof and no prince from his throne without the will of God. If this be true, the will of God in such a fate as has befallen the Germans must under all circumstances be respected by religious people. And when it comes to the words in which such a petition is expressed it must be expected from the Christian point of view that pastors will also pray for the new government. Even if it be granted that it is a totally un-Christian government, they still ought to perform their religious duty. When Paul wrote the

thirteenth chapter of Romans, he was living under a pagan government.

It of course cannot be absolutely determined to what extent the attitude of opposition so widely dominant in church circles and among the pastors finds expression in prayer in the churches. Certain it is that a conservative political sentiment is dominant in the churches even though solemn petition for the emperor may be exceptional. Church people submit, but they complain and distrust and hope for some sort of change. At all events, there is a demand for the *speedy emancipation of the church, which has heretofore been a state church, from the present state*, and there is great impatience that this has not already been brought about. As if such a process of dissolution were so simple in view of the former intimate relations between state and evangelical church! But I shall recur to this matter later.

It is self-evident that a political point of view which comes now and then to expression in public prayer in the church would make itself felt much more frequently and much more plainly in preaching. "Out of the fulness of the heart the mouth speaketh." This must be true of every genuine preacher. The unfortunate consequence is that a sermon with such distinct political bias is not edifying to those church attendants who hold a different point of view in politics. A colleague of mine in the Prussian state assembly told me that in his own home (a village in East Prussia) he had a pastor whose sermons were constantly harangues for the German National party. When now, as representative of the Prussian people, he came to Berlin, he hoped that he would hear a different kind of preaching; but when in that city he attended the very foremost church, precisely the same political bill of fare was set before him.

Of course he might have fared better elsewhere. There are in Germany plenty of preachers who conscientiously refrain from partisan politics. Possibly the majority do this. And there are preachers who in the pulpit openly acknowledge the new state—an attitude, however, which results in giving offense to that portion of the congregation which feels differently. This much, however, is sure, that *only a small minority of pastors and theologians have definitely taken their stand on the new republican order.*

It is worth while to consider this latter group a little farther. Though they are not strong in numbers, they are very active and are of great significance for the church as a whole. Among them we find a "Union of Socialist Friends of the Church," a "Union of Church Democrats," a "New Church Union," and similar organizations of various names. In these unions, the progressives provide for addresses and meetings. They do not merely take their position "on the basis of actually existing circumstances" because they have no choice save "to obey necessity and not their own impulses." That in the last analysis even the members of the German National party must do. No, these progressives take their stand firmly on the democracy, and see in Christianity a principle of progress. They do not stand as if hypnotized, gazing back at the past in which conditions were better than today. They rather quote the words of Jesus, "He that setteth his hand to the plow and looketh back, is not worthy of me." They seek and they find vital relationships with the working classes belonging to the social democracy. They take pains that the church shall not become a sect of monarchists. In particular they prepare the way for a genuine Christian pacifism in the German evangelical church.

Here a word may be said concerning pacifism. Before the war, it played no part at all in the thinking of the evangelical church of Germany. There was of course a German peace society, but although its chief advocate was a pastor (Pastor Umfried in Stuttgart), he found little sympathy among his official associates in the church societies and in the church press. Was it a cause or an effect of this situation that pacifism in Germany often lacked a Christian character? I do not mean that it was un-Christian. I rather mean that it stood as a movement somewhat alien to the church. Its prophets appealed to the rationalistic ethics of the *Enlightenment*. As a matter of fact, at the outbreak of the war the German peace society numbered only two hundred and fifty clergymen among its members. During the war, the military censorship suppressed all pacifist propaganda. Under these circumstances it is all the more remarkable that suddenly in the midst of the war, on the occasion of the celebration of the four

hundredth anniversary of the Reformation, in 1917, five Berlin pastors courageously came forward with a declaration which provoked wide attention. These pastors were Aner, Nithack-Stahn, Pless, Rittelmeyer, and Wielandt. Their declaration was significant in the conditions which then prevailed in the church and in politics. We shall for that reason reproduce it verbally.

We German Protestants, conscious of those common Christian blessings and purposes which we share with all brethren of the faith, including those in foreign lands, cordially extend the hand of brotherly fellowship. We recognize the ultimate causes of this war to be the un-Christian powers which dominate the life of peoples, the spirit of distrust, the idolizing of power, and greed; and we see in a peace of understanding and of reconciliation the kind of a peace worthy to be striven for.

We see the chief obstacle to an honorable reconciliation of peoples to be primarily the unwholesome domination of lies and phrases which conceal or pervert the truth, and which spread delusion abroad. We call on all who desire peace to engage in unrelenting warfare in all lands against this obstacle.

In the presence of this terrible war we feel the conscientious duty in the name of Christianity to strive forthwith with all our power to eliminate war from the world as a means of deciding issues between peoples.

Although the censorship placed all possible obstacles in the way of the circulation of this declaration, it nevertheless had great influence. In spite of the fact that it encountered so many doubts and contradictions, it nevertheless gave a powerful impulse to the development of a Christian pacifism within the evangelical church. Among the important church periodicals *Die Christliche Welt* had for a long time been working in sympathy with this movement. Recently a branch of the Swiss "Religious Social Union" has been formed, composed of a circle consisting mostly of younger people, who have a weekly organ in the publication *Das Neue Werk*. There is no doubt of the fact that this Christian pacifism is increasing both in extent and in strength.

But a great limitation of its success exists in the experiences which we have had since the armistice and the conclusion of peace in our relations with our foes. During the war, we were constantly hearing utterances from the statesmen of the Entente concerning the League of Nations and the self-determination of peoples. From these utterances it might be supposed that the victory of the

Entente would mean the dawn of a new age of peace for the entire world. A League of Nations is now indeed in actual existence. But not only are we Germans excluded from it, but—at least so it seems to us—the League itself does not differ in character from those former alliances which were so organized as to further the selfish interests of the nations belonging to it. This experience makes very difficult in German Christianity the triumph of the idea of peace. Our nationalists say, “Now you can see plainly that the League of Nations is simply a Utopia. It exists only in words. Only fools believe in it. Those who would deceive you talk loudly about it to cover up their real plans. Stick to your own Fatherland. That is the will of God.” Now even we Christian pacifists love our Fatherland. We also join in the song “Deutschland, Deutschland über alles”—a song in which there is nothing of imperialism or chauvinism, but which is only a superlative expression, such as is entirely appropriate in poetry and love, of utmost devotion to one’s people and to one’s home. Nevertheless, in spite of the experiences which we have been compelled to undergo in our relations with our conquerors, we still hold fast to the faith that in accordance with the will of God this world-war is destined to strengthen the love of peace and the preparedness for peace (Matt. 5:9) in Christianity. We believe that it is destined to strengthen in the children of God on earth the art of living at peace with one another. This conviction is especially current among laymen and those who have no theological interest. For the pastors such conviction is absolutely indispensable if they are to be effective with persons who have felt the influence of the ideals of the social democracy.

There is no need of being unduly solicitous lest this ideal may not maintain itself in the presence of the conservative political attitude of most of the clergy. It is spiritually strong enough to advance confidently into the future. Serious difficulty, however, is created by the fact that pacifism and nationalism come into conflict with great keenness and bitterness, at times even with fanaticism. *So a new schism appears in the sentiments of our people.* In addition to the confessional and to the social division of opinion (both of which as if by a miracle before our eyes were apparently

healed by the war) a new division has appeared: Kaiser *vs.* Republic, nationalism *vs.* pacifism. This division runs through the whole evangelical church, and unmistakably the majority opinion is to be found on the side of the nationalists and the monarchists.

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I can scarcely venture to discuss the question whether or not people have become more religious as a result of the war. This question is precisely the same in America or England or France, as in Germany. There is no doubt that religious souls either at home or abroad were through the experiences of the war led into a deeper recognition of the will of God. Possibly the religion of a conquered people does not suffer so much as that of a victorious people. As Christians we believe in the blessing of the Cross, and if it is God's will that we Germans should be led more profoundly into poverty, wretchedness, and shame, we shall not on that account refuse to seek a blessing from it. On this point I will not dwell further. No mass movement in religion was occasioned by the war, and none has appeared since our defeat. I may, however, report the exclamation of a man who is at the same time a passionate nationalist and an earnest Christian. Said he, "Woe to us if we had gained the victory as an irreligious people!" In spite of all the frivolity and the sin which is so widespread in these first days of peace as a natural reaction against the privations and trials of the war, we are nevertheless confident that our people will eventually come to inner self-control.

In conclusion, if I am to give a picture of the present situation of Christianity in Germany, I must say a few words specifically concerning the condition of the *church*. In this realm great changes have taken place as a result of the revolution.

The old system of the state church is gone. There was indeed no unified state church. Ecclesiastical movements since the years 1873-76 in Prussia have been handled in relative independence from the activities of the state. But now, even the last remnants of the former union between state and church have vanished. This involves not simply the fact that the realm of religion is taken out of the hands of parliament, and that in the place of the revenues

formerly annually voted to the church we now can look for only a definite indemnity or a fixed allowance. This financial situation would indeed be difficult enough to face. For many titles of possession guarantee common rights to the state, to the school, and to the church. We are faced actually with a far more perplexing task. I mean that the evangelical church must now take on a wholly new organization.

The Catholic church has not been compelled to face any reorganization. It can enter into the new conditions virtually unchanged. Consequently it contemplates the great upheaval with sympathetic calmness. It was not particularly disturbed when the Kaiser abdicated, and it very rapidly adapted itself to the new situation when the republic came in. The chair of Peter stands firm. The Catholic party in Germany, that is, the Center, takes good care that no damage is done to Catholic interests, and since in the existing political situation it holds the balance of power, this course is not difficult for it. Although the social democratic party, so far as numbers and official position are concerned, is the largest party in the Empire, one often gets the impression that the strongest power is actually in the hands of the Center party. With cleverness and determination the Center party constantly makes the Prussian minister of religion feel how dependent he is on its good will. In the German National Assembly (which is at present holding its sessions in Weimar) the Center party in the creation of the national program for school affairs has carried through its so-called "Weimar educational compromise." According to this regulation the social democratic party, albeit with gnashing of teeth, has granted the continued existence of the confessional state school, in spite of the fact that according to its principles it desires and demands a purely secular school system. To be more explicit, when parents so desire, not only is confessional religious instruction furnished to the children in the public school, but the entire school may be conducted in a confessional spirit; in other cases where the parents so desire, a public school may exist totally without any religious instruction or religious influence. This means that in some places the Catholics have it their own way, and in

other places the social democrats. This is called a compromise. It is evident that it is not a unified school system such as we have formerly had. In America this innovation would not be felt so severely as with us.

In the establishment of this school organization, only the foundations of which have yet been laid, the evangelical church has had scarcely any part. It cannot exert the political influence which the Catholics can, because it has no single party which would care for its interests in partisan and thorough fashion. The influence of the evangelical church is more indirect, more intangible, more spiritual. It is of course to be expected that this influence would now greatly increase if only the leaders of the church could understand the spirit of the times and could propose a genuine emancipation of the church from politics and its democratization. At present, however, this lies entirely in the future. In September, 1919, a general German evangelical church assembly was held, which gave promise of better things. Resolutions were unanimously passed demanding that the rights of the minority in the new schools should be protected. Some churches (Württemberg, Baden, Anhalt) have reorganized themselves on a basis of "popular suffrage" (*Urwahlen*). In Prussia the problem is not so easily solved. This, the largest of all the German state churches, shrinks from submitting itself to popular suffrage, that is, it does not trust the people of the church sufficiently to desire that every member should have a direct voice in the church gatherings which deal with organization. It would prefer to have these official synods indirectly chosen by the presbyters of the local churches. Even for the technical right to vote it lays down limiting conditions. On this point a conflict of opinion has arisen between the supreme board of control of the evangelical church (and the general synod) on the one hand, and the Prussian state ministry on the other hand. In March, 1919, by a vote of the Prussian parliament concerning the provisional constitution of Prussia during the transition period, the supreme episcopal authority of the king was transferred to three government ministers of evangelical faith until such time as a definite new organization of the church should come into existence.

To the conservative church politicians in Prussia, this was most disappointing. They expected that with the automatic disappearance of the royal bishop, the episcopal authority, i.e., the ruling power in the church, would be transmitted to the supreme ecclesiastical officers of the state church, namely the "evangelical supreme church council" in Berlin, or to the general synod. This, however, would have furnished absolutely no guaranty of any real independence of the church from the previous régime, for the supreme church council consists purely of state officials appointed, not by the king as supreme bishop, but by the state ministry with the approval of the king as supreme bishop. The general synod exists on the basis of a system of election which we are accustomed to characterize as a "sifting or filtering system." That is to say, the local church chooses its elders. The elders choose the members of the local synod, the local synods choose the members of the provincial synods, and the provincial synods choose the members of the general synod. As a result of this system, the last Prussian general synod, chosen in 1913, consisted of two hundred and two members. Of these, one hundred and five were theologians, and seven were consistorial councillors with legal standing, a total of one hundred and twelve. Of the remaining ninety members there were forty-eight officials of various standing, thirteen capitalists, eight merchants, and finally, four belonging to the well-to-do middle class. There was not a single representative of the working people. Such a synod is not really representative of the church people. It is therefore just as little competent to represent the church as is the supreme church council when it comes to the question of the separation of church from state; and in discussions and arrangements necessary for the new situation, it does not stand on an equal footing with the state. It is absolutely necessary to bring into existence *a general assembly of the church based on direct suffrage*, which shall create the new constitution for the church. Everybody agrees that such a representative church convention ought to be constituted by vote of the church members, but as to just how this vote shall be taken there is no agreement of opinion. By the time this article appears in print it is to be hoped that some happy solution of conflicting opinions will have

been found. The present government has no intention of interfering in the inner affairs of the church. It must, however, be able to deal with some representative body of the church which shall be recognized as genuinely representative of all the church people. The church, which up to this time has rested upon a monarchical tradition, must find a democratic foundation. It is clear that the "German Democratic party" has the duty of helping in the solution of this problem. It should also be said that the three ministers who at present exercise the supreme episcopal authority have offered their best services in this matter.

To create a new constitution for the church and to find a way of satisfying the financial obligations of the state to the church, these are the tasks of ecclesiastical politics for the immediate future. The motto "Separation of church and state" is victoriously gaining ground. It is to be hoped that when the church is once free from the embrace of the state, it will develop new powers and create new blessings.

A RÉSUMÉ OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AMONG THE AMERICAN INDIANS

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For three centuries after the voyages of Columbus, Europe was tremendously concerned about the American red man. This interest was commercial, imperialistic, and religious. Spain, France, and England successively expected to grow rich from the fabulous treasures of the New World. Each dreamed of a Western empire which would furnish the military strength for the domination of the Old World. And the spiritual conquest of the Indian, both in the interest of church power and for the salvation of the savage soul, was the professed purpose of each royal government.

With the Spanish exploring expeditions went Franciscans and Dominicans to convert the natives. The adventurers in charge of the voyages, coarse and brutal though they often were, were so zealous in their missionary propaganda that moderate priests sometimes felt compelled to protest against conversion by physical force. The progress of the church was spectacular in Florida, New Mexico, and California. Crosses were set up, the Indians were coerced into a crass order of worship, flourishing missions were established, thousands were baptized. But so far as the permanent results within the present area of the United States are concerned the Spanish policy ended in ignorance and rebellion.

The romantic record of France in North America contains elements of nobility and success. Few pages of American history are more crowded with valiant sacrifice than those which recount the sympathetic and unwearied devotion of Recollets and Jesuits to the Indians of the St. Lawrence Basin and the Mississippi Valley. Not much real progress was made toward giving the Indians an intelligent idea of religion, however; too much of the monks' time was spent in surreptitiously sprinkling baptismal water upon dying infants. But the intention of the government

was realized by these ecclesiastical soldiers: the Indians among whom they lived became defenders of French empire in America against the English, and they likewise became immovable adherents of the Roman church. The French missions were administered primarily for the church and the state and incidentally for the Indians.

Protestant England added her official interest in the Indians to that of Catholic Spain and France. Anglicanism was waging a bitter battle against Romanism at home and on the Continent. There was malice and grim sincerity in the professions of English rulers who longed for the conversion of the Indians to the Protestant faith. The voyages of exploration during the last years of the sixteenth century almost invariably took account of the glorious prospect of saving the savage from heathenism. The supporters of the Virginia Company on both sides of the ocean repeatedly spoke and wrote of their dominant aim as being that of bringing the Indians into the Church of England. But almost nothing was done. In Virginia there was a sincere movement for the establishment of the University of Henrico which should furnish instruction for "the children of the infidels," but the pitiless massacre of whites in 1622 brought on a policy of relentless severity toward the natives and extinguished all zeal for the salvation of the red men. It was toward the close of the century before this interest was revived in the founding of the College of William and Mary. The missionary impulse in America did not come from the Established Church. It awaited the coming of the Pilgrim.

Both Plymouth Pilgrims and Massachusetts Bay Puritans put the missionary motive to the forefront in their plans for emigration and colonization. Charters were granted upon this basis, funds were raised through this argument, and the sincerity of the settlers was evidenced in the Massachusetts seal which shows the figure of an Indian crying out the Macedonian appeal: "Come over and help us." But despite the fact that one of the major reasons for the emigration of the Leyden Separatists was the desire to convert the Indians, and notwithstanding the emphasis placed upon this duty by the Massachusetts Bay Colony, no special effort was made to carry out this purpose for about twenty years. This delay

caused surprise and grief in England and it also perplexed the red man. One of the Indians later questioned Eliot, inquiring why it was that some of the whites had been among them for twenty-eight years and no effort had been made to instruct them in the knowledge of God. "Had you done it sooner, said hee, wee might have known much of God by this time, and much sin might have been prevented, but now some of us are grown old in sin." Mayhew was similarly rebuked by a native who "wondered the English should be almost thirty years in the Country, and yet the Indians fools still."¹

Indian missions in the seventeenth century were conducted largely by the Catholics and Congregationalists. The Lutherans in New Sweden were not unmindful of the opportunity which they faced and the government encouraged missionary labors. But the results were small and the enterprise was unorganized. Roger Williams occupied himself from the beginning in learning the Indian language, and, although the chiefs of the Narragansetts were hostile to Christianity, they tolerated Williams because of their affection for him. He made some impression upon them and would probably have been very effective had he devoted his life to missionary labors among them. Henry Dunster, a Baptist, was responsible for the statement in the second charter of Harvard which defined the object of the college as being for "the education of the English and Indian youth of this country in knowledge and godliness."² But the outstanding missionary of the seventeenth century was the great apostle, John Eliot.

The gross ignorance of the Indians and the vices into which unscrupulous whites had drawn them wrenched the heart of the pastor of the church at Roxbury. Immediately he saw their situation he determined that the responsibility for their improvement was upon him. Patiently he applied himself for two years to the task of learning their language, and on one October Sunday in 1646 he preached his first sermon to them. He did not lack an

¹ Thomas Shepard, *The Clear Sunshine of the Gospel Breaking Forth Upon the Indians in New-England* (London, 1648), pp. 24 f.; Experience Mayhew, *Indian Converts* (London, 1727), p. 80.

² A. H. Newman, *A History of the Baptist Churches in the United States* (New York, 1894), pp. 144 f.

audience; the service had been well advertised, and the Indians then as now were much like the Athenians of Paul's day: they had little to do save to hear some new thing. Every two weeks he went among them, preaching, catechizing, and answering questions. Psychology, religious education, and sociology today unite in saying that the Indians should have been treated as children and that the message should have been simple and couched in the story form. But Eliot lived in the day of logical Calvinism; the message of the New England pulpit was theological; this was the only gospel. Over and over again in sermon and prayer and catechism Eliot preached the doctrine of the sovereignty of God, the total depravity of man, the redemption which must come through Christ, and the joys and tortures of the future state. His first sermon lasted an hour and a quarter, and during the course of it he explained the Ten Commandments, he elucidated the doctrine of redemption, he gave an account of how Christ will come to judge the world in flaming fire, and he painted a picture of the bliss of heaven and the terrors of hell. He concluded, as he says, "with a doleful description . . . of the trembling and mourning condition of every soul that dies in sinne, and that shall be cast out of favour with God."¹ This note was reiterated persistently. It is not to be expected that the Indians caught the significance of much of the New England theology, but it is not difficult to believe that a vivid portrayal of the everlasting writhings of the wicked would light the emotional fires within these primitive folk. The appeal to fear and the threat to withhold luxuries and comforts in the next world evoked tears and questions and won converts. A church was gathered just as soon as the elders of the neighboring churches would allow it. It took a half-dozen meetings to convince these conservative English brethren that red men could be white enough within to be members of Congregational churches. But no church in New England was more careful in admitting members than that of the Indians; none disciplined its unworthy members more severely, and none tried to follow the biblical model more minutely. Eliot's own expression upon this point is full of wisdom: "wee have

¹ John Eliot, *The Day-Breaking if not the Sun-Rising of the Gospell* (London, 1647), pp. 8 f.

not learnt as yet that art of coyning Christians, or putting Christs name and Image upon copper mettle."¹

All of life was included in Eliot's plan for their civilization. He taught them to build fences, to grow better crops, to produce new vegetables and fruits, to market them among the whites, to learn industries and arts, and to become educated in such book knowledge as was available. He translated a vast amount of literature into their heretofore unprinted language, and the amount published is adequate proof of their interest in it. It was part of the apostle's plan to remove the Christian Indians from those who persisted in their wild way of living and to settle them in villages of their own modeled after the English towns. The land for these communities of "praying Indians" was furnished by the General Court of Massachusetts. When the red men established their local government they copied that of the whites, and their blue laws were as stringent as those of the English Puritans. The Christian institutions were highly respected; the sanctification of the Sabbath was carried almost to the point of Pharisaical legalism.

A question much discussed concerns the loyalty of these Indians to the English during King Philip's War. Eliot's assertion that the Christian Indians were true to the English cause is supported by three English commanders who testified that some of the praying Indians were in the English army and were "faithful to English interest."² It is certain that a large number of innocent Indians in the Christian communities were persecuted. King Philip killed some of them for betraying his designs; some fell in battle on the side of the English; some were executed by the Massachusetts colony as suspected accomplices of Philip; and some were victims of a warfare waged against Indians indiscriminately. The catastrophe was a great grief to Eliot but he kept lovingly at his work. It was a matter which required a brave decision: should these Indians join their fellow-countrymen who had grievances against the foreigners, or should they be disloyal to their brothers in blood and fight for those who had brought them some little

¹ John Eliot, *The Day-Breaking if not the Sun-Rising of the Gospel* (London, 1647), pp. 8 f.

² *Collections of the American Antiquarian Society*, II, 524.

gleams of civilization? Some of the evangelized Indians turned against flesh and blood and fought for the English—and this was a result of Eliot's labor of love.

The eighteenth century saw a decline in missionary enthusiasm, due largely to the continuous European wars. Both France and England were now much concerned in employing the Indians in military campaigns in the hope of settling European quarrels on American soil. But even during these troublesome days financial support for the missionaries came from loyal friends in England and Scotland, and notable services were rendered a number of tribes by representatives of various denominations. Peter Folger established two Baptist churches in Massachusetts, one on Martha's Vineyard and one on Nantucket. David Jones toured the country of the Delawares and Shawnees under the auspices of the Philadelphia Baptist Association but left nothing "but a pathetic story of fruitless devotion."¹ One of the motives which led the Anglican church to establish the Society for Propagating the Gospel was that of converting the Indians, and during the eighteenth century work was carried on among the Iroquois, the Oneidas, and among the scattered tribes of New England, South Carolina, and Georgia. The Presbyterians made their great contribution in the lives of the Brainerds and Samson Occom, men who belong in the same class with the great Eliot. The story of the Moravians is one of zeal and suffering in situations which presented unusual difficulties. Their activity covered fields as far apart as Canada, Georgia, and Pennsylvania and Ohio. Until the close of the eighteenth century the work of the Friends was confined chiefly to the development of kindly relations, the protection of the natives from the wrongs of the whites, and preaching by individuals. Quaker leaders preached to them whenever opportunity afforded, and few denominations can claim so clean and useful a record in the sphere of Indian relations as can the Society of Friends. No organized work was undertaken by them until the very close of the century. It was in 1795 that the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting appointed its first standing committee

¹ A. L. Vail, *The Morning Hour of American Baptist Missions* (Philadelphia, 1907), pp. 160-66.

on Indians, and this committee has been continued ever since.¹ Samuel Hopkins, John Sergeant, Jonathan Edwards, and others wrought the beginnings of the famous Stockbridge mission which ministered to the natives first in Massachusetts and which then followed them on their removals to New York, Indiana, and Wisconsin.

Unique in its character was the undertaking of Rev. Eleazar Wheelock, of Lebanon, Connecticut. His plan for an Indian school developed somewhat accidentally. Feeling the pinch of a small salary Wheelock began taking in students who desired the services of a tutor. Samson Occom was among those who studied in the pastor's home, and the growing fame and usefulness of this Mohegan inspired his teacher with the hope of doing something on a large scale for the red men. His plan included the thought of preparing Indian boys for missionary service among their own tribesmen. And the girls were not to be neglected, for they were to receive education in the practical arts so as "to go and be with these Youth, when they shall be hundreds of Miles distant from the English on the Business of their Mission."² Thus Wheelock anticipated the popular theory of the next century, that native teachers have greater possibilities of usefulness than do the whites, provided that they have been properly educated.

Wheelock and his friends secured the indorsement of ministers of various denominations in America and also received encouragement from the colonial governments. But they received little else. For financial support they must look to England; the English had always responded well to appeals in behalf of the Indians. Samson Occom made a tour of the mother-country in the interest of the school and a goodly sum was procured for the enterprise. Financial success brought a change in the scheme of education. The idea enlarged, the scope of the school expanded, and soon it was no longer a semi-private undertaking to be conducted by Wheelock for the preparation of native missionaries. A college it must be, and Dartmouth College it became, with the Indian school a subordinate factor. The results of Wheelock's work were not wholly

¹ R. W. Kelsey, *Friends and the Indians, 1655-1917* (Philadelphia, 1917), p. 92.

² Eleazar Wheelock, *A Plain and Faithful Narrative* (Boston, 1763), p. 15.

heartening; some of his students disappointed him, and even Occom had a moral lapse or two which brought discredit upon the missionary and his school. But beginnings had been made of a substantial character among the Senecas and others of the Six Nations which constituted the foundation for the successful labors of the American Board during the next century. One cannot help regretting that the original purpose of Wheelock's school was so largely lost sight of. Had the little Indian school been able to continue, with modest reinforcements of money and with a more efficient administration, New England might have had a specialized training school of native workers supplying leaders for the great missionary societies of the nineteenth century.

The first quarter of the new century was the era of organization. Missionary societies of all sorts sprang up and prospered: young men's societies, female cent societies, children's societies, denominational societies, non-sectarian societies, city societies, state societies, national societies, home missionary societies, and foreign missionary societies. There were at least three major reasons for this new interest in organization. In the first place, the great societies of England had but recently come into being and the periodicals of the day were full of the enthusiastic plans and the romantic achievements of these British institutions. It was not only a desire for imitation, although there was still a keen jealousy of everything British, but the New Englanders and their neighbors were filled with an awakened ambition to accomplish the seemingly impossible for the kingdom. A second explanation is found in the religious fervor of this period, which was a second reaction from the Revolutionary War; a period of religious apathy had followed this conflict, but this was succeeded by the zeal of the Second Great Awakening. Moreover, a large number of families were emigrating from New England and the south to the wild stretches of Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, and the home churches were not blind to their responsibility in establishing religious centers in the frontier country. Almost without exception the home missionary societies were instituted with the double purpose of caring for the English-speaking emigrants and for ministering to the Indians throughout the entire land; almost without exception

the foreign societies were organized with the double purpose of converting the heathen abroad and saving the savages at home. The two institutions of widest influence (because they were interdenominational in character) were the American Home Missionary Society and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. For sixty years ministers, physicians, farmers, mechanics, male and female teachers, and native workers were commissioned by the American Board to carry Christianity and general civilization to the Cherokees and Choctaws of the southland, the Six Nations of New York state, the Chippewas and Sioux of Wisconsin and Minnesota, the tribes of the Northwest Pacific Coast, and scattered groups of the interior.

The first field cultivated by the board was that of the Cherokees, and the results here were most heartening. Not only were conversions and additions to the church numerous and the patronage given the schools very liberal, but the entire state of social life was raised to a level almost incredible. Leaders were developed among the tribesmen who became wise lawmakers and executives and who served efficiently as missionaries among their own race. It was among the Cherokees that the devotion of the missionaries was most severely tested.

As Georgia became more thickly settled by whites there was a growing desire to eject the Cherokees from their ancestral domain. One party of Indian politicians was ready to enter into an agreement to move westward, but the majority of the Cherokees had no disposition to leave the land which had fond associations for them. After the Cherokees had established a government of their own which superseded the tribal state, a government founded upon a written constitution, Georgia became increasingly hostile. Both state and national governments employed high-handed methods in order to expel the natives. Almost all of the missionaries counseled the Indians to use every means to resist the aggression of the whites, and this aroused a storm of anger against the Christians. Georgia went as far as to pass a law forbidding missionary activity among the Indians, and when the agents of the American Board refused to obey this statute they were arrested, brutally imprisoned and maltreated, brought to trial, and sentenced to four years of hard

labor in the penitentiary. Dr. Butler, describing his trip to jail, wrote: "I then had a large trace chain fastened about my neck by a padlock and the opposite end fastened to a rope tied round the neck of a horse. The distance between my neck and the horse was probably not over four and a half feet. Mr. Tippet rode the horse and I was made to keep up with him in a fast walk." In this way he plodded through mud and water and woods so that he was wet to the knees and hardly able to stand up. Then the chain was lengthened a little and he was allowed to ride behind Tippet. When he retired he was chained by the ankle to the bedstead.¹

The action of the missionaries in disobeying the Georgia law brought upon them much criticism. Their stand was taken, however, upon the principle that no state had a right to prohibit American citizens from living within its boundaries. Their support of the claims of the Cherokees was based upon the belief that a weak people should not be taken advantage of by a stronger power. Looking back from today one is inclined to say that the removal was necessary for the development of the country, but even this backward look would seem to be a justification of the Treitschke philosophy, particularly when the Indians were cultivating the land and were building a civilization of high character. There are certainly elements in the missionaries' position which resemble the principles upon which the United States entered the world-war.

In May, 1823, the military forces began the work of removing the Cherokees. Fourteen companies of about a thousand each started, making the journey through Tennessee, Kentucky, Illinois, Missouri, and Arkansas. The distance was six or seven hundred miles, and since most of the travelers made the trip on foot it required from three and a half to five and a half months. Over four thousand died en route, an average of thirteen to fifteen a day, or a fourth of the entire population. The missionaries did not charge this heavy mortality to neglect or maltreatment but rather to the unfitness of the physiques of the Indians for the new climates. Such a removal naturally caused a decline in morality and ambition, but be it said to the honor of the Christian Indians and to the

¹ J. H. Payne, "Traditions of the Cherokees" (unpublished; original manuscript in the Newberry Library, Chicago), Vol. V.

credit of the missionaries that almost no church members were backsliders.

The record of other denominations is similar to that of the Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and reformed churches which were associated in the work of the American Board. It is a record first of unorganized efforts and then of church boards or societies. The difficulties encountered were much the same, although the local conditions, the stage of civilization of the particular tribe, the attitude of the chieftains, and the vision and preparation of the missionaries had determinative influence in the success or failure of the enterprise. It was the preaching of John Stewart to the Wyandots at Upper Sandusky, Ohio, which led to the formation of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church which later developed into the Board of Home Missions and the Board of Foreign Missions. The Methodists were among the first to begin operations among the Oregon Indians, the vanguard of the mission arriving on the Lower Columbia in 1834. Rev. Jason Lee recognized that before progress could be made these Indians must be taught to work, so his plan of education included half a day's study and half a day of farm labor, "thus anticipating by a half century General Armstrong's wise method of civilizing the red man."¹

First through the Massachusetts Missionary Society and the New York Baptist Missionary Society, then through the Baptist General Convention, and then through the American Baptist Missionary Union, the Northern Baptists engaged in missionary labors covering a wide extent of territory and touching a large number of tribes. Isaac M'Coy was one of the most useful and far-sighted of the Baptist agents. In 1817 he received appointment as missionary to Indiana and Illinois, with instructions to be of all possible service to the Indians within his territory. M'Coy developed an interest in the red men which led him to devote his main efforts to them at a time when the Baptist Board was not much concerned with the Indians. The unsettled state of the tribes, the frequent removals demanded by the government, and the vicious sins brought on by close contact with whites convinced M'Coy that

¹ J. W. Bashford, *The Oregon Missions* (New York, 1918), p. 152.

there was no hope for permanent salvation as long as the Indians lived in regions fast filling up with white settlers. "At this time, June, 1823, I formed the resolution that I would, Providence permitting, thenceforward keep steadily in view, and endeavour to promote a plan for colonizing the natives in a country to be made for ever theirs, west of the State of Missouri, &c., and from that time until the present I have considered the promotion of this design as the most important business of my life."¹ So it was that this Baptist labored as faithfully to promote removal as the American Board missionaries did to hinder government projects for transfer to the West. The latter opposed western colonization because the Indians opposed it; M'Coy favored it because he saw it as the only hope for permanent settlement.

In 1795 the "corporate phase" of the Quaker missions began. The purpose of Indian missionary work was conceived by the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting as being for instruction "in husbandry, and useful trades; and teaching their children necessary learning that they may be acquainted with the Scriptures of truth, improve in the principles of Christianity, and become qualified to manage temporal concerns; and it is expected that the Committee will find it expedient to erect Grist and Saw Mills, Smith's shops and other necessary improvements in some of their villages."² The influence of the Philadelphia body eventually reached to the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Shawnees, Delawares, Miamis, Wyandots, Potawatomes, Ottawas, and Chippewas. The New England Yearly Meeting turned its attention chiefly to the Penobscot and Passamaquoddy tribes in Maine. These tribes had come under Catholic influence very early, however, and success here was very limited. Both the Baltimore Yearly Meeting and that of Ohio were interested in educational work among the Shawnees, and when the Indians moved from Ohio to Kansas the Friends followed them. The slavery agitation in Kansas hampered the efforts of the Friends who had won the enmity of the pro-slavery element, and the school was closed in 1856. It was later reopened but the interest was too small and the difficulties too great to warrant a continuation of the work.

¹ Isaac M'Coy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions* (New York, 1840), p. 197.

² Kelsey, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

The status of missions in 1852 is indicated in the following table:

	Ordained Mission- aries	Male Assistants	Female Assistants	Native Assistants	Communi- cants
Moravians.....	4	1	3		80
American Board.....	22	13	57	7	1,749
American Baptist Union.....	8	2	9	10	1,370
Methodist Missionary Society.....	12	3		7	1,197
Episcopal Board.....	1				169
Presbyterian Board.....	9	13	20	1	69
American Indian Missionary Asso- ciation.....	9	1	12	5	1,320
Methodist South Missionary Society.....	24		7	7	4,003
American Missionary Association...	2	5	7	1	7
Missouri Lutheran Synod.....	3				
Total.....	94	38	108	38	9,964*

**Missionary Herald*, XLVIII, 123.

The period of the Civil War was a disastrous one for Indian missions. The glamor and romance of it had worn off and the keen interest which characterized the first quarter of the century had perceptibly diminished. Moreover, the difficulties encountered in many fields had led missionary societies to feel that their limited resources were often better invested in foreign fields, where there seemed to be a permanent opportunity. The Indians were believed to be a dying race. Naturally the work of northern societies was brought to a stop in the south when hostilities began, and the war days made such heavy demands upon the populace that no increase of effort was undertaken among northern tribes. The summary of statistics for North American Indians, Greenland, and Labrador (1870) tells the tale:

	Missionaries	Native Preachers	Communicants
American Board.....	7	11	788
Presbyterian Board.....	5		235
Southern Presbyterian.....	4	3	
Episcopal Board.....	1	5	300
Methodist Board.....	11	23 (?)	1,000
Southern Baptist.....	5		
Total.....	33	42	2,323*

* It will be noticed that this summary is not complete in that the Southern Methodists are omitted. This is the only large omission, however, and the decline in power of the missions is very evident (*Missionary Herald*, LXVI, 310).

The American Board by this time had ceased to be the great Indian agency. In 1870 the New School Presbyterians withdrew from the organization and left it entirely in Congregational hands, the work of the New School now being combined with the Board of Missions of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church. By 1883 there was only one mission left to the American Board and in this year it transferred the Sioux Mission to the American Missionary Association, which since that time has had charge of all of the Indian interests of the Congregational church. Although inter-denominationalism had now disappeared from the Indian field, there came in a new method of denominational co-operation which has continued to the present day. President Grant's policy, for the promulgation of which the Society of Friends takes some credit,¹ provided that rivalry and duplication of work should cease. The various tribes were apportioned among the denominational societies. This plan has proved successful in the main, although the Catholics and Episcopalians refuse to co-operate on this basis and maintain their churches wherever it seems profitable. Under the administration of President Hayes the Friends were relieved of some of their fields, Mr. Hayes evidently lacking confidence in this body of Christians. In 1879 the Friends resigned all responsibility to the government for the management of the Indians, but later the largest work in the history of the denomination was begun under the direction of the Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs. The usual situation today is that there are among the Indians in each district not more than three denominational missions, the Catholic, the Episcopal, and one free Protestant church.

Each tribe, to be sure, presented its own unique problems. Still it is possible to summarize briefly some of the difficulties which hindered progress all along the way. There were four major obstacles; two were internal and two external. Tribal warfare dated back for generations, and no sooner would a hopeful work be begun among the Sioux than the entire tribe left all of its interests to give battle to its inveterate enemies, the Chippewas. From the day of Eliot down, the strongest foe within a tribe was the medicine man or the powwow. It was the old, old story of the

¹ Kelsey, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

priest fearing the loss of his power, and the powwows threatened death and perpetual terror to the families of those who forsook their ancestral superstitions and served the God of the white man. But no one influence was more detrimental to religious success than the low living of many of the white frontiersmen. These were the men who smuggled liquor to the Indians; they were the ones who encouraged robbery and deceit and introduced terrible vices among the tribes; their hostility to the missionaries was often open and malicious. The Indian thought that all whites were Christians, and, he reasoned, were we not better off before these white Christians came among us? All of our woes are due to them. We'll have none of their religion. And the fourth hindrance came from the United States government, which was constantly negotiating treaties and sometimes using force with the idea of moving the Indians farther and farther west. The removals were seldom far enough to insure a permanent abode. No sooner was the missionary work established than a new removal was necessary. The natives' minds were kept unsettled by the disputes about removal. The Indians always accused the government of violating its contracts with them. They came, as a result, to be suspicious of all whites, believing them to be emissaries of the Great Father at Washington, and the missionaries almost despaired of lasting results as long as the uncertainty of location existed.

The difficulties today can hardly be said to be the same. Inter-tribal warfare is gone under the paternalism of the United States, and the powwows are not so effective among the more civilized groups of Indians. The danger of removal is not disturbing them, and even the white neighbors are not so bad as they once were. The troubles now are of two kinds. One is the Indian character. The red man is not thrifty, ambitious, or judicious. He does not take care of himself; disease rages in spite of continued teaching and exhortation; laziness is the rule even though there are plenty of fertile acres to till; individual wealth or comfort is rare even though the Indian has as good a chance to fill his barns and own his Ford as his white neighbor. Superintendent Hoertz of the Sioux mission repeats an Indian's characterization of his race: "Indians are poor farmers, fair stock men, and excellent travelers."²

² *American Missionary*, February, 1920, p. 594.

The second handicap is the reservation system. It is true that the Indians have a chance to prosper under the present scheme, but they will never prosper until they are compelled to prosper. That is to say, the Indian will not cultivate a hundred acres as long as he can live from ten. When he is put on his own resources, when he no longer can fall back upon the arm of Uncle Sam, when he must either work hard or starve he will probably work. But undoubtedly many would starve, especially among the older generation. It is not only the proud young Sioux who has graduated from the Pierre High School who feels his grievance against the government and insists upon freedom from the reservation system; it is not only the humanitarians, who meet at Lake Mohonk to discuss the Indian's problems, who petition the government for a change; the missionaries who have been among the natives for forty years are convinced that economic and physical salvation will not come until the Indian is a free citizen of the United States and not a member of a supervised tribe.

These recent figures, indicating the extent to which the red men are being reached today, come from the United States Census Bureau:

	Organizations	Members
Seventh Day Adventists.....	1	18
Northern Baptist Convention.....	7	578
Southern Baptist Convention.....	112	5,661
Congregational churches.....	22	1,240
Latter Day Saints		
Church of Jesus Christ.....	2	760
Reorganized church.....	1	55
General Conference of Mennonites.....	8	271
Mennonite Brethren church.....	1	54
Methodist Episcopal church.....	17	1,357
Wesleyan Methodist Connection.....	1	61
African Methodist Episcopal.....	1	50
Methodist Episcopal South.....	72	2,839
Presbyterian church in U.S.A.....	65	4,298
Cumberland Presbyterian.....	12	219
United Presbyterian.....	1	104
Presbyterian church in the United States.....	11	429
Reformed Presbyterian Synod.....	1	100
Protestant Episcopal church.....	80	4,051
Reformed church in America.....	5	958
Reformed church in the United States.....	1	23
Christian Reformed church.....	1	102
Roman Catholic church.....	100	26,402
Volunteers of America.....	1	500*

* Bureau of the Census: *Religious Bodies* (1916), I, 78-82.

Wide though the reach of Indian missions may be, there are still larger areas to be cultivated intensively. It is estimated by those who have recently made a survey of the entire Indian situation that there are almost fifty thousand natives who are still pagans, and there are twice that number in addition who are not claimed as members by any church.¹ If the reservation system should continue for years, the churches will doubtless appropriate large sums for the more adequate handling of the Indian problem. If the reservation system is abandoned the Indians will intermarry with the whites, they will become lost in our population, and the future of Indian churches, as separate churches, will be unimportant. The prospect of a discontinuance of the present government policy in the immediate future is not bright, however, and the new plans of the Interchurch World Movement call for the establishment of an Indian university at Wichita, Kansas. The plan is to use Robert College as a model and to bring to this school Indians from all of the one hundred and fifty tribes in the land, in order that they may be properly trained for leadership among their own people.² This plan is not unlike that of Eleazar Wheelock, but it is likely that under modern conditions the success would be greater. Certain it is that the one thing needed above all else in our Indian fields is that there shall be native workers of ability, education, and moral stamina. In a large number of the missions the leadership of the local church is entirely in charge of a native who has been elected pastor; his theological preparation has seldom been more than an elementary correspondence course, and very often it has been nothing more than the ability to read the Bible and to speak glibly. He carries on his regular work during the week and gives almost no time to his pastoral duties. There are superintendents, who come in now and then and give advice and encouragement, but it is still true that such a superintendent may have a circuit of five hundred miles which he must cover on horseback. If the reservation is to remain, there may still be hope for the Indian, but only if a specialized ministry is introduced.

¹ *American Missionary*, December, 1919, p. 486; *The Interchurch Bulletin* (Atlantic City, 1920), V (No. 5), 3.

² *Interchurch Newsletter* (New York, 1919), I (No. 12), 5.

As many native workers must be used as possible, but without a wide knowledge of the bigger things in life, such as may be inspired through a higher education carefully supervised, the native workers will never get the Indian out of the economic rut in which he is. All along, the church has tried to civilize the Indian as well as Christianize him, but the financial handicap has always been so large that the human tools could not be supplied. It may be that in these days of dizzy dreams of wealth for the church the means will yet be supplied for really saving the Indian.

THE SCOTTISH SERVICE BOOK OF 1637 AND ITS
SUCCESSORS
A BIO-BIBLIOGRAPHICAL STUDY

WILLIAM MUSS-ARNOLT
Boston Public Library, Boston, Massachusetts

The English Book of Common Prayer, the second Edwardine liturgy, had been in general use in Scotland during the first years of Queen Elizabeth's reign, between 1557 and 1564. In the former year the leading reformers decided its use in the parish kirks. From 1564 until the accession of James VI to the English throne as James I, in 1603, the system of Calvin, Knox's Book of Common Order was in force throughout the land. An occasional attempt by King James, in 1596, to introduce episcopal government in the church of Scotland met with stern resistance on the part of Robert Bruce (1554-1631), the great Scottish presbyterian divine. In 1610, however, episcopacy was formally introduced in Scotland by the consecration at London, on October 21, of Bishops John Spottiswoode, Andrew Lamb, and Gavin Hamilton.¹ This "first episcopacy" lasted from 1610 until 1638. In 1616 the General Assembly meeting at Aberdeen decreed "that a liturgy be made, and a form of divine service, which shall be read in euery church in common prayer." A committee of four ministers was appointed to prepare this liturgy. On behalf of this committee Peter Hewat (Howat) an Edinburgh minister and one of the four commissioners wrote out the draft of "A Form of Service to be used in all the parish churches of Scotland upon the sabbath day by the readers where there are any established, and where there are no readers, by the ministers themselves before they go to sermon." The draft was professedly a revision of the portions of the Book of Common Order, used in the public service on Sundays. The schedule was

¹ T. Hannan, "The Scottish Consecration in London in 1610," *Church Quarterly Review*, LXXI (1910), 387-414.

not printed at the time; but it is preserved in the Advocates Library at Edinburgh, and has been published, for the first time, by George Washington Sprott¹ in 1871 and, again, revised in 1901, in *Scottish Liturgies of the Reign of James VI*, Edinburgh (pp. 1-23). On August 28, 1618, General Assembly met at Perth and accepted, by a mere majority of a few the so-called five articles of Perth. They enforced kneeling at communion, private baptism, private communion, four holy days corresponding to Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, and Whitsunday, and episcopal blessing for children, i.e., confirmation. The assembly of Perth was the last General Assembly for twenty years, until 1638.

In 1619 King James received, through Bishop Laud, a new draft of a liturgy for the church of Scotland from Archbishop Spottiswoode, when the latter came to London during the spring of that year. The King examined it, made some changes, and gave it to Dean John Young, of Winchester, for a final revision. It was then returned to the Scottish archbishop. The manuscript draft was finally rejected by the King and his advisers and was not published. A second manuscript copy of the proposed liturgy became, in course of time, the property of the British Museum. It has corrections by a hand different from the one which wrote the manuscript. They are in a Calvinistic direction and were perhaps written by the bishop (Patrick Lindsay of Ross?) who presented this second copy. A few of the corrections show a different spirit and were possibly made by Laud on reading it over. It is now bound up with a copy of the Scottish Service Book of 1637 (*British Museum Catalogue: Liturgies*, col. 646; C. 36. g. 2). It is a cross between the English liturgy and that of Knox. It was printed by Sprott (*op. cit.*, pp. 37-110). It is quite possible that this second copy of the draft book is the one which Maxwell in 1629 brought to London on behalf of the Scottish bishops and at the request of King Charles I. Laud examined it for the King. He speaks of Maxwell as carrying back to Scotland a book containing the first series of alterations which had been

¹ Sprott (1829-1909) was a Scottish presbyterian divine and a careful liturgical scholar. His book, cited above, is a most learned and original work, broad and unprejudiced.

accepted in England.¹ Years after its first submission to King James in 1619, his son Charles was told that the troubled state of the church due to the enforcement of the five articles of Perth had put a stop to the printing and introduction of the liturgy. King James never ventured to attempt the introduction of a liturgy into Scotland, nor even the enforcement of the vestments and rites of the English church. The people could not be induced to a conformity with the articles of Perth.

In 1620 the Ordinal for the church of Scotland was printed by Thomas Finlayson at Edinburgh. It recognizes only two orders, bishops and ministers. Copies of this Ordinal are now very rare. For this reason it has been conveniently reprinted by Sprott (*op. cit.*, pp. 111-131). It can also be found in *Miscellany of the Wodrow Society*, selected and edited by David Laing ([Edinburgh, 1844], I, 597 ff.). A new Ordinal is said to have been published in 1636, but no copy of it is known to have survived.

In the year 1633 King Charles went to Scotland to be crowned at Edinburgh. It was during this visit formally resolved that a new liturgy with some few variations from the English should be drafted in Scotland and transmitted for approval to the king and to some of the English bishops. Until the final adoption of the new service book, in 1636, editions of the liturgy of the Church of England were printed by Robert Young, printer to the king's majesty, in 1633 and in 1634, 8vo and 12mo. This was evidently done upon the advice of Archbishop Laud, who desired to introduce the English liturgy without change into the service of the church of Scotland. Laud, however, did not succeed in this endeavor. The Scottish bishops wanted a book of their own. The changes proposed by them and sent to England were considered by Archbishop Laud and Bishop Matthew Wren, and were then submitted to King Charles. With his own hand the King is said to have indicated in a copy of the English Prayer Book, bearing date as late as 1637, almost all the changes that were actually introduced

¹ Letter of Laud to the bishop of Dunblane concerning the communion in the Royal Chapel, the Book of ordination and the Liturgy, reprinted by Cooper in *The Book of Common Prayer . . . Commonly Known as Laud's Liturgy*, Preface, pp. xxviii-xxxii.

and printed. The copy containing these latest alterations and additions was sent to John Maxwell, bishop of Ross. Maxwell transmitted it to Archbishop Spottiswoode. The latter, by the way, was the son of John Spottiswoode, one of the compilers of the *First Book of Discipline* and superintendent of Lothian. From Spottiswoode the book soon found its way back to England, probably brought there by the archbishop when he fled from Scotland in 1638. Eventually it became the property of William Alexander Anthony Archibald Douglas, eleventh duke of Hamilton (1811-63) and was sold at the Hamilton sale, May 1-9, 1884, to the Earl of Roseberry. The King had noted every change actually made, except those in the order of the communion prayers, which, however, his alterations in the prayers themselves prove that he had allowed.¹

The Scottish service book reached its final form and was authorized by royal warrant October 18, 1636. It was then promulgated by act of the Scottish privy council and by royal proclamation of December 20, 1636. The proclamation, peculiar to the Scottish book, took the place occupied in the English book of the day by Queen Elizabeth's act of uniformity of 1559, and by the proclamation of King James I of March 5, 1603/4. The new service book was chronologically preceded by the new court of high commission for Scotland and by the new book of canons, both highly unpopular. Neither liturgy nor canons were submitted to the diocesan or national synod of the Scottish church. They were to be accepted simply on the prerogative of royal authority.

The Scottish service book was issued only twice, and both times in the same year, 1637, printed by Young.² The workmanship has been considered by the best authorities as far superior to those printed in England at that time.³ It is now quite rare. The following is the title of the copy in the Benton collection of the

¹ Cooper, *op. cit.*, pp. xxi-xxii, and xlviii, 'The Dalmeny Prayer-Book, containing, in the handwriting of King Charles I, the latest alterations and additions, approved by his Majesty for the Scottish Book.'

² Bishop Dowden gave an account of a suppressed additional edition in *Transactions of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society*.

³ Watson, *History of Printing* (1713), and Dobson, *The Bassandynne Bible* (1887), pp. 171-72.

Boston Public Library: 'The | Booke of | Common Prayer, | and | Administration of the | Sacraments. | And other parts of divine Service for | the use of the Church of | Scotland. | [Vignette: the Scottish thistle imperially crowned]. | Edinburgh, | Printed by Robert Young,¹ | Printer to the | Kings most Excellent Majestie. | M. DC XXXVII. | Cum Privilegio" | Blackletter. 150 unnumbered leaves. Signature a and b in eights, for the preliminary matter; text, A-Q in eights, R six leaves. R 6, obverse, med.: *Finis*, reverse blank Page of type 6 by 9 $\frac{3}{8}$; paper, 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ by 10 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches. Title and calendar in black and red. The reverse of the title-page contains: the contents of this book. The Prayer Book is followed by the Psalter, with a special title-page reading: "The | Psalter, | or, | Psalmes of David: | According | to the last Translation in King | James | his time.² | Pointed as they shall be said or sung through- | out all the Churches of Scotland. | Edinburgh, | . . . Robert Young . . . | Anno M DC xxxvi.' | Blackletter. 78 unnumbered leaves. Signatures aa-ii in eights, kk six leaves. The fact that the last signature has the first four folios signed kk₁, kk₂, kk₃, and kk₄, thus showing on the example of the preceding signatures that it was originally intended for a signature of eight leaves; and, furthermore, the fact that at the bottom of the last page (kk₆, reverse) we find the catchword "Certaine" proves that the two leaves containing the beginning of "Certaine Godly Prayers to be used for sundry purposes" were to be the last two leaves of signature kk. The prayers were omitted at the king's command; for, in the margin of the 1637 English prayer book, mentioned above, the king had inserted here an X, and added in his own hand, 'His Majesty comānds that these prayers following, or any other [for they are all different in the several editions] be all left out and not printed in

¹ Young was a London printer, appointed April 12, 1632, King's printer for Scotland, in succession to Thomas Finlayson (died 1627). He acquired the plant of Finlayson's heirs and commenced printing in Edinburgh in 1633. He apparently did not come to Scotland himself, but sent Evan Tyler to manage his Edinburgh office. In 1638, after the prayer book troubles, he gave up his Edinburgh business and sold off the printing materials.

² The Authorized Version of 1611, of which the first Scottish edition was printed by Young in 1633. The Psalter in the 1637 service book, as stated, was not pointed in spite of the orders of King Charles and Archbishop Laud.

y^e Liturgye.¹ The earliest copies of the Scottish service book contained, apparently by an oversight, the godly prayers, for there is a copy in the British Museum Library (C. 36. g. 1) having the signature kk complete. Before the book was issued for use, it was decided to cut out these two leaves. The catchword, however, remained in the earlier of the two issues of the book. It was deleted in the later issue, signature kk was rearranged, so as to be complete in six leaves and the catchword 'Certaine' was omitted.²

The earlier issue has in the rubric following the *Venite* (when the people respond to the *Gloria Patri*, as it was in the beginning, &c.) the words 'Every one standing up, &c.' These words were omitted in the second issue. In the two issues the earlier reads 'used and said' in the *Benedictus* rubric of the morning prayer (Sig. A4, reverse, line 1 of text); the later issue reads 'said or sung.'

The Psalter issued with the service book was set up and printed four times, each differing from the others. The reading of the title of the Benton copy appears to be the earliest. The other three read (2) after the translation sung or said; (3) according to the last translation as they shall be said or sung; and (4) after the Translation set forth by authority as it shall be said or sung. The first issue of the four states has in sig. hh 3 the wrongly printed leaf in which a line in verse 30 and the whole of verse 31 of Psalm 109 is omitted and ends with the catchword "Yea." The earliest special copies of this state were put out in April, 1637, for use in the Chapel Royal. The whole Psalter was set up anew after the first impression had been printed off. There were, as stated, three other impressions; the title-pages of the last two were reprinted. In none of the different impressions is the Psalter pointed in the musical sense of the word; nay, the title-page itself is altered in all but the first impression, in order to make it correspond with the

¹ Cooper, *op. cit.*, p. xliii; Clay, *Liturgical Services, Liturgies and Occasional Forms of Prayer, Set forth in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (Cambridge, 1847), p. xx, n. 1.

² The J. P. Morgan library contains four copies of the Scottish service book, of which one, a large folio and ending at 'Certaine,' was originally Archbishop Laud's own copy. Another, not containing the catchword, is followed by King James's metrical translation of the Psalms (1636). It is a small folio. Signature kk is rearranged, so as to be complete in six leaves.

absence of such pointing. The word 'pointed' is omitted, and, 'as they shall be sung or said,' or 'as it shall be sung or said' put in its place. Other changes were made. The translation of the Bible of 1611 is described as not simply 'the last in King James his time,' but as 'set forth by authority in King James his time of blessed memory.' The later issues have the corrected leaf for hh 3, and omit the catchword 'Certaine.' The Psalter ends with 'Finis,' above the ornament.

Part 3, likewise with special title-page, reads: 'The | Psalmes | of King David: | Translated by King | James. | London: | Printed by Thomas Harper. | 1636.' Blackletter; (1), 147 numbered pages. Title in an elaborate compartment in which are introduced the fleur-de-lis, rose and thistle, and the lion and the unicorn; reverse blank. Text, signature B-N, in sixes; O two leaves, reverse of second leaf blank. The psalms are in verse, with musical notes prefixed to several. Parts 1 and 2 have numerous woodcut-letters, Part 3 only a few.

While it is a fact that at the command of King Charles, Archbishop Laud and Bishops Matthew Wren, of Norwich, and William Juxon, of London, were associated with the Scottish bishops in the preparation of this service book, it is equally a fact that the archbishop's explicit and often expressed wish was to introduce the English book without any changes. His policy was to have one church in all the parts of the king's dominions with the same creed, the same hierarchy, and, if possible, with the same form of worship. It is a common mistake, therefore, to call this service book 'Archbishop Laud's book.' If it were to be named after any one man it should be known as "Maxwell's liturgy." For Bishop John Maxwell, of Ross, was the most zealous worker for its preparation and publication and introduction. He was, in this endeavor, ably assisted by the careful liturgiologist, Bishop James Wedderburne, of Dunblane. To the latter, probably, are due most of the liturgical features which characterize the service book. He was a descendant of the authors of the 'Complaynt of Scotland,' and of 'Gude and Godlie Ballatis.' Laud's liturgical work was enshrined not in the Scottish service book, but in the settlement of 1661, which Gladstone aptly described as the 'Reformation settlement of

the Church of England.' Some important changes were made in the text during the preparation of the book. We mention here (1) the Communion office is brought more nearly into accord with the first Edwardine book, especially as to the invocation and the commemoration of the faithful departed;¹ (2) a retranslation of the Athanasian Creed, thus anticipating and happily meeting some of the difficulties that have since been raised with respect to this creed; (3) 'priest' in the rubrics is changed to 'presbyter.' Instead of the combination of the English book 'priests and deacons' we find 'presbyters and ministers of the church';² (4) the calendar records the names of certain Scottish saints, e.g., Columba, Ninian, Serf, Queen Mary, &c.; (5) the Epistles and Gospels are set down according to the new (i.e., King James) translation, as is also the Psalter; (6) 'Glory be to Thee, o Lord' is ordered to be said before the Gospel, and 'Thanks be to Thee, o Lord' after it. All these features which most distinguish this liturgy from the other Anglican Books of Common Prayer were of Scottish provenance. (7) The use of the "Apocrypha" is reduced to a minimum.³

Concerning the metrical translation of the Psalms by King James Sir Roundell Palmer (1812-95), first earl of Selborne and one of the foremost authorities of the nineteenth century on English hymnology, states in his article 'Hymns,' *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (9th ed.; XII [1891], 590, col. 1),⁴ that "King James I. conceived the project of himself making a new version of the Psalms, and appears to have translated thirty-one of them, the correction of which together with the translation of the rest he entrusted to Sir William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Stirling [1567?-1640]. Sir William having completed his task, King Charles the First (after having it examined and approved by several archbishops and bishops of England, Scotland, and Ireland) caused it to be

¹ See, especially Cooper, *op. cit.*, pp. 250-78.

² Compare Marshall, *The Latin Prayer Book of Charles II*, (Oxford, 1881), chap. ii, 'Meaning of the Term Priest,' pp. 46-60; and here, especially, pp. 48, 51-52.

³ For other changes and characteristics, see Brightman, *The English Rite*, pp. clxxxvii-clxxxviii.

⁴ Pages 148-49 of the reprint of his article in book form, entitled *Hymns, Their History and Development in the Greek and Latin Churches, Germany and Great Britain* (London & Edinburgh: Black, 1892), (8), 216 pp. 12mo.

printed in 1631 at the Oxford University Press as the work of King James;¹ and by an order under the royal sign manual, recommended its use in all Churches of his dominions. In 1634 he enjoined the Privy Council of Scotland not to suffer any other Psalms 'of any edition whatever' to be printed or imported into the kingdom. In 1636 it was republished in an entirely different form and was attached to the famous Scottish service book, with which the troubles began in 1637. It need hardly be added that the king did not succeed in bringing the Psalter into use in either kingdom." It cannot be denied that James had no small reputation in his own day as a conversationalist, prose writer and master of short verses, most of which have since been reprinted.²

The first edition of this metrical translation was apparently published in London about 1625/26; the 1631 edition, printed by William Turner (319 pp., 12mo), being thus the second. Many of the Psalms in the edition published with the Scottish Service book differ from those in the edition of 1631. An edition published in London about 1637, but without place or date on title-page, reads: The | Psalmes | of | King | David. | Translated | by | King James. | Cum Privilegio Regiae | Maiestatis. (4), 381 pp. Small 8vo.³ By a printer's error folio 178 follows immediately upon 157, the text, however, is continuous. The frontispiece in this edition, as well as that in the 1631 output, is the work of William Marshall, the most prolific of early English engravers. The 1637 service book became soon a rarity; for, in 1718, Rev. Mr. Peck, envoy of the English non-jurors, writing to the Scottish bishop William Falconer states that 'the Scottish Prayer-Book of 1637 was scarce and costly.'⁴

The edition of 1637 was reprinted, in small 8vo, without preface or introduction, in 1712, the year of the Toleration Act, by James Watson (Edinburgh) at the expense of the Earl of Winton. It was

¹ See Falconer Madan, *Oxford Books*, I, 152, 153, and A. F. Westcott's introduction, p. lxxxviii of his edition of *New Poems of James, of England* (New York, 1911).

² Compare, also, John Holland, *Psalmists of Britain*, I (1843), 251-57.

³ A copy in the Benton Collection was bought from the Hoe library.

⁴ George Hickeys, the learned nonjuring titular bishop of Thetford (died 1715) reprinted the service book in his *Two Treatises* (1707-11). These, again are published in Hickeys' works (*Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology*) (Oxford, 1847-48).

followed by a 'paraphrase of the Psalms in metre, by King James the VI' (449 pp.). The book was perhaps intended for actual use by the nonjuring clergy and congregations, and in Earl Winton's chapel at Tranent. The reprint is said to be very carefully done. The 'nominal prayers' were reproduced in this edition exactly as they stood in 1637, 'King Charles,' 'Queen Mary,' and 'Prince Charles' appearing in the printed text. A copy of this issue is in the J. P. Morgan library.

During the nineteenth century and the present several reprints were put out, of which we mention (1) The Book of Common Prayer, as printed at Edinburgh, 1637. Commonly called Archbishop Lauds. London. William Pickering, 1844. Blackletter. Small folio. It is one of the companion volumes of the sumptuous edition of the 'Victoria Prayer Book.' (2) The Liturgy, set forth for the use of the church of Scotland. In *Liturgiæ Britannicæ*, or the several editions of the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England. By William Keeling. London. Pickering, 1842. New edition, 1851. (3) *Reliquiæ Liturgicæ* . . . , edited by Rev. Peter Hall. Volume 2: The Scottish Prayer Book. Bath. 1847. (3) 246 pp. 12mo. (4) The Liturgy of 1637. Commonly known as Laud's Liturgy (1637). Edited, with historical introduction and illustrative notes, by Rev. Professor James Cooper, D.D. Edinburgh and London. Blackwood. 1904. lxxiii, 305 pp. [Church Service Society Publications.] 12mo. The edition is well printed and very convenient. The introduction deals at length with the relations of Laud to the production of the book and disposes of the oft-repeated legend concerning his responsibility for it. The notes deal chiefly with the relation of the Scottish book to the successive revisions of the English liturgy and to the Presbyterian order of service, and with contemporary criticism of the book of 1637.

The new liturgy, called by John Row (1568-1646) a 'Popish-English-Scottish-Mass-Service Book,' and the Canons, promulgated May 23, 1635, and published early in 1636, were most unpopular and created violent opposition. "There can be no doubt, I fear, that the Scottish Liturgy, like the Book of Canons, was unconstitutionally introduced into the Church of Scotland; 'brought in

without warrant from our Kirk,' are the words of the Scots commissioners and few will deny that a tame acquiescence in a proceeding so outrageous, would have been equally fatal to our civil liberties and to that authority in sacred things, which the church has received from her Divine King."¹

All Scotland was aflame over the introduction of canons and liturgy, and over the act of revocation. Every true Scot, nobility and gentry first, and then the people at large, signed the national league and covenant, drawn up, in part, in 1587, and now, in March, 1638, renewed and enlarged, embodying (a) Craig's, *The King's Confession* (1581), (b) various reforming acts of parliaments, and (c) a new covenant. The compact which they signed after the habit of that nation when deeply moved, had been drawn up by Alexander Henderson, the most influential of their kirk ministers, and by Archibald Johnstone, better known by his subsequent title of Lord Warriston. It was fully revised and approved by Lords Balmerino, Loudon, and Rothes. The people were ready to shed more than ink and tears. They brushed aside the offer of the king to retreat, to revoke high commission, canons, and prayer book too. They would fain be done with bishops as well. A general assembly at Glasgow, in 1638, swept them away root and branch, and with them ultimately the sovereignty of the king.

Story goes that the use of this prayer book in the cathedral church of St. Giles, 'The great church' of Edinburgh, was brought to an abrupt end by a woman named Jenny (Jeannie) Geddes, who flung her stool at the clergyman's head, David Lindsay, bishop of Edinburgh, on the day of the introduction of 'the Buke.' on the seventh Sunday after Trinity, July 23, 1637. The tradition has long been abandoned as a myth² and has been disproved by careful historians. It is therefore rather surprising that some historians of the American Episcopal Church, as late as 1912, believe and published it as an actual occurrence.

Of the many books and pamphlets published in opposition to the new service book we mention especially, 'A parallel or briefe

¹ Cooper, *op. cit.*, p. xxii.

² See, especially, G. R. Gardiner, *The Fall of the Monarchy of Charles I*, I (1882), 111.

comparison of the liturgie with the Masse-book, the breviarie, the Cereimoniall, and other Romish ritualls. Where is clearly and shortly demonstrated, not only that the Liturgie is taken for the most part word by word out of those Antichristian writts; but also that not one of the most abominable passages of the Masse can in reason be refused by any who cordially imbrace the Liturgie as now it stands, and is commented by the Prime of our Clergie. All made good from the testimonies of the most famous and learned liturgick writers both Romish and English. By R. B. K. Seene and allowed. London. Thomas Paine. 1641.' The book is a strenuous attack on Archbishop Laud and on the Scottish as well as on the English prayer book. The author complains bitterly that the communion service begins with the Lord's Prayer, which is only the *Pater Noster* in English, and, therefore, Romish. He also maintains that our service is Romish because it contains the *Ave Maria* 'potentially,' inasmuch as 'Mr. Stafford' had printed a book in which he said that we ought to say 'Hail Maries.' 'Mr. Stafford' was Anthony Stafford (1587-1645?), and the book in which he advocates the use of the 'Hail Mary' is 'The Femall Glory: or, the Life and Death of Our Blessed Lady, the holy Virgin Mary. London. 1635.' He does not state exactly 'that we ought to say Hail Maries,' but he strongly implies it. He seems to have always been an Anglican.

The R. B. K. was Robert Baillie of Kilwinning. He was born at Glasgow in 1599 and was one of the most learned and influential of the earlier Scottish presbyterian divines. He received orders in 1622, not from the Presbyterian church of Scotland, but from Archbishop James Law of Glasgow. In 1637 the archbishop requested him to preach a sermon in the Scottish metropolis in support of the canons and the service book. He refused to do so, and broke away from episcopacy. At the time of his death, in 1662, he was principal of Glasgow University.

After The Restoration in 1660/1 the Church of England revised and re-established her prayer book. In this work the ill-fated Scottish service book was unexpectedly and manifoldly influential. It assisted the Caroline revisers to raise the tone of the English book, by various significant though gentle alterations, and in this

way it strengthened materially the hold of catholic belief and devotion on the hearts of the English people.¹

In Scotland the restored episcopal church, the second episcopacy, 1661-1688 (1662-1690?), worshiped for the most part without a liturgy. The prayer book of 1637 was never officially restored in any of the cathedrals or in the college chapels of Scotland, although portions of it may have been adopted as in the form of the morning and evening service drawn up by Henry Scougal for the cathedral of Aberdeen, republished so conveniently in Rev. Peter Hall's *Fragmenta Liturgica*, (Vol. II, No. 3): 'The Morning and Evening Service of the Cathedral church of Aberdeen.' It is generally known as Scougal's Aberdeen service. Henry Scougal (1650-1678) was the son of Patrick Scougal, bishop of Aberdeen (1607-1681). He composed the service which was in use until the revolution in 1688, when the Presbyterians would no longer allow 'such superstition as a written prayer.' The forms were preserved by William Orem in his book *A description of the Chanonry, Cathedral and King's College of Old Aberdeen in the years 1724 and 1725, and long after Orem's death quite accurately printed*. Aberdeen, 1791. 12mo.

When the church of Scotland was disestablished in 1688/9, it adopted after some years from the book of 1637 a communion office which, passing through several revisions, become the standard of a deeply earnest churchmanship and imparted one of the main features to the American rite.

It is a matter of record, as shown by Grub, *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland* (1861) (III, 358-60, 368-69) that the English Book of Common Prayer was more widely used in Scotland during the reign of Queen Anne than is usually known. The English and the Scottish liturgies differed little except in the office for the celebration of the Holy Communion. Inasmuch as many preferred in this particular service the Scottish office, there may be traced within a few years after the period of Queen Anne's reign the commencement of that peculiar arrangement and adaptation of liturgical forms which afterward became known as the Scottish Communion Office.

¹ For examples see Brightman, *The English Rite*, pp. ccvii-ccviii.

A reprint of 'The Order of the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion, for the use of the Church of Scotland. Authorised by K. Charles 1. anno 1636,' from the 1637 edition, without title-page, year, or place of publication is republished by Hall, *Fragmenta Liturgica* (V, 81-119). It is commonly supposed to have been originally edited by Bishop James Gadderar, of Aberdeen (1655-1733), or Bishop Thomas Rattray, of Dunkeld, in 1723. As a matter of fact the first dated edition was published in 1722, Edinburgh. Printed by James Watson, His Majestys Printer. MDCC XXII. 24 pp. It is the first of the well-known 'wee bookies.' In 1724 Gadderar edited 'The Communion Office for the use of the Church of Scotland. As far as concerneth the Ministration of the Holy Sacrament. Authorized by K. Charles I. Anno 1636.' Edinburgh. Printed by Mr. Thomas Ruddiman. 24 pp. 8vo. It is reprinted by Hall (*op. cit.*, pp. 123-43). The first re-fashioned edition after Gadderar's death was that of 1735, printed at Aberdeen (?) by two booksellers as a private venture. It was followed by others, in 1743 (reprinted by Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 145-68), 1752, 1755, and 1759. The 1735 edition embodied the changes which took place in actual use, but which up to that date the celebrant had marked on the margin of his copy by means of pen and ink. In this edition the parts of the 1637 service are printed in the order in which they are now commonly said, viz., with the prayer 'for the whole state of Christ's Church' after the consecration. There were, in addition, certain alterations, e.g., the words 'militant here in earth' are omitted, and 'which we now offer unto Thee,' are added in the prayer of oblation. These 'usagers'¹ changes persisted in most subsequent editions,

¹ Here it is that we see most distinctly the influence of the English Nonjurors upon the liturgy of the Scottish episcopal church. Nonjurors were those members of the Church of England who refused the oath of allegiance to William and Mary in 1689, on the ground that they were bound to King James II. Their number included nine bishops and four hundred priests. A separate organization was soon formed and nonjuring congregations continued to exist until the death of their last bishop Charles Boothe, in 1805. The separation introduced many changes from the usages of the Established Church. Soon a special mode of worship was compiled, and here it was that the apple of discord was thrown into their midst in the shape of what is technically called the 'usage controversy.' The controversy which arose in 1716 divided the Nonjurors into two parties called the 'Usagers' and the 'Non-usagers.' The former

and ultimately found a place in the edition of 1764. The 1755 edition, brought out by William Falconer (Falconar), of Edinburgh, contained alterations beyond its predecessors. This edition is reprinted by Hall (*op. cit.*, pp. 169-91); but, according to the late Bishop Dowden, *The Annotated Scottish Communion Office* (p. 95, n. 1) Hall is wrong in assuming (*Fragmenta Liturgica*, Vol. I, p. liv) that the edition of 1755 was issued by Andrew Gerard, bishop of Aberdeen. The office of 1755 is distinctly traceable to the influence of the great work of Thomas Rattray, the learned bishop of Dunkeld (1684-1743), *The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem*, 1744.¹ Prior to this standard work all the Scottish

were headed by Jeremy Collier (1650-1726) and Thomas Brett (1667-1743), the latter by Nathanael Spinckes (1653-1727). Spinckes and his party insisted that they were obliged to adhere to the present liturgy and could not make, nor allow others to make, any alterations in it. They all assigned the very highest importance to the Holy Eucharist as the central act of Christian worship. The usages, five in number, contended for and against by the two parties were (1) the addition of water to the wine, the mixed chalice; (2) prayers for the faithful departed; (3) prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost on the consecrated elements; and (4) the oblatory prayer, offering the elements to the Father as symbols of His Son's body and blood. These four points were contained in the first liturgy of Edward VI and were characteristic of the worship of the church in the early ages. These four were sometimes called 'the greater usages,' in distinction from certain other usages looked upon as of less importance, viz., (1) baptism by threefold immersion; (2) unction in confirmation; (3) anointing of the sick; and (4) reservation of the sacrament for the sick. Both sides believed in the restoration of King Edward's communion office as contained in the liturgy of 1549. Their contentions were based upon their interpretation of this communion office and the question at issue was whether prayers and directions of Edward VI's first liturgy having been altered or omitted by later revisions should be restored or not. The Usagers contended for a restoration, the Non-usagers were content with the liturgy as it stood at the time of the separation. The controversy began moderately but, as is the way of controversies, gained rapidly in force and vehemence. While the controversy was at its height, the 'Usagers' published the well-known Communion-Office of 1718. In this book, besides other alterations, the prayer for the church was placed after the consecration and oblation. The invocation of the Holy Ghost was placed after the words of institution.

¹ Rattray was successively bishop of Dunkeld and of Edinburgh. He was one of the straightest of Nonjurors and sided with Hickes and Collier in the controversy about the 'usages.' His studies confirmed him, also, in the conviction that the order of the parts of the prayer of consecration which had been adopted in the Nonjurors' Office of 1718 was the order of the liturgy of the church in the earliest days of Christianity. At the request of a friend, Rev. Robert Lyon, he prepared in Greek and English his best-known work, which was published a year after his death, and is now exceedingly rare. It is '*The ancient liturgy of the church of Jerusalem*,

liturgies had the invocation of the Holy Ghost in the wrong place, a mistake originally due to Archbishop Cranmer's misunderstanding of the Latin canon when he wrote out the form of consecration for the prayer book of 1549. Rattray and his contemporaries shifted the invocation to the end of the consecrating formula, which we see in the edition of 1764, the standard of the finest liturgy in the English language now in actual use, primitive in structure, catholic in arrangement, yet modern in its comprehensive brevity, produced by the Scottish church when, under the bitterest persecution by the English government it was reduced to a 'shadow of a shade,'

being the liturgy of St. James, freed from all latter additions and interpolations of whatever kind, and so restored to its original purity: by comparing it with the account given, in 347 A.D., of that liturgy by St. Cyril, presbyter and afterward bishop of Jerusalem, in his fifth mystagogical catechism, and with the Clementine liturgy, &c. Containing in so many different columns: (1) the liturgy of St. James, the assumed first head of the Church of Jerusalem, as we have it at present, the interpolations being only printed in a smaller character; (2) the same liturgy without these interpolations, or the ancient liturgy of the church of Jerusalem; (3) St. Cyril's account of that liturgy in his fifth mystagogical catechism; (4) the Clementine liturgy; (5) so much of the corresponding parts of the liturgies of St. Mark (Alexandria), St. Chrysostom and St. Basil, as may serve for illustrating and confirming it. With an English translation and notes, as also an appendix containing some other ancient prayers, of all which an account is given in the preface. London. Printed by James Bettenham. M. DCC. XLIV. xx, 122 pp. 8vo.

Cyril, of Jerusalem, was born about 315 A.D., and died, probably, in 386 A.D. He spent his whole life in Jerusalem, where, in time, he became bishop. About the year 347, (348, Maclean) he preached at the Easter festival the discourses which are known under the name of mystagogical lectures (*catecheses mystagogicæ*), i.e., instruction introducing candidates into the knowledge of the mysteries, a name applied to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, &c. The fifth of these lectures includes a commentary on the Lord's Prayer, and it aims at explaining to the catechumens the reasons for the various parts of the service. The washing of hands, the kiss of peace, the prayers, the responses of the people, and the administration of the Eucharist. It is, in a word, a sermon to a class of young people, explaining the nature of the church service, forms which had existed before him for a long time. In many respects it agrees with the communion office of the Book of Common Prayer.

The Clementine liturgy: The most primitive of the early Greek liturgies is that body of prayers, found in the eighth book of the pseudo-Clementine constitutions. It does not, in the strict sense of the word, constitute a liturgy, since its forms are designed, not so much for the people, as for the officiating minister. They were never published in early days, but only privately circulated. Nevertheless, when viewed in this light, they possess a marked value of their own for their character and the indications of a high antiquity clearly observed in them. This liturgy probably exhibits the worship of the church, as it was in the first half of the third century, reaching back

as Sir Walter Scott put it.¹ Be it remembered here that the bill for the repeal of the penal laws which had oppressed the Scottish church for many years, was not introduced into parliament until 1792.

During the early eighteenth century the Scottish clergy, as mentioned, used the communion service from the 1637 edition, gradually modifying and improving it under the influence of the careful liturgical studies of the Nonjurors. Led by Rattray the Scottish bishops brought the liturgy into the form found in the edition of 1764 with the primitive and at one time almost universal arrangement in the consecration service of (a) recital of the words of institution, (b) prayer of oblation, and (c) invocation of the Holy Ghost. Then follow (d) the prayer for the church on earth

quite probably to the time of Tertullian. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western* (I, xliii), states: 'We conclude . . . that the Clementine liturgy is constructed on the Antiochene scheme and includes the Antiochene *diakonika*, worked over and expanded by the compiler of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, who is also the pseudo-Ignatius, and filled in with prayers which, whatever sources they may include, are very largely the work of the same compiler.' According to the latest writers the date of the Clementine literature is attributed to the fourth century (Dorn Butler in *Journal of Theological Studies*, X, 457; Hort, *Clementine Recognitions* [London, 1901], p. 130).

There were in use in the early Syrian and Egyptian churches three principal and most venerable forms of service, viz., those of St. Basil the Great, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, from 370 to 379; Gregory, the theologian; and Cyril of Alexandria. Of these the first was the oldest pattern. It included, also, the Basilian liturgy of the Alexandrian church and the liturgy of St. Chrysostom, which are only variations of it. It was more widely in use throughout the East than any other; everywhere, indeed, except in Jerusalem, where the Liturgy of St. James was used, and in those churches in Alexandria which clung to the pretended Liturgy of St. Mark. St. Basil was eminent alike as theologian, pulpit orator, church leader and saint, the most illustrious light among the constellation of brilliant men that adorned the church of the fourth century. He reduced the extant various and less perfect sacramental liturgies, differing in different churches, to one form, to which his great name gave a currency that enabled it soon to set the others at naught. That this liturgy was afterward successively enlarged, modified, interpolated, &c., cannot be denied; but these later interpolations and changes are the best proof to its greater relative antiquity.

¹ "Good collections of the 'wee bookies' are preserved in the theological college library of the Scottish Episcopal church, Edinburgh; in the library of St. Mary's Cathedral, Edinburgh; the Forbes library at Coates Hall, and in the private collection of Mr. F. C. Eeles," Principal Perry of Edinburgh. *The Bibliography of the Scottish liturgy*, by Eliza H. Dowden and Francis C. Eeles. Privately printed, 1918, 11 pp., 12mo, gives an almost complete list of the Communion Office from the year 1722 to 1914.

and commemoration of the faithful departed, and (e) the Lord's Prayer. This is the order found in the earliest liturgies known, and persists to this day in all Eastern churches. It is found, likewise, in the Nonjurors' liturgy of 1718, in the preparation of which Rattray, then in London, assisted materially; and in Deacon's *Devotions* , of 1734. It is probably represented, though with great obscurity in the Roman Catholic liturgy which, to be sure, is dislocated in its order and almost disfigured by the ceremonial acts which grew up in the Middle Ages around the narrative of the institution at a time when no one knew anything about liturgies.¹

The edition of 1764 was made under the presidency of Primus William Falconer, bishop of Edinburgh, and of Robert Forbes, bishop of Ross and Caithness (1708-1775). Its title reads: The | Communion-Office | for the use of the | Church | of | Scotland, | as far as concerneth the | Ministration | of that | Holy Sacrament. | Edinburgh. | Printed for Drummond, at Ossian's Head. | MDCCLXIV. 24 pp. It was published in 12mo and in 8vo. An accurate reprint of the octavo edition, in reduced form, is given in Dowden, *The Annotated Scottish Communion Office* (1884; pp. 133-56), another in Hall, *Fragmenta Liturgica*, volume 5, pp. 193-216. *Ibid.*, pp. 217-24 contains variations from a copy which is said to have belonged to, and been used by, Bishop John Alexander of Dunkeld (died 1776), the immediate successor of Rattray.

The Scottish prayer of consecration was adopted in the American rite, and has thus spread over a very large part of the Anglican communion.

In none of these 'wee bookies' was the name of the editor printed until Bishop Skinner's in 1800,² which is reprinted by Hall

¹ Compare Dowden, *The Workmanship of the Prayer Book*, chap. iii, pp. 47-56; L. M. O. Duchesne, *Christian Worship* (London, 1903); Edmund Bishop, 'The Genius of the Roman Rite,' in *Essays on Ceremonial*, pp. 287-307; reprinted in his posthumous *Liturgica Historica* (1918), pp. 1-19.

² John Skinner was born in 1744. He was consecrated bishop coadjutor of Aberdeen, September 25, 1782, and bishop in 1786. He took the principal part in transmitting the episcopal succession to America. It was with him that correspondence was opened by George Berkeley, subdean of Canterbury and son of the famous bishop of Cloyne, owing to the delay in the negotiations with the English hierarchy. Skinner became Primus in 1788 and died July 13, 1816. In anticipation of the

(*op. cit.*, pp. 253-76). He was also the author of 'Prayers used in the consecration of St. Andrew's chapel, Aberdeen, 1795' and of 'Forms of prayer and thanksgiving for particular occasions, to be used in the diocese of Aberdeen, according to the canons of the episcopal church in Scotland. Aberdeen. Printed by D. Chalmers and Co., 1812.' Both treatises are reprinted by Hall (*op. cit.*, pp. 310-36).

The edition of the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments. . . . Edinburgh, Lendrum, 1849, put forth under the auspices of Patrick Torry, bishop of St. Andrews, was speedily condemned by the episcopal synod of Aberdeen, in April, 1850, as having neither synodical nor canonical authority and as not being what it purported to be. The bishop, very old and infirm at the time of its publication, was probably more than assisted by some of the younger clergy who had come fresh from England and influenced the reshaping of the rubrics considerably.

In 1863 the Scottish episcopal church adopted the English prayer book.

A few years ago, in 1912, a cautious revision of the prayer book and of the Scottish communion office was completed, and a 'schedule' approved, on behalf of the college of bishops of the episcopal church in Scotland, W. Brechin, Primus,¹ February 22, 1912, was published with the title, 'The Scottish liturgy for the

approaching peace, Rev. Samuel Seabury (1729-1796) was elected on March 25, 1783, by the clergy of his native state, Connecticut, to be their bishop. He sailed for England soon after the preliminaries had been signed and arrived in London on July 7. The appeal of his diocese to the archbishop of Canterbury, John Moore, which had been made for his consecration to the episcopate, was not successful because somewhat premature in its political bearings. After a year spent in fruitless negotiation, Seabury had recourse to the bishops of Scotland. He was consecrated on Sunday, November 14, 1784, in the chapel of Bishop Skinner's residence in Aberdeen by three Scottish bishops. Before leaving Scotland he signed a *concordat* with the Scottish bishops by which, among other items, he agreed to promote those restorations of the eucharistic liturgy which have since become the characteristic feature of the American Prayer Book, taken over by the General Convention of 1789, from Seabury's, Communion Office, 1786.

A succinct arrangement of the Scottish office of 1764 with Seabury's of 1786, and the American of 1892 may be seen in Procter-Frere's *History of the Book of Common Prayer*, pp. 510-21.

¹ The most reverend Walter John Forbes Robberds, bishop of Brechin since 1904, and primus of the Scottish Episcopal church since 1908.

celebration of the Holy Eucharist and Administration of Holy Communion, commonly called the Scottish Communion Office. Cambridge. At the university press.' (2), 32 pp. 8vo. It is followed by part 2: 'Permissible additions to and deviations from the service books of the Scottish church as canonically sanctioned ' (2), 62 pp.

The schedule was followed, exactly a year later, by 'The Book of Common Prayer, According to the Use of the Church of England; and the Scottish Liturgy, and the Permissible additions to and Deviations from the Service Books of the Scottish Church, as canonically sanctioned. Cambridge. At the university press. 1913. lvi, 698 pp. 8vo. The new matter in this edition has been given in its intended place. Nothing could be more simple, less disturbing, or more effective, than the line in the left-hand margin which marks the new matter wherever it occurs.'

'We do not doubt,' says the reviewer in *The Guardian*, March 14, 1913, p. 347, col. 2, 'that most of our readers will agree, that the greater part of the changes are such as we might be glad to have made permissible in England. Probably their chief criticism will be that our Northern brethren might very well have done rather more while they were about it.' But it must be kept in mind that in the Scottish liturgy 'there is no rubric dealing with the ornaments of the minister; and there is explicit permission to reserve the sacrament for the sick according to long-existing custom in the Scottish church. It is plain, therefore, that these were matters that could be left untouched. But we are still left to wonder why nothing was done with regard, let us say, to the rubric before the Athanasian Creed, or with the translation of the Psalter, or the much debated answer of deacons at their Ordination. . . . '

¹ The late Bishop John Dowden's great work on this revision of the Scottish liturgy is well and feelingly described by Bishop Anthony Mitchell in his *Biographical Studies in Scottish Church History* (1914), pp. 285-87.

² 'The reason was to avoid controversy. England was ill-advised to touch the Athanasian Creed at present, for the result is paralysis of all revision'; thus (Principal Perry, of Edinburgh, in a letter to the present writer, in which he further states that 'in reviewing the Prayer Book the Scottish Commissioners resolved to leave out all questions of theological import and to confine themselves to such alterations, as the Church was ripe for. The Athanasian Creed may come up later, but it would have been a mistake to risk the chance of any revision because of this. The English revision has been violently opposed on this ground and it is doubtful if anything will come of it.'

We have to congratulate the Scottish Church upon what has been achieved. We do this with a sense that it ought to be a real help and stimulus to ourselves.'

This new edition of the Scottish Prayer Book contains all the English Prayer Book and many additional collects in large type. It is practically indispensable now to the clergy of the Church of England, until they get their own supplementary Prayer Book.

A new distribution of the Psalter throughout the year, prepared by the committee appointed by the Scottish bishops and revised on June 17, 1915, has been issued from the Cambridge university press. It is a scheme formed on sound lines.¹

¹ See, further, *The Guardian* (March 30, 1916), p. 284, col. 4.

THE DESCRIPTION OF RELIGION

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The inveterateness of religious phenomena is a fact which seems to establish beyond a peradventure the universal experience of the worthfulness of religion to the human race. Once in a while someone comes forward with the announcement that he has discovered a group of people devoid of religion. But always on closer investigation it has been ascertained that there are some cult ceremonies or practices, some meager beginnings of a religion with which the observer had neglected to reckon. Nor does human history record a time, be it never so remote, when men lived their lives without experiencing the need and achieving some forms answering to their felt need of a religion. The oldest available documents, inscriptions, and other monuments go to show that religion was often a much more inclusive and absorbing subject among the ancients than it is for many modern people. It is true that the lines of demarcation between religious phenomena and other social facts are much more vague among less cultured peoples. Yet for that very reason it is possible to appreciate all the more the fact that, among all people and in all the stages of human history religion is a fact with which we must take account.

It is not difficult to account for the fact that some peoples have been accounted to be destitute of religion. The explanation is to be found in the presuppositions of those who have pronounced judgment. The inclusiveness or exclusiveness with which the phenomena are treated is determined by the scope of one's definition of religion. It is possible to have a definition so broad that it will include all the social facts of experience, morality, politics, recreation, and in short everything in which the group is trying to achieve or conserve something that it regards as worthful. For such a definition the political mass meeting, harangued to excitement by an agitator, and the football match, with its surging,

cheering crowds, has the same flavor as a religious gathering. Certainly these are all attempts of the group to give expression to an experienced need and to achieve a certain value. Yet there are surely clear enough distinctions in the ways through which the attempts are made to enable us to make a clearer differentiation between religious facts and other social facts.

Religion has suffered more frequently and more deplorably at the hands of those whose definitions are too narrow in scope than from those over-broad. A friend of the writer's informed a mutual acquaintance of his intention to attend a celebrated educational institution for the study of comparative religion, whereupon the gentleman said: "There is no comparison." To him religion and Christianity were identical. Brahmanism, Buddhism, Islam, Confucianism, etc., were all counterfeits, falsehoods, "religions so-called."

The inevitable result of such a narrowing of the content of religion is that one is constantly coming in contact with phenomena that are inexplicable, if they cannot be called religious. One of the outstanding illustrations is Hinayana Buddhism. Measured by the standards of many definitions of religion Buddhism in its earlier history remains more or less of a conundrum. It is not infrequent to hear people in common parlance say that Buddhism is a philosophy, but not a religion. Yet surely the history of Buddhism is the story of religious development. If there is little or nothing said of a god or gods in the Hinayana period, the omission is made more than good in the Mahayana and Tantrayana periods. And moreover, the student of Buddhism finds the element of a real religious yearning, a yearning for inner peace through right relationships with one's greater environment, in a purer form, with less of an admixture of psychological and theological speculation, in the earlier than in the later stages of Buddhistic development. So that a definition of religion that precludes Buddhism is inadequate.

The facts of religious experience are so multiform in their significance, their intensity, their degree of differentiation from other social facts, their cultural associations, and their geographical and chronological bearings that the formation of a definition of

religion is increasingly difficult. One wonders in view of the bewildering variety of phenomena which are called religious whether the attempt is desirable. One thing is certain. Religion, like science, and government, and art, and truth, is a collective term. There is no such thing as pure abstract religion, apart from the historical, concrete forms, any more than there is pure science, or pure government, or pure art, or pure truth, abstracted from the sciences and governments and arts and truths. So that a definition of religion is, of necessity, an abstraction of the elements common to all the concrete forms, and the task of defining religion is primarily logical. Inasmuch as the elements in common are chiefly mental or spiritual, the external or cult side exhibiting the greatest breadth of variety, the definition which will do justice to the situation must be psychological.

The truth of this conclusion must be apparent to anyone who has made any serious observations in the field of the history of religions. In their primitive forms religious phenomena are scarcely distinguishable from the medley of social customs and practices of the group as it engages in its various pursuits of war, the dance, agriculture, fishing, etc. They are confused with magical ceremonies as well as with the mass of social habits and practices. The problem of finding the common element in those rude beginnings, in the highly liturgical services of Catholic Christianity, in the philosophical speculations of Brahmanism, and the ethical doctrines of Buddhism or Confucianism is the problem which confronts the person who would define religion. Even within the individual religions the variety of phenomena is sometimes perplexing. Popular Hinduism and philosophical Hinduism, so far as externals are concerned, have very little in common. Hinayana and Tantrayana Buddhism are wider apart even than the centuries which separate them in origin. And who would think, from outward observations, that the Holy Rollers and the Greek Catholic church were both interpretations of the Christian religion? Evidently, if there is anything in common in all the bewilderment of cult forms and ceremonials, it must be sought in a common attitude of mind that induces men under varying circumstances to develop such widely different rites and rituals.

Can we ascertain, with some degree of assurance, what the elements may be which are characteristic of the attitude of mind experienced by people when they are religious? Such an attempt is more likely to be scientifically successful than the attempt to formulate a definition. In other words a psychology of religion is more scientifically achievable than a logic of religion. It is more feasible to ascertain the attitude of mind common to all religions than to formulate a definition that will be broad enough to be commensurate with the great variety of individual religions, and at the same time express the essential attributes. So, without attempting to add another to the long list of definitions of religion, I shall be content to make a few observations of a descriptive nature.

I

The essence of religion is social. The attitude of mind common to all peoples when they are religious is social. To be sure, the business of socializing is conducted in a multitude of ways. At the same time it is characteristic of all peoples that when they are religious they adopt a social attitude. Now a social attitude is possible only between persons, or in a person who personifies something outside of him so that he can socialize with it. A social attitude toward another person may lead to a great variety of activities in accordance with the terms of that relationship. The father-son, mother-daughter, wife-husband, politician-voter, employer-employee, ruler-ruled, relationships are all in the sphere of the interpersonal. Moreover, the way in which people discharge the duties pertaining to those relationships is determined to a considerable extent by their religious conceptions. At the same time the discharge of those relationships is not always or necessarily connected with religion.

In religion man's socializing world is bigger, broader than it is in the purely human relationships. He does not always reason it out, and conclude, as the Hebrew or Christian, that there is a personal power behind the world with whom he may have social dealings. But rites, ceremonies, and cults are evidence that man treats his world as though it were capable of social relationships, whether or not he is conscious of the meaning of his acts.

The ceremonials of primitive peoples afford a fair illustration. These are customs and rites of the group which it practices under the authority of its leaders with the aim of re-inforcing the life and activities of the group. There is a bewildering variety of these rites, some mimetic, some sympathetic, but all of them dramatic and symbolic. Many of them are meticulously performed because of a fear of some dire calamity which may otherwise happen. The prevention of some evil or danger is their function for the group. Others are sympathetic in the belief that like begets like so that desirable results can be obtained by preparing the kind of atmosphere or environment in which such things can happen. Others are mimetic on the supposition that a dramatic enactment, imitative of the rain that is needed or the victorious battle that is wanted, will produce the hoped-for end. In some instances deities are invoked who are presumed to preside over the especial fields of collective life, and at times the idol representing the deity whose co-operation is sought is brought from its accustomed place and given a place of importance in the enacted ceremonial. In other cases, the ceremonial is enacted without any conscious reliance upon a god or goddess. Nevertheless, I maintain that such a sense of dependence is present even when the object of the dependence is not consciously defined. It is impossible to conclude that the group would go through the enactment of its mimetic rites and symbolic ceremonials with such precision and care solely because of the entertainment offered through the drama. If it were only an undertaking for pleasure, the elements of fear and caution as to details would scarcely be so persistent and prominent. The performance of the ceremonial is evidently an undertaking which the group regards as of larger significance than that of the drama for its own sake. It is regarded as influential in determining the future course of events. It has the marks of a recognition, even though it be unconscious, of an external force or power the assistance of which may be gained through the correct enactment of the ritual. In a great many instances this force or power is consciously recognized, is personified, and the effort is made toward appeasing and gaining co-operation of the personified force. In any case, the ceremonial is the outcome of an attitude

that is essentially social toward the larger, the more than human environment.

In the case of such religions as those of Greece, Rome, Egypt, and Babylonia, popular Hinduism, and popular Buddhism, we have a mass of more or less complex polytheistic and idolatrous rites. In this case the situation is much more clear. The personification and deification of nature powers, the dead, animals, abstract characteristics, and even humanly wrought utensils and images is a part of the social attitude which expresses itself again in the ceremonial.

The sacrificial offerings, the votive offerings, the sacred meals, the dances, the songs, the use of charms and amulets, are further expressions of the desire of the group to enter into desirable social relationships with the world beyond the world of human relations.

The mystery religions of the Graeco-Roman world furnish another very interesting example of the social character of religions. These religions purported to offer to men as individuals a way of escape from the perils of the present and the dangers of the future, and the blessed salvation which they held out to men was through union with a particular deity which their mythology portrayed as having achieved a glorious victory so that he or she could assist men to some triumphant conclusion. The initiation ceremony was designed to bring to pass a spirit of unity between the person initiated and the triumphant deity. In most instances, the deity with whom union was attained through the initiation was regarded as having experienced death and resurrection, and hence able to insure for his devotees a triumphal issue over the powers of the nether world. This was without doubt symbolic of the change of the seasons, the passing from the winter to the spring, and these mystery cults were largely the outcome of the religious longings of people whose livelihood depended upon agriculture. It was a deliberate attempt to get into helpful social relationships with powers believed to be able to provide the satisfaction for felt needs.

Mysticism, like religion, is somewhat of a generic term, difficult of definition. It represents the attempt of consciousness to understand and appreciate the ultimate reality of things, and to enter into fellowship with that ultimate reality, conceived as amenable

to social relationships. Mysticism assumes a variety of forms, now laying stress on the philosophical, speculative, theoretical side, now on the practical, religious side. In some instances the thought is of an overmastering power, immanent in the universe, and of communion with that power, attained through the heart or affectional element in man. In other cases the power with which the mystic seeks communion is interpreted as identical with the world, and the pantheist naturally seeks absorption in that all-pervading life. So then whether it be Brahmanic pantheism, Buddhistic nihilism, neo-Platonic ecstasy, Persian Sufism, Scholastic submission, medieval contemplation, Madam Guyon's quietism, or the Friends' inner light, mysticism represents the quest for a complete social identification with or absorption in the life of the universe. The mystic yearns for the knowledge and enjoyment of God through union with him, whether he be conceived as transcendent to or corresponding to the world.

The sustaining elements in the great theistic religions are of a social nature. Whether we think of the propitiatory sacrifice, the votive offering, the hymn of praise, the suppliant prayer, the end of worship or cult as its beginning is to give the worshiper a sense of union and communion with God, or so to prepare the way that he may be the recipient of such blessings as the Deity may be able to grant. This "business with the gods" calls for an extensive range of manifestations including gratitude, homage, submission, supplication, propitiation, etc., but behind the ritual, the liturgy, and the ceremonial is the motive of winning the approbation of the Deity so as to enjoy his fellowship and his blessing. So to the Jew the favor of Yahweh was coveted above all else. The Mohammedan religion is known as *Islam* which means complete surrender to the will of God, and the devotee is called a Muslim or one who has so surrendered himself. In modern Hinduism nothing is more important than *bhakti* or devotion which is invariably connected with a particular deity, such as Krishna-bhakti. In modern Buddhism one of the most potent doctrines is that of the Buddha Amitabha, the bestower of boundless light and life. The Zoroastrian believes in a great cosmic conflict between the kingdom of goodness and light ruled by Ormazd and the

domain of darkness and evil over which Ahriman presides, and further that it is the chief end of man to ally himself with the cause of Ormazd, an alliance made possible by a life of faith and goodness. And the religion of Jesus Christ is concerned above all else with establishing a condition of harmony and fellowship between God and man. That was what Jesus meant by the "Kingdom of God." And that is what Christians conceive to be the *raison d'être* of the church.

The evidence is not all in by any means. But the evidence introduced may be said to represent the main type of religious phenomena. No important form of religious manifestations has been neglected. Look where we will, the same fact confronts us, the fact of the socializing character of religion.¹ Its world is not bounded by the confines of the human, and with that more than human world it is the business of religion to assist man in establishing helpful relationships.

II

The essence of religion is life not categories, participation not criticism, faith not proof. Perhaps that may be said to be an amplification of the social attitude toward the superhuman world. The world with which the religious person tries to establish social relations is not bounded by human restrictions. His experiences are with more than he can see, more than he can touch, more than he can know through the channels of sense, more than he can describe within the confines of the syllogism, more than he can prove, and yet the reality of his experiences are beyond question. The only difference is a qualitative difference; they are experiences in the realm of faith rather than proof.

The chief end of religion is to be a ministrant to life, in the language of Jesus to give us the more abundant life. And the life to which religion ministers refuses to be bound either by the limits of human relationships or the restrictions of temporal conditions.

¹ Professor Toy's definition of religion is largely in terms of this social element. He says "Religion is man's attitude toward the universe regarded as a social and ethical force; it is the sense of social solidarity with objects regarded as power, and the institution of social relations with them" (*Introduction to the History of Religions*, p. 1).

It looks beyond the *now* as well as beyond the *here*. Religion is a minister to life because it is concerned with the future as well as with the present. It holds up to its adherents the hope of a tomorrow that will be better than today.

It matters not where we look, this element is one that persistently reappears in the world-religions. The Indian looks forward to a happy hunting ground where game shall abound, and his faithful dog shall be his companion; such is his delineation of a heaven. The Hindu conceives of a future *moksha* or happiness in terms of the absorption of his *atman* or soul in the greater *brahman* or world-soul. The Buddhist keeps his mind fixed on *nirvana* when by the extinction of desire, the world-old cause of suffering, he shall attain at length to the peace and contentment that is possible only when self and its passions are overmastered. The Muslim paints his ideal future on the basis of the Jewish and Christian conceptions of heaven which Muhammad found current in the Arabia of his day with an intensifying of the elements which would yield the greatest sensuous delight—the delicate viands, sparkling wines, luxuriant couches, palatial dwellings, dark-eyed maidens. And again the Muslim portrayal of hell exhausts the imagination of its artists in painting the ugliest and most refined cruelties in store for the infidel. So, too, the Christian literature of all times has reflected the persistency of the Christian hope of a heaven for the righteous and belief concerning a hell for the unrepentant.

In other words we may say that religion is concerned with an ideal. It is based on the belief that the present life is not all that could be desired. The future holds in store something that will surpass anything that has been yet experienced. It is a portrayal of the ideal happiness, the *summum bonum* in terms of a hope to be realized. There can be no doubt that this is one of the most potent reasons for the inveterateness of religion. It ministers to the abundant life of humanity by holding high a hope more blessed than any achievement of the past or experience of the present. So it helps man in the "struggle for existence" to persevere because he sees beyond him and before him a goal worthy of his struggle. "Aye but a man's reach must exceed his grasp or what's a heaven for?"

The way to the attainment of an ideal is the way of faith. Faith sees the ideal which personality portrays for itself and sets about making it a reality. It is the link, the only available and the only possible link between the ideal and the real. It is the medium through which the inexperienced becomes the experienced. Even more than that; it not only proposes to introduce us to new experiences which hope pictures as desirable, but it proposes to do that in spite of the facts of the past. The way of progress has ever been kept lit by the light of the faith of the men who have refused to be dismayed in spite of past failures. How many hundred years of endeavors has it taken before men began to attain the conquest of the air so that they could fly! And that is but one example of the fruitfulness of faith as a power to realize the ideal.

Nowhere is it more apparent that it is the mission of faith to be a great crusader into a new country than in religion. If religion invariably beckons its devotees toward the hope of a better day to come, then it also urges to make the adventure that the better day may be a realized fact. The experiences of the past may mock at us. Logic may ridicule us. Science may laugh at us. Nevertheless, unafraid and undismayed, we take the risk, we make the adventure, and if we do not actually attain, we come nearer the goal and feel the thrill and the glow of the life which can come to us only by faith.

Even the crudest, least cultured religions have called upon their adherents to make adventures. Mythology has had its tales of the conquests and accomplishments of the heroes of the past through the power of certain deities. It was not uncommon to have challenges on the part of the followers of one deity to those of another as to which deity could best reward the adventurer. Such was the rivalry between Elijah and the prophets of Baal. Unchastened though it may be, even the primitive religions constantly bear a summons to a life of faith. Krishna, Buddha, and Muhammad have been represented as calling men to make the venture of faith, and promising to them appropriate rewards. Very often, the ceremonial has been enacted as a concrete expression of the spirit of adventuring faith to which the religion bore its challenge.

No one will gainsay the fact that the message of Jesus of Nazareth was a challenge to faith. His own life was the greatest triumph of faith, great in its venture, and great in its success. And the establishment of a heavenly Kingdom among men was an adventure than which none has ever been more startling or more heroic. Moreover, his followers are constantly called upon to share with him in that life. Small wonder that Paul should think of faith and hope as two of the enduring elements of religion, second only in importance to the propulsive power of love.

Religion is indeed a matter of faith rather than proof. The savage cannot prove that he will win his battle because of his fidelity to his war-god as evident in the war-dance, mimetic of the battle soon to be staged. But he believes the dance efficacious, and he acts on his faith. The Hindu cannot prove that the stopping of *karma* will put an end to transmigration, and issue in absorption into the world-soul. But he believes that to be true and shapes his conduct accordingly. Neither can the Christian call on mathematics or science to demonstrate the things which he believes. Yet he insists with all the vehemence of heroic faith that God is good, that the portrait which Jesus gave us of God is true, that good will ultimately issue triumphant from the world-struggle and that evil will be finally overcome.

The religious attitude, for the express reason that it is one of adventure toward an ideal, is one of participation. Just as soon as one steps outside of the practical group and engages in an analytical or critical task, just so soon does he cease to be religious, and begin to be scientific. People are religious when they are actually engaged in some activity whether it be rite, ceremony, prayer, or science, which is interpreted as a way of socializing with the environing universe. The religious person is himself an integral part of the religious situation. Let an individual or group be so circumstanced that actual participation is no longer possible, and the activity loses its emotional tone, its socializing character, and its ability to satisfy the experienced need. An activity takes on the character of religion for the participants; for the observers the same activity is scientific data, laboratory material.

III

The religious attitude is essentially one of appreciation and appraisal. It is one of giving expression to our sense of worth or value. This is the normal outcome of what has already been noted in regard to the essence of religion. As the environment comes to be related socially to the group or to the individual, there is a constant effort to appreciate the significance of or extract the meaning from events in such a way as to make them instrumental in the furtherance of human welfare. "Certain elements in the life of a people come to consciousness as having peculiar value, and therefore the religious attitude is a special case of the larger sense of value."¹ They have *peculiar value* in ministering to the spiritual reinforcement of the group or individual by relating him socially to the cosmic environment.

The reason that a belief functions is the same reason that a cult form functions in the life of a group or of an individual. It affords satisfaction to an experienced need, another way of saying that it gives expression to a value. Let it cease to be the expression of a value, and it ceases to function as a belief, passing into the category of superstitions. A belief is never a superstition until it no longer functions as an expression of what the individual or the group holds to be worthful.

The religious attitude is expressed in ways other than the cult and belief. It is seen in the constant endeavor to extract meaning from the events with which people have experiences. The scientist finds his task in offering an explanation of an event in terms of cause and effect. But it is not the business of the scientist, be he never so exact and thorough, to interpret the significance of the event for life. The fact is that the more a scientist includes of interpretation and evaluation in his explanations, the more his explanations themselves are jeopardized and likely to be discounted. The only sort of interpretation allowed to him is what he may be able to do in the cold mechanical terms of science in the interests of more science. The artist's task is interpretative. He seeks to make an appraisal of his object in terms of beauty and dramatic expression. The moralist's task is interpretative. He seeks to

¹Irving King, *The Development of Religion*, p. 215.

reckon value in terms of human relationships. And the religionist is an interpreter, the medium of evaluation being the social categories of cosmic relationships. The religious man seeks to know the meaning and value of events in view of his understanding of his relation to the environing cosmos.

Especially is this the case with events of an untoward character. The ordinary Hindu in an Indian village offers a very good illustration of this. If the crops are good, and the family in good health, it would be dangerous to make full and frank acknowledgment of it as the favor of the gods. The very mention of it might break the charm. But let the rains fail, the crops disappoint, famine imperil, sickness or death visit the household, or any other calamitous event befall, and there is at once a questioning of the meaning of the calamity. "What have I done that such a misfortune should come to me?" "Why should God be angry with me?" In some such manner he questions the event for its meaning in the terms of his relationship with the deified powers which permit or send calamities or favors, adversities or prosperities, according to their will and pleasure.

The Mohammedan is pretty much of a fatalist and, like other fatalists, he has a ready-made interpretation of events. His universal answer to the questionings in regard to the events of all kinds, beneficent and maleficent, is "Kismet." It is the will of Allah. That atomic way of dealing with the divine will may be very convenient as a response to questions. But it really evades the question at issue by declaring under a religious guise that the event is inscrutable. And the predestinarianism of Calvinistic theology is precisely of a piece with all fatalism. In the current vernacular it is an answer that sidesteps the question. Nevertheless all fatalism has this to be said for it—it finds the meaning and worth of events as expressions of the will of a supernatural deity or power.

The Buddhistic interpretation of life is summed up in the doctrine of the Four Noble Truths. In the sermon of Benares the Buddha is made to recount the events that led up to his conclusions. A hermit in the wilderness, he encountered in turn a sick man, an old man, and a corpse, from which he reasoned that

the substance of life is expressed in sickness, old age, and death. To live is to suffer. But suffering is due to desire. Hence the overcoming of desire is the way to gain relief from the ills of existence. That led to the unfolding of the eightfold middle path whereby desire might be eventually quenched. Thus it is the first principle of Buddhism to interpret and appraise the events of life with a view to lightening the burdens to be borne in the future.

The world-view of the Christian is also one of interpretation and evaluation. To be sure, historic Christianity unfolds a variety of ways in which the problems and phenomena of life are viewed. And of course that is true of historic Buddhism, Islam, and the other world-religions. Among those who call themselves Christian are some who emphasize mysticism, others sacramentalism, others doctrinal orthodoxy, others individual conversion, others liturgical formalism, others confessionalism, others ecstatic manifestations, still others social and ethical reconstruction, while others are content with church attendance or mere respectability. Yet all of them lay claim to the Christian name, and profess to interpret the world from the Christian viewpoint. Perhaps the most inclusive definition of the Christian view of life would be to make such interpretations and evaluations of its events as will help to a life increasingly in harmony with the mind of Jesus Christ. And in some manner or other all so-called Christians have as their goal the attainment of such a life and of such a world-view.

One of the most trenchant illustrations of the Christian desire and tendency to extract meaning and value from the affairs of life is to be seen in the various attempts to read the Great War. It is all the more interesting because the majority of the nations ranged on both sides in the conflict were professedly Christian. On the one side there were the interpretations made by the Christian leaders of the Central Powers, especially of Germany. In their writings we find a glorification of war, and an attempt to vindicate the ruthlessness of the German policy on the ground that the end justified the means. The end, of course, was making German power preponderant which was given the same value as building up the Kingdom of God, executing divine justice, and propagating holy culture. In contrast there were the interpreta-

tions of the Christian leaders of the allied world, especially of the English-speaking countries. Participation in the war was viewed as a great crusade, aiming at the vindication of the Christian ideal of brotherhood, and the redemption of the world from the curse of militarism. So the war was sanctified for both sides by the idealism that was at stake.

It is the function of interpretation to describe the meaning of an event in terms of its consequences. The event is expected to issue in some sort of overt action, and the appraisal is made as an aid and a guide in determining the character of such action. It is a characteristic of religion so to interpret events that through them no values may be lost or jeopardized, and especially that the events may be made to contribute to the enrichment of life. The religious judgment is thus a judgment of worth on the basis of our cosmic social relationships, the criterion being human welfare.

Thus we have seen three elements which are constant in the religious consciousness. There is the socializing attitude, which is the attempt to have fellowship with the world that is beyond human relationships for the enrichment of experience. We may speak of it as a social technique of control. Then there is the element of a forward look. It is the province of religions to present to their devotees the hope of a better future, and to help them to make such an adventure of life that the ideal may be realized. To these two elements, we have added a third, namely that the religious view of life is one of interpretation and appraisal. These are by no means distinct and separable elements, but they interpenetrate and fuse into one another. Yet they are sufficiently constant for us to consider them as elements to be taken into account in our description of the religious consciousness. The religious consciousness thus includes an attitude, a world-outlook, and a technique of control. Its attitude is one of evaluation, its outlook forward-looking, and its technique social. It promises to men a more abundant life, here and now, and in the days to come still more abundance.

THE NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT IN SWITZERLAND

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It is the fate of all small countries, especially in our time, that they are looked upon, more or less, as mere satellites of their big neighbors. Our age is accustomed to think in quantitative terms and to weigh the importance of a country largely according to the number of square miles it covers. If this is not quite in accordance with reality in the realm of politics, as fine-discerning statesmen certainly would admit, it is altogether wrong in the sphere of civilization and spiritual life. A witty mind might even venture to prove the paradox that original civilizing forces have always sprung from small nations—Athens, Judea, Florence, Geneva, Holland. But leaving aside such extravagances, we certainly are on the solid ground of historical facts in asserting that the smallness or largeness of a nation has little to do with the contribution it is able to make to the spiritual “wealth of nations.” This also is true for Switzerland; but although this is a commonplace it may not be altogether useless to restate it at the present moment.

There was a time when Europe looked to little Switzerland—to Zürich, Basel, and Geneva—for its spiritual guidance. This time has passed long ago. But never has this little country ceased to contribute its important share to the world’s treasury, and more than once it has been in the van of that great army marching toward the light. I need but mention the names of Lavater, Pestalozzi, Rousseau, to awaken vast historical associations with movements of which the world is still enjoying the benefits.

In the nineteenth century the main problem for Switzerland, as for most European nations, was the reconstruction of its political

¹ The author, licentiate of theology of Zürich University, is the first Swiss Fellow of Union Theological Seminary, New York. He has published *Das Symbolische in der religiösen Erkenntnis* (Tübingen: Siebeck, 1914) and *Denken u. Erleben* (Basel, 1919).

organization and the transformation of its economic life on the basis of modern industry. There also through its vigorous democratic endeavor it was leading in Europe and was not only the refuge of all sorts of political martyrs, but, through its very existence, an incessant but quiet revolutionary force. Hand in hand with this political radicalism it developed or made room for the development of a theological radicalism which was not at home in other countries. It is true, it had no geniuses of the rank of Kant or Hegel or Schleiermacher, whose ideas laid the foundations of a new theology or even a new religion, although men like Biedermann, Alexander Schweizer, Hagenbach, Vinet, and others rank among the best of their time. But Switzerland has enabled this liberalism to step down from its lofty academical height to the street where the ordinary man walks, and to exchange its aristocratic solitude for the breadth of popular influence. It has had not only liberal professors, but also radical pastors who dared speak out what they thought, and even official church leaders who did not fear that the church of Christ would break down if the Nicene Creed were not repeated every Sunday before a community which did not understand it. This freedom, it is true, did not come as a matter of course; it had to be conquered, as does every valuable thing. But the instinct of the Swiss race for liberty, strengthened by its history carried it through at a very early date, when in other countries men were still debating in the terms of the Middle Ages and condemned even mild expressions of the new spirit. So it came that for the last thirty or forty years theological liberalism has been in some sense or other a commonplace in Switzerland and the fight against orthodoxy has become a Don Quixote fight.

But fight men must, and time moves fast enough to provide us new *real* problems when the old ones have become imaginary. The social problem arose—nay it was here before anybody was aware of its coming. A problem big enough not simply for theologians and ethicists, but for the combined forces of human idealism—too big, in fact. It got the better of us, and enslaved us, and hit us hard. There we are and we do not yet know whether the latest blow from which the world is slowly recovering is the last one or whether the worst is still before us.

It is always in times of hardship and pressure that new truth is born, because those times destroy our shams and unmask our idols. They force upon us a new realism and teach us the lesson of sincerity. We call those men prophets who first awake from the dream and who are no longer deceived by the slogans of their time. They stand alone, misunderstood and hated. For their task is a most unpopular one: criticism, not against this or that detail, but the searching analysis of the whole falsehood and insincerity of present-day existence, especially where it is masked in idealistic garments, in morality and religion. Not against some outstanding formations of them, but against moralism itself, religionism itself, they stand. They do not want to reform; Josiah is not Jeremiah; they hate patchwork as an insincerity and futility. Revisionists never had the great vision or the penetrating glance which goes to the very bottom and lays bare the roots. What the prophets stand for with an overwhelming sense of responsibility and awful necessity is revolution.

This is what has happened in Switzerland. The last twenty years of religious development in this country stand under the influence of the prophetic man Hermann Kutter and his collaborator, Leonhard Ragaz. Although the movement springing from them has its very distinct and significant influence on theology, it is far from being a theological movement. It has its roots in the sphere where man is a totality, thought, feeling, and will being undivided as yet, and where he faces the problem of life in its integral totality beyond the artificial distinctions of "religious," "moral," "social," or "political" questions. It is this radicalism, this going to the roots, and this integral view, as against all technical departmentalization, which has characterized it from its beginning up to now and which makes it difficult to handle it under any definite head, be it "revival" or "religious socialism" or "new theology" or any other ready-made formula. It is not even necessary to know much about its history. It might have taken place under quite different outward appearances and personal connections. A few words of historical retrospect may suffice.

The origin of the movement or one of its main roots is to be found in a remote quiet place in Württemberg, Möttlingen, and

Bad Boll, where Johann Christoph Blumhardt and his son experienced that wonderful revival which takes us back to the Apostolic age and which, for a time, made the little village a European spiritual center.¹ The enormous spiritual forces which emanated from this place contrasted very strikingly not only with the "spirit of this world" but also with what the church of those days could give. In the light of this new life the surrounding world and its nature reappeared as in all prophetic times as essentially wrong and devoid of the regenerative divine forces. On the other hand the great experiences of these men led them to a new hope for the birth of a new world, not by human energies and not through the slow process of so-called evolution, but through the revolutionizing outburst of transcendental forces.² Although there was no propaganda in any form—in fact a very marked abhorrence of any kind of it—it is from this center that some of the greatest religious influences have gone out. I need only mention Johannes Müller, Heinrich Lhotzky, and Friedrich Naumann. But the most dynamic concentrated power was no doubt the Bernese country pastor, Hermann Kutter, licentiate of theology of Bern University, for the last twenty years pastor of Neumünster, Zürich. Already in his early scholarly writings on *Clemens Alexandrinus* and on *Wilhelm von St. Thierry* one feels that the sphere of mere academical science is too narrow for him. He has a message not only for students but for the world. This message first broke forth in his Zürich sermons, *Die Welt des Vaters* and in his great philosophical work, *Das Unmittelbare*, which for the first time shows us the "strange mixture" of the "Platonic philosopher," the "apocalyptic revivalist," the "other-worldly mystic," and the "radical socialist" which has puzzled all who did not try, or were not able, to understand it "from within"—from that point of organic unity

¹ Cf. F. Zündel, *Chr. Blumhardt*, quoted by W. James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, p. 113.

² That Blumhardt the younger was in earnest with his religious realism became known to the world when, to the great astonishment of his pietist friends and relations, he entered, as the first minister in the world, the Social Democratic party and was enthusiastically elected by the laboring men as their representative in the *Landtag* in the early nineties. It seems, however, that he found the labor movement not yet ripe for his message and so he soon retired.

where all these different ideas are still melted together in the volcanic fire of religious originality. Nobody who knows Kutter will deny that his personality is of an exceptional unity and consistency in spite of its paradoxical traits. His next book is perhaps the strongest he has written, *Sie müssen*, an enthusiastic profession of socialism and an appeal of tremendous earnestness, which roused a storm of approval and criticism not only in Switzerland and Germany but also, being translated into different languages, in other countries. It was a creative appeal. It brought to life the religious socialist movement in Switzerland and changed distinctly the attitude of the church and of many intellectuals in regard to the social question.

It is not our concern here to follow the further development of the Swiss socialist movement. But we must mention at this point another leading personality, Leonhard Ragaz, minister at the Münster in Basel, now professor of systematic theology at Zürich University, a man with wide learning, exceptional vision, and the burning zeal of a radical. By his great political ability, as editor of the periodical *Neue Wege* and as professor at the university, he has become more and more the leading man of the movement.¹ Ragaz has had little time to publish. His works are a philosophical treaty, *Du sollst*, a volume of sermons, some booklets on ethical questions, such as antimilitarism, the new social order, etc., and a recent very influential book, *Die neue Schweiz* (1918). Those who want to know him would have to study the *Neue Wege* or, better, hear his lectures on Christian ethics and philosophy of religion. Kutter, who refrained from propaganda and political action, poured out the riches of the new-found truth in a series of books, *Gerechtigkeit*, *Wir Pfarrer*, *Die Revolution des Christentums*, *Reden an die deutsche Nation*, *Das Bilderbuch Gottes*, each of them covering another sector of that vast circle of life which he had sketched in his *Das Unmittelbare*. Some other books by other authors may be mentioned, viz.: Matthieu, *Die religiös-soziale Bewegung in der Schweiz*, Barth, *Der Römerbrief*, a volume of sermons by different authors,

¹ He and many others entered the Social Democratic party of Switzerland, believing in its religious background in spite of its atheistic profession. They were not afraid of proclaiming their great message from the ominous secular platforms of the "peoples' houses."

Wir zeugen vom lebendigen Gott, a small volume of sermons of highest quality by Barth and Thurneysen, *Suchet Gott so werdet ihr leben*, and the first social-religious catechism by Bader.¹

But where is the theology in all this? Is it merely an ethical movement emphasizing the social point of view as against traditional individualism? Or is it merely a revival movement, having its originality simply in its emotional and voluntary force? Like all vital, revolutionary religion, if for convenience' sake we may use this very misleading word, it is conscious of the great danger which lies in the theological formulation of new truths. It prefers to leave them in the flexible, living condition of occasional unsystematic, prophetic utterance. Kutter especially uses with mastery the instrument of paradox, in order to keep the mind moving, which otherwise is but too easily satisfied with a fixed formula, confusing the formula with its infinitely richer content or meaning. On the other hand this anti-intellectual view of life is not to be put on the same level as current pragmatic anti-intellectualism, which despises the 'I $\acute{\delta}\acute{\epsilon}a$ as a simple by-product or even as a deterioration of the higher spiritual life. In fact it might be called a new idealism, if we understand the word 'I $\acute{\delta}\acute{\epsilon}a$ as Plato and Fichte did, as the ever-active, creative power behind the intellectual process, which by itself undoes and reshapes and reformulates its own intellectual formulas, never satisfied with its actual expressions. It is, after all *truth* which "maketh you free." It is a word, a message, a Logos, an insight, a vision, which produces the new revolutionary energies, the new valuations and the new attitude toward life. Religious socialism is therefore hardly the characteristic, certainly not the comprehensive, term for the movement, just as little as "revival" or "anti-ecclesiasticism" would be. They are all consequences, not the origin. The origin is, as always in great spiritual movements, revelation of new truth. I will try, as far as intellectual operation can do it, to analyze the meaning of this truth and to show how from this source all the different features of the movement have sprung as necessary expressions.

¹ Inaccuracies in the quotation of titles may occur, as they are cited from memory, most of them not being available in American libraries.

Our brief historical account has led us to a dualistic conception of the universe as the guiding intuition. This world is not God and God is not this world. Furthermore, this world in particular, this human society with its chaos and antagonism, with its injustices and sufferings, with its stupidities and sin, is not God's world. And life in God, true *godliness*, true humanity is something very different from what we see now. To see this tremendous dualism and to be terrified and shaken to the depths by this insight, that is the first sign of an awakening. The social chaos of our present society, which is based on the deadening destructive soulless principle of capitalism, which raises the Thing to the throne and enslaves man, which works itself out necessarily in competition and war, is the first and most significant appearance of the essential wrongness of this world. But the saddest aspect of it is that also the "ideal" forces of society, especially the church, have not been aware of this fact. The church has acquiesced in this order, it has identified itself with it and supported its maintenance. It has by this shown that it is a part of it and that its professed idealism is but a poor ideology, a self-deceit. It did not really mean what it said, and all its "spirituality" and "religious life," which went hand in hand with the world's injustice, are shams in spite of all their beautiful expression in words and cult. A Christianity which does not cry out for a new order, which at its best makes certain timid "suggestions," is dead, however active and "religious" it may apparently be. In the face of the present world-situation the only indubitable unambiguous expression of real idealism would be a passionate, whole-hearted, revolutionary protest. From the church it has not been heard. But from another quarter it came; from the labor movement, socialism, especially in its radical form, the Social Democracy. These cry out, they feel and see the essential wrong, they protest with all their energy, not against this and that, but against the whole system of life. They see the necessity, not of reform, but of a thorough reconstruction from the foundation up. They have some vision of that other existence which the word "human" in its fullest sense expresses. In them there is something of that original will to life and sense of truth which comes from God and not from the world. "They must," or as the French

title reads *Dieu les mène*. Blumhardt the younger, the Württemberg pietist, was some twenty years ago the first to see that and joined the Social Democratic party, to the great astonishment of his pietist friends. Ragaz and others followed his example.

How was it possible that the Christian church did not become aware of this truth? There are the two parties, conservative orthodoxy, or pietism, and the new liberalism. Those of the first have the essential truth, but do not understand it. They hand down their precious treasures from age to age without making use of them, without intrinsically believing in them. The liberals, however, are possessed by an idea, the idol of the time, which dilutes the truth and makes it powerless, the idol of evolution. Evolution is a naturalistic concept based on a monistic view of the universe, the conception that the past contains the future, that history and life are a continuum, in which always the precedent accounts for the consequent. For that reason each phase is, ethically, about as good as it could be, circumstances being what they are and a good cannot be realized in the future, save by closest adaptation to the present. The general tenor of an evolutionist mind is therefore optimism about the present and a modest hope for the future. Again, evolution, in a comprehensive sense, as a world-system, inevitably leads to relativism, to the assumption that nothing is final, that everything has its good and bad features, that everything is a certain necessary moment in the evolutionary process and therefore excusable. The evolutionist is extremely tolerant, approving the words of Goethe, *Alles verstehen heisst alles verzeihen*. Again, absolute ideas and ideals being impossible, he takes his criteria from that which *is*. He is very apt to identify the "normal" or normative with the "average." His criticism will be very lenient, he sees more the nuances than the great contrasts.

There is no doubt that this evolutionary thinking has not only penetrated but wholly permeated modern theology and also modern ethical and religious thinking on the whole. It is against this axiom that the Swiss movement strongly reacted, although it never denied that there is a wide sphere in which it is valid.¹ No man

¹ Evolutionism will therefore be used in the depreciative sense of a world-metaphysic which raises evolution to an all-comprehensive, all-explaining monistic principle.

is or has *the* absolute. But every man has something *of* it. He may not in everything be certain, but in some essentials he *is* certain. And it is this certainty which gives him both his awful humility and his joyful pride. He knows for certain that he ought not to lie, that he is wrong in deceiving his generous neighbor, and that there will be no possible evolution to upset this present certainty, just as little as his certainty that $2+2=4$. It is a conscience which reacts against that evolutionism which so optimistically views the past and the present and cuts down its demands for the future. Conscience never agrees with the causal explanation of human wrong. It challenges the whole existing society as Luther did, and is certain that it is right in saying that things ought not to be and must not be as they are. This absolutism is inherent in all deep God-experience. The man who rests upon God knows that he has something which has nothing to do with time and evolution, that he touches the absolute, and that this supreme experience is not ultimately dependent on what has been. It is no effect of a natural cause. In this he stands outside the world. In this act the Beyond becomes a Here. He knows from his own experience that this transcendental reality bursts into his life, not as an effect of what has been and not in simple continuation of it, but as a revolutionary force which reverses the natural course of life. Evolution is a reality, but not the *only* reality. It is this Other, the contact of the absolute, of God himself, with the soul, or with life, which makes life worth while, and which makes history something more than a passing show. From this point of view, life and history obtain quite another significance: The man who has experienced the absolute cannot acquiesce in the relativities of the present. The words "necessary" and "natural" lose their weight for him. The past and the present so far as they are wrong are no longer natural but unnatural, whatever their natural history may be. The possibilities of the future are not limited, whatever the present may be. A man's own "imperfections" become inexcusable guilt. He views his life and life on the whole no longer from the standpoint of the world but from the standpoint of God, of the perfect life and the unlimited possibilities. All imperfections are natural, so far as it is natural not to avail yourself of the di-

vine possibilities which are open to you. The slowness of evolution is, as you know from your own ethical experience, guilt. There is no other reason for it than unreason itself, there is no excuse save the very thing which cannot be excused.

This liberating view leads also to a new understanding of the Bible, just as far from the shallowness of modern liberalism as from the lifeless traditionalism and narrowness of orthodoxy. Liberalism has had its great task, to free us from an outward mechanical authority, such as the dogma of the verbal inspiration was. But liberalism has also had its day—nay, more, it has gone far beyond its own limits. It tried to substitute its evolutionary conceptions for the old dogma—the most disastrous *μετάβασις εἰς ἄλλο γένος*—and the result could not but be confusion. A natural history of mankind was construed under the category of cause and effect, leaving out just those facts which are beyond the causal nexus and which are the essence of human history. If everything is but the effect of what has been before, then, of course, nothing can be supernatural, original, and absolute. Then everything *has* to be relative. But wherefrom do you derive this first assumption? It is just the one by which the human element in humanity and the spiritual element in spirituality is eliminated. Just the one thing which boasts itself “scientific” is the *πρῶτον ψεῦδος*. If once you have seen through the falsehood of monism; if you recognize the dualistic structure of this universe; if you come to see that there are facts which have their roots, not in what has been before them, but in a transcendent, timeless reality, that under this world of tangible existence there is an unseen volcanic underground which vertically breaks through natural history in a thousand spots, small and great—if you are free to see that, you will be free and unbiased to acknowledge an absolute revelation, if you happen to meet it, of divine truth and life. And this is the experience of Christianity. Jesus Christ, a human existence, has been the *locus*, where the divine forces pushed through the surface of natural history and revealed the full meaning and the full reality of existence, of life, of goodness, and of beauty; Jesus Christ, the Logos, that which is the Meaning in all life, that toward which and through which all life moves, in which man recognizes both his Wherefrom and Whereto. It is

an axiomatic prejudice, not science, that declares that the discoveries of modern theology have shaken the essence of the old Christian creed: Jesus the Word in the flesh. The crucified is the supreme expression of that dualism. Both its sides are there: that this world which crucifies the son of God is not the world of God; and that God is pouring out his forces into this world to make it his, not by any evolution but by revolution. There is no more revolutionary event than Jesus' existence and no more revolutionizing factor than his memory. Not the teaching of Jesus, not his example, is the salvation of mankind, but the revelation of the final truth in his existence. He *is* the word of God and to hear and understand and believe this word is salvation. In him for the first time in the world's history full humanity and divinity are revealed, realized. In him "behold the Kingdom of God is among you."

Modern historical science has developed another way of looking at this historical fact. But it has not superseded the old one, just as little as physiology of the brain processes has superseded logic. Modern history gives, so to speak, the physiology, the outward causality of the history of revelation. Religious intuition, *πίστις*, gives its "logic," its meaning, its truth. It is an enormous confusion which the theory of evolution has brought into the whole of life, when it thinks to have superseded the old dogma. The old Christian dogma, in all its essentials, still stands untouched by modern thought. It is the great divine truth in a petrified form. There is infinitely more truth in Augustine or Eckehardt than in Herbert Spencer, although most of his statements, as far as facts are concerned, may be correct. Religion's concern is not with the empirical "physiological" aspect of the universe but with its transcendental meaning, not with the *de facto* but with the *de jure* question. The Darwinist theory of the origin of man may be correct; but the theory of the fall is also correct and much more essential. "Physiologically" men may descend from the ape. But essentially his origin, his paternal home, his birthplace, is not in this world. As soon as he awakens to conscious life, he also becomes aware of the fact, that he ought to be another than he is, and that he is, how he knows not, responsible for this sad change. The same parallelism or the same confusion is to be found in other

questions. Take the "theology of Paul." Modern science has made wonderful progress in disclosing the "physiology" of his ideas. But if you have discovered that the idea 4 after the ideas $2+2$ is due to certain physiological processes, that does not exclude the fact that 4 is also in merely mental connection (logical necessity) with $2+2$. So with Paul's ideas. They may come partly from rabbinism partly from Hellenistic sources—no matter. They form, nevertheless, an inward, mental unity, and the epistle to the Romans is just as much a necessary organic unity as a sonata of Beethoven. We have attributed too much importance to these discoveries of modern science. They may be true, but they are of little weight. There is a level on which the differences between the "synoptic Jesus" and "Paulinism" and "Johannism" become trifles as compared with their essential unity. But this essential unity cannot be obtained by simple abstraction of what they have in common in their expression of truth, but only by penetration to the bottom of their common truth itself.

It is scarcely necessary to say that our movement is also strongly opposed to present-day psychology, which is based on the belief that the methods of natural science are applicable to the mind—the same unrealistic monism which is at the bottom of all modern thought. This relativist psychology has made the attempt to put on one level all religious experiences so far as their truth is concerned. Such a sophistic toleration is utterly repugnant to all vigorous, earnest religion. It is also scientifically wrong, as it is based on a false conception of experience. In religion as in other fields there are seers and non-seers, there is penetration which reaches the absolute, and superficiality which sees it only through the broken medium of relativities. The more superficial the insight, the more diversity. The deeper it is the more unity. The highest mountain tops all reach the same blue sky, always and everywhere. But this common experience or truth of the seers is something very different from that modern watery "religion" or "morality" or "religious morality" which it is sometimes hard to distinguish from a merely subjective play of imagination. It is saturated with the awful sense of the divine reality and presence. It is fully aware that God and World are *two* and to touch God or

be touched by him is something very different from all world-experience. Old supernaturalism, in spite of its crude and inadequate expression, is much more true than the modern conception of a closed universe. There is a world with its own half-chaotic causality of which man is a part. There is also a world-order, a natural flow of things with a certain evolution. But besides there is a living God with his own order specifically different from the world-order, contradictory to it in most points, although from another point of view it is a fulfilment of the natural order. And this living force works its way through the world, using its powers but reversing their direction, a revolutionary force; not a blind *élan vital*, but a purposive personality. His aim is to destroy the other world-order and to create in its place his own order, however we may explain the existence of this other order. Man has a secret access to this Beyond. He can approach it or be approached by it. That always means somehow reversal, revolution. This approach is both knowledge or seeing, and love or will, or, rather, these both are, in their deepest essence, one. To understand the lovable means to love it. But there is also a second-hand knowledge and love, traditional dogmatism and self-made sentimental religion. The difference can be measured by the measure of revolutionary energy. Where there is a harmless goody-goody optimism and an everlasting smile, trust in an evolution and superficial talk about progress, the attempt to build the Kingdom with the forces of this world, much activity and little concentration, words without "teeth," there, be sure, is not the Spirit of God. It is certain that a church which identifies itself with the kingdoms of this world and which only murmurs tame and half-smiling suggestions on behalf of the present world-order has little in common with the "Hosts of God" by which he builds his Kingdom. Again, a theology which scarcely dares to speak of God as a reality and which overlooks the essentials behind the details of the make-up is far from being a guiding force toward that new world. But there are signs of a new awakening; not those carefully prepared and organized self-made "revivals" and prayer-cannonades which we still take too seriously, but now and then some Centurion of Capernaum, a hunger and thirst for something better, a sincere

whole-hearted disgust with things as they are, a courageous uncompromising protest and earnest break with that which belongs not to God.

I have tried to reproduce the main traits of our Swiss movement so that its significance for the whole life does not disappear under the details of an ethic or theology. It will not be difficult, I hope, to complete this sketch to a finished picture, to see how, e.g., the new conception of truth will lead to a transcendental philosophy as its intellectual expression, or how it necessitates a restatement of the relation between metaphysics and religion; that this criticism of evolution will lead to a new valuation of old truths as against the overrating of modernism, and the *Weltanschauung* of the nineteenth century will be seen as a comparatively unsubstantial contribution to the whole, as might be expected from its concentration on material problems; that there will be a critical attitude toward church activity or similar activities which are based on the conception of progress by evolution and toward display of activity in general, as being an easy way of dodging the main problems with the great danger of leading to mere pseudo-solutions which hide the problems more than they solve them; that there will be a great emphasis laid upon concentration more than expansion, upon developing personalities strong and clear and filled with the spirit of God before going to sell the little nothing we have. The Kingdom of God has never been advanced by organization and business-like enterprise and rush of activity, but by men who had the passion and the persistence to listen to the Word until they had understood it so fully that it *burst* out into life and fellowship. It is the men who have been in solitude with their God who have had much to give, not those who ran about with empty hands. It is not a mystic of the Middle Ages but the "synoptic" Jesus who said, "Mary has chosen the better part." It is this feeling: Give us, Lord, we are so poor, fill us, we are so empty, come to us with Thy forces, for we are weak—which we need most of all. The real great forward movement will come when we again understand the basic word of Christ: *Blessed are ye poor.*

LUKE—TRANSLATOR OR AUTHOR?

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The question whether Luke translated written Semitic sources is not a new one. It was asked some time ago, but recently Professor C. C. Torrey has discussed it in a series of articles and has answered it emphatically in the affirmative.¹ Those who have reviewed his work appear with slight exception to agree with his verdict,² but they offer little or no examination of the evidence. Instead the discussion has developed into a debate over the inferences which should be drawn from such a conclusion.

The object of the following pages is to raise again the previous question, with the hope not of giving a final answer, but of restating the problem and of encouraging a more thorough examination. Attention here will be confined to the literary and linguistic aspects of the subject. No criticism is offered of Torrey's other conclusions, with many of which the present writer is inclined to agree on independent grounds. As compared with the analysts of Acts, with the advocates of *Tendenz*, and with many of the historical critics,

¹ "The Translations Made from the Original Aramaic Gospels," *Studies in the History of Religions Presented to Crawford Howell Toy* (1912), pp. 269 ff.; *The Composition and Date of the Acts* (1916); "Fact and Fancy in Theories Concerning Acts," *American Journal of Theology*, XXIII (1919), 61 ff., 189 ff. These three essays are quoted in the following pages as *Translations*, *Composition*, and *Fact and Fancy*, respectively.

² F. J. Foakes Jackson, "Professor C. C. Torrey on the Acts," *Harvard Theological Review*, X (1917), 352 ff.; Benj. W. Bacon, "More Philological Criticism of Acts," *American Journal of Theology*, XXII (1918), 1 ff.; William J. Wilson, "Some Observations on the Aramaic Acts," *Harvard Theological Review*, XI (1918), 74 ff.; "The Unity of Aramaic Acts," *ibid.*, 322 ff.

Since this article was written some foreign comment has come to hand not all favorable to Torrey's thesis; see especially F. C. Burkitt, *Journal of Theological Studies*, XX (1919), 320 ff. Note also F. J. M. Vosté, *Revue Biblique*, XIV (1917), 300 ff.; J. Moffatt, *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, 2d edition (1919), 630 f.; A. S. Peake, *Commentary on the Bible* (1920), 742; C. A. A. Scott, *Expository Times*, XXXI (1920), 220 ff.

Dr. Torrey seems to have much the best of the argument. His treatment of historical topics is marked by sound sense and by a wholesome acknowledgment of the limitations of our knowledge. He is aware of the difficulty of proving dependence of Acts on any known or unknown Greek source, as Krenkel tried to prove the writer's dependence on Josephus, or Norden the influence of a model missionary sermon on Acts 17.¹

The evidence appealed to as proving Semitic sources in Luke's writings is somewhat different from that on which critics rely as indicating Greek sources. In the latter case, beside linguistic variations between different parts of the work, emphasis is laid upon differences of point of view or of purpose, doublets, contradictions, and marks of editorial welding. Proofs of this kind Torrey scarcely mentions, and he explicitly repudiates those which others use. Indeed, Luke and his sources seem to him homogeneous writings. Of the Aramaic source which he assumes for the first half of Acts Torrey declares a complete unity with the author of the whole work. "From their different points of view Luke and the Judean narrator were aiming to set forth precisely the same thing. Their main premises and chief arguments were practically identical, for the purposes of such a history as this."² Only at the beginning and end does he suggest a little discrepancy.³ He also contrasts the abundance of Old Testament quotation in the first chapters of Acts with its conspicuous absence in the last chapters.⁴

The chief marks of Luke's use of Semitic sources are to be found in the phenomena of language. Torrey suggests three classes of these:⁵

1. "Occasional phrases and constructions which 'sound Semitic rather than Greek.'"

2. Mistranslations. "Some word, phrase, or sentence sounds very improbable in the context where it stands; we reduce the Greek to its equivalent in Aramaic or Hebrew, and seem to discover that the translator had misunderstood his original."

¹ Krenkel, *Josephus und Lucas* (1894); Norden, *Agnostos Theos* (1913).

² *Composition*, p. 65; cf. *Fact and Fancy*, p. 69.

³ *Composition*, pp. 40 f.

⁴ *Translations*, pp. 282 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 55-58.

3. "The continual presence, in texts of considerable extent, of a Semitic idiom underlying the Greek."

Of these three criteria the first two seem even to Professor Torrey extremely precarious. The mistranslation is particularly unreliable, and evidence of this variety is rarely convincing. "In nine cases out of ten," he says, "renewed study of the 'mistranslations' which we have discovered shows us either that there was no translation at all, or else that it was quite correct." But when he comes to give his own illustrations of Semitic influence Dr. Torrey does not avoid this class of evidence. Indeed the examples on which he lays most weight are of just this kind, arguments "from the double meaning of certain words, the ambiguity of clause-division, the probability of slight corruption in the text, and the like."

But it will be necessary to state his argument in detail, and in doing so we may well take up in succession three parts of Luke's work, the Nativity stories in Luke 1:5—2:52, the rest of the Gospel, and the first half of Acts.¹

I

The abundance of Semitic idiom in Luke 1:5—2:52 has long been well known and many scholars who have never suspected Semitic sources in other parts of Luke or Acts have suggested such an original here. Torrey also believes that these two chapters were translated, and that the underlying document was Hebrew rather than Aramaic. Like others he finds the change of style between verses 4 and 5 of chapter 1 convincing evidence. In the preface is displayed Luke's own unaffected idiomatic and cultured Greek, but with the next verse there begins a narrative that is marked by the constant reiteration of Semitic touches, which continue throughout the two chapters including the poetic passages.

To meet these arguments for a Semitic original for this section several objections may be urged. The stylistic contrast between the preface of Luke and the following narrative is indeed great, but the difference may be due to a different cause than the Semitic

¹ Acts 1:16—15:35. Following Torrey we shall use the abbreviation I Acts for this, and for the remainder of the book, II Acts.

origin of the latter. Ancient prefaces, as Hellenistic scholars have recognized, were special literary tasks, often composed quite independently of the body of the book to which they are attached. They had their fixed subjects and stereotyped forms and were often composed with great attention to rhetorical style and diction. They therefore display not infrequently a marked contrast in language from the body of the book. Thus technical scientific treatises were adorned with elegant *prooemia*. In Vitruvius, for example, the contrast between prefaces and the rest of the work is striking. Even Polybius, who was no rhetor but a writer notoriously indifferent to matters of style, felt bound out of respect for the taste of his contemporaries to employ in his preface some rhetorical methods.¹ Luke also conforms to this custom. His preface not only deals with the conventional themes: its style makes it the most rhetorical sentence in all his writings. Its clauses are carefully balanced, its words are sonorous and carefully selected. Notice *ἐπειδήπερ* for *ἐπειδή*, *πληροφορέω* for *πληρώω*, which together with *ἀνατάσσομαι*, *διήγησις*, and *παρακολουθέω* do not occur elsewhere in Luke's writings. The conventional use of *πολύς* and the title *κράτιστος* occur again in the latter part of Acts, but only in passages where, as here, Luke is using his best Greek to match the somewhat formal circumstances of his composition.² It is probable therefore that the contrast which the style of Luke's first four verses offers to that of the following narrative is due in part at least to the greater elegance which custom required of the preface of an ancient writing and is not wholly attributable to the influence of a style alien to the author's own range of expression, or to a writing in a foreign tongue that he is translating.

There is another objection against considering Luke, chapters 1 and 2, the translation of a Semitic original; that is, the influence of the Greek Old Testament. It is probably true, as Professor Torrey claims, that the use of the LXX in formal quotations from the

¹ There is much evidence to support this view, though little has been heretofore collected. I content myself here with quoting Norden, *Antike Kunstprosa*, p. 432: "Dass nun ein Proömium anders stilisiert als eine Abhandlung selbst, zumal eine technische, is ja nicht nur nicht auffällig, sondern nach eine durchgängig befolgten Prinzip des Altertums selbstverständlich."

² *κράτιστος*, Acts 23:26; 24:3; 26:25; initial *πολύς*, Acts 24:2, 10.

Old Testament in the New does not disprove the use of a Semitic source. A translator would be quite likely in such cases to adopt the familiar rendering of the Greek without trying to translate the Scripture afresh from the Semitic form before him. But in the case of mere phrases rather than formal citations from the Bible the same conformity is not expected. Luke, chapters 1 and 2, though they contain few formal quotations from the Old Testament, are replete with biblical echoes. Not only the songs but the narrative and dialogue are strongly reminiscent of the Old Testament, especially of its Nativity stories.¹ And these resemblances extend not merely to the thought and arrangement, but to the wording of the stories in their Greek form. If the evidence presented by Wellhausen, Harnack, and others were supplemented by a fuller collection of the parallels, the likeness would confirm their impression that the narratives and canticles in Luke were composed in Greek.

And this impression is further confirmed by the abundance in these two chapters of words characteristic of Luke. Torrey indeed acknowledges this abundance, but it seems to him quite compatible with a literal translation of a Semitic original: "Luke rendered the Hebrew Gospel of the Nativity with the most minute faithfulness, as a close study of it shows."² But one may well ask, Can a translator combine faithfulness to his original with such evident freedom in the use of his own style? Torrey seems to think that an author's individual style is more readily displayed when translating than when editing a Greek source. However, that is not a foregone conclusion in the case of Hellenistic historians, whatever may have been the practice of Semitic editors. The method of a Greek editor is the method of paraphrase, a free reproduction of the thought of his sources in his own style. And certainly these two chapters in Luke, as far as they exhibit his own distinctive idiom,

¹ These are the stories in Genesis relating the birth of sons to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Judg., chap. 13 (on the birth of Samson), and I Sam. 1:2 (on the birth of Samuel). There is a distinct connection between the Song of Hannah and the canticles of Luke, chap. 1, not only as a motif, but in wording. And a whole series of striking linguistic resemblances binds this and the other passages mentioned to the narratives of Luke.

² *Translations*, p. 305.

are fully as easily explained as based on Greek or oral sources as they are assigned to the literal rendering of a Semitic original.

Particularly if one acknowledge the influence of the Old Testament on these chapters, is Torrey's hypothesis a somewhat complicated one. For the influence affects both the thought and the Greek wording and would require that both the original author and the translator were subject to the same influence, the former composing the stories with the motifs of the Old Testament parallels affecting his representation, the latter translating them into a language that should at one and the same time accomplish three results—should render the Hebrew literally ("in poetical passages . . . word by word, and clause by clause"),¹ should agree verbally with the Greek Old Testament stories of nativities, and should exhibit to a greater extent than in many other parts of his work the peculiarities and characteristics of his own style and diction.² Perhaps such a coincidence between author and translator and such a *tour de force* on the part of latter are not inconceivable. The question is one of the psychological probabilities of authorship, and any decision is bound to be somewhat tentative and subjective. But one is certainly justified in opposing to Torrey's hypothesis the conviction that the same phenomena could have been produced by an author whose knowledge of the Greek Bible was responsible not only for the definite echoes to it of which we have spoken but also for the idioms which seem to Professor Torrey to require a Hebrew original. Surely if a man can recall the wording of the Greek Bible he can also recall its style.

II

With regard to the rest of Luke's Gospel it is difficult to make a suitable answer to Torrey's view, as that view has scarcely been stated by him, much less presented with the evidence. In his latest paper he seems to hold that the whole Third Gospel was originally in Aramaic and that "Luke's own work there is almost solely that of translator."³ In his earlier discussion he asserted

¹ *Translations*, p. 294; cf. *Composition*, p. 60, note. ² *Translations*, p. 295.

³ *Fact and Fancy*, p. 63; cf. p. 210 note: "I was not then (1912) so sure as I am now that Luke used *only Semitic sources* in compiling his Gospel."

that "the Third Gospel was composed in Greek," and used the Greek sources Mark and Q, but he added to this familiar hypothesis the use of the Greek Matthew and of Aramaic originals of Mark and Q, and the translation of other Semitic sources.¹ In either case the effect of translation from the Semitic would be considerable.

The reasons for this hypothesis appear to be not only the Semitic idiom in the Greek of the gospel but also the presumptions that Aramaic written gospels existed, that they were earlier in date than the Greek, and that Luke would have sought them out and used them in preference to other materials² or to the free editorial method so usual with Hellenistic historians. Now I am not inclined to take Luke's preface so seriously. As has already been said, it was a standard part of any ambitious or formal composition. Its themes were already stereotyped, like the claims of authentic sources and of diligent study which Luke makes in his preface. Luke's treatment of Mark and Q indicates not the concurrent use of many sources but the exclusive use of one or at most two sources at a time. Under any circumstances, but especially with ancient books, the combined use of many sources, especially of parallel ones, is very difficult. And, besides, the actual relation existing between Luke and the other synoptists points to the editing of the two earlier Greek documents as its explanation. It must be admitted that the view that Luke used a Greek Mark and Q cannot be easily proved by the use of merely a few examples to those who are inclined to doubt it. It is, as Torrey confesses of his own theory, one of the cases where the evidence "can be fully appreciated only by those who have worked laboriously through the mass of material, observing how certain facts and principles demonstrate themselves a hundred times over."³ But just such an independent study of the details has been made during the past decades by a variety of persons, and their repeated labors have confirmed the current solution of the synoptic problem.

For the Greek verbal likenesses between our gospels Torrey has a somewhat novel explanation. Though they are translations of Semitic originals they are not quite independent translations, but

¹ *Translations*, pp. 297 ff.

² *Composition*, p. 5.

³ *Fact and Fancy*, p. 194, note.

are related to each other much as are the English versions of the Bible, successive revisions of an earlier version. This explanation requires, however, a somewhat improbable and unproved series of assumptions. Do we know, for instance, that "the Greek Mark, both separate and as incorporated by the Greek translator of Matthew, had already the authority of a standard document among those for whom Luke wrote,"¹ so that Luke would conform to its wording whenever his Semitic source was parallel to it, as he conformed to the wording of the Greek Old Testament whenever his Semitic source quoted the Old Testament in a Semitic form?² Surely this is particularly doubtful, if the Gospel of Luke was written by 60 A.D., if the author valued Semitic sources higher than Greek, and if Mark and Q in both Greek and Aramaic, both separately and combined in Matthew were already in circulation in various recensions—all of which hypotheses Torrey himself believes.³

Nor does a comparison of the wording of the Gospels confirm this view. Luke's changes from Mark are not the changes of more literal translation but of paraphrase. Where he is parallel with Mark he often removes or corrects Semitic idioms, where he is suspected of being independent of Mark or any other known source his own Semitisms creep in, and where in passages parallel to Mark he seems to be more Semitic in wording than his Greek predecessor there is nearly always concurrent evidence that he is writing independently in his own style. Torrey has not yet given any list of examples from this part of Luke, as he has for the other two sections of his work which are under discussion. But at least in the passages of Luke that are parallel to Mark he will find it difficult to prove that the Semitic idioms are derived from either the Greek Mark or its Semitic original. And for the present we shall do well to regard these passages as based on Greek sources and revised not in the interests of greater fidelity to a Semitic original but in accordance with Luke's own tastes in style.

¹ *Translations*, p. 306.

² *Composition*, p. 58: "Luke was Hellenist enough to give, on principle, every quotation from the Old Testament in the form in which it had stood for centuries in the Greek Bible and was familiar to those for whom he wrote."

³ *Composition*, p. 68; *Translations*, p. 306, 296 ff.

III

The most abundant linguistic argument is given by Torrey for his hypothesis of an Aramaic original for I Acts. In his pamphlet on the *Composition of Acts* he gives first a mere list of Aramaic idioms, then a full discussion of six instances of "serious mistranslation," and finally a brief explanation of some fifty examples from these chapters in Acts of phrases or faults of sentence structure due to translation from Aramaic. As Professor Torrey elsewhere had admitted the precariousness of the evidence from alleged mistranslation,¹ it will be well to confine a limited discussion like the present to the other examples, especially those which are declared to be literal renderings from the Aramaic.²

¹ See above, p. 438.

² By way of example perhaps one of Torrey's cases of mistranslation may be considered here at length. In Acts 14:17 we read *καίτοι οὐκ ἁμάρτυρον αὐτὸν ἀφήκεν ἀγαθοῦργων, οὐρανὸν δὲ ὑμῖν θεοῦ διδοὺς καὶ καιροὺς καρποφόρους, ἐμπιπλῶν τροφῆς καὶ ἐφροσύνης τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν*. In his *Composition* (p. 38) Torrey says of this verse: "There is apparently a mistranslation of some sort here. It is no more agreeable to usage in Aramaic or Greek to speak of 'filling hearts with food' than it is in English. Perhaps originally 'filling your hearts *with all* gladness, (cf. Rom. 15:13); and confusion of מִן with מֵ 'food,' since the *nun* of the preposition was frequently assimilated at this time in Judea, but very rarely elsewhere. The verb מִלֵּא might of course be construed either with מִן or with direct object."

We may agree with Torrey that the expression "filling our hearts with food and gladness" is an awkward zeugma, but the combination of food and gladness is too characteristic of Luke to suppose that here it is the result of a blind misreading of the original. Except in one quotation from Scripture (Acts 2:26-28) the words *ἐφραίνω* and *ἐφροσύνη* are used in Luke's writings always in connection with feasting, e.g., four times of the feast held in honor of the prodigal son's return (Luke 15:23, 24, 29, 32). As Harnack says (*Acts of the Apostles*, p. 278, note): "From these passages, and from 12:19 and 16:19, one sees that St. Luke likes to connect, indeed almost exclusively connects, *ἐφραίνεσθαι* with the partaking of food. Just in the same way we read in Acts 14:17 that God fills men's hearts with *τροφή καὶ ἐφροσύνη* (see also Acts 7:41) and in Acts 2:46: *μετελάμβανον τροφῆς ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει καὶ ἀφελότητι καρδίας*." In the LXX too *ἐφραίνω* and also *ἐμπιπλημι* are often connected with eating. And the association of hearts with the latter verb is not so difficult if we recall that both in the New Testament and in the Greek where a Semitic background is even more certain "fill" has come to mean "to satisfy" (LXX, Ps. Sol., XII P.). In these writings *ψυχή* more often than *καρδία* is used in such connections, and Luke himself also uses it in Luke 12:19: *ψυχή, . . . φάγε, πίε, ἐφραίνου*, where some early scribes seem to have felt literalist objections like those of Torrey (see the readings of B, D, and the Old Latin MSS. The Vulgate translates the last word baldly *epulare*). As for *καρδία* we

The passages selected include most of the long-standing puzzles in the first fifteen chapters of Acts. These and of course all the examples have been studied for years. Greek literature has been searched for parallels to the New Testament, and even to all these so-called Semitisms parallels from profane literature have been sought and often found. The modern study of the papyri has yielded a rich harvest and has considerably reduced, even if it has not entirely eliminated, the category of unparalleled Semitisms. But it would be manifestly unfair to condemn the argument of Torrey because somewhere in Greek literature a parallel can be found for each of his examples. As he himself declares the force of his argument is cumulative. It is not the isolated phenomena but the total effect of numerous instances.¹

But in the criticism of Luke's writings there has been such an unfortunate series of abuses of the linguistic argument that one naturally pauses before accepting a new application of it. We have heard the word "cumulative" before. Krenkel endeavored by

may remember that elsewhere Luke does not hesitate to speak of hearts as weighed down with drunkenness and nausea (Luke 21:34).

Several others of the combinations of thought in the phrase under discussion are also illustrated in Luke's writings. And in at least two of these parallels (Luke 1:53; Acts 2:26 ff.) the Greek Psalter is responsible for the wording. Indeed if some literary dependence must be sought for the passage Acts 14:17 it will be found as a reminiscence of this same Greek Psalter rather than in the hypothesis of mistranslation of some lost Christian Aramaic record. The Psalter has affected in other cases the speeches in Acts. The speeches at Lystra and at Athens do not quote it as directly as some others, since they were delivered to Gentiles rather than to Jews. Yet both these speeches have echoes of the Greek Psalter (cf. Acts 14:15 and 17:24 with Ps. 146:6; Acts 17:31 with Ps. 9:8; 96:13; 98:9). It is not unlikely that the combination of words loosely brought together in the present passage represents such ideas as we find in Ps. 4:7 f. (note ἀγαθά, εὐφροσύνην εἰς τὴν καρδίαν, ἀπὸ καρποῦ . . . ἐπληθύνθησαν, and even ἐσημειώθη, which is not in Hebrew, may correspond to ἐμάρτυρον); 102:13 ff. (where in addition to the mention of rain, fruit, and food we have οἶνος εὐφραίνει καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου); 147:8 f. (note οὐρανόν, ἕτερόν, διδόντι . . . τροφήν).

¹ "It is only when the idiom is one link in a long chain that it becomes convincing; then, indeed, it may have absolutely compelling force. The argument is cumulative; we are concerned with the continuous impression made by a great mass of material" (*Translations*, p. 274). "In any case, the argument is cumulative, indications that would be quite insignificant if taken by themselves becoming highly important as links in a long chain" (*ibid.*, p. 284). "The evidence of I Acts alone, cumulative and consistent as it is . . ." (*Fact and Fancy*, 63).

hundreds of linguistic links to establish Luke's dependence on Josephus.¹ It was by the use of cumulative evidence, which on inspection proved worthless,² that Hobart claimed Luke's acquaintance with the medical writings and led after him many of the best scholars of Europe. Even the Baconian authorship of Shakspeare has been "proved" by cumulative linguistic evidence. Of course Torrey's argument is far more restrained and cautious, and yet under the circumstances it is no hypercriticism to examine his evidence with special skepticism. One feels that evidence of this kind must be qualitative as well as quantitative, comparative as well as cumulative.

When, however, one seeks fair bases of comparison the material is limited. Was it not possible for an early Christian or a Hellenistic Jew to write a narrative as Semitic as that of Luke without being a translator? By hypothesis Torrey excludes many parallels, for if the Semitisms are abundant in any book the work is not a Greek composition. Thus the apocryphal books of the Old Testament and much of the New Testament are excluded from use as parallels. He suggests only II and III Maccabees and II Acts as suitable examples of untranslated Greek. He would probably have to add the letters of Paul and the Apostolic Fathers.³ Let us

¹ From Krenkel and elsewhere several parallels to "Aramaisms" of Luke may be quoted for Josephus; but I pass these by. In spite of the uniform and idiomatic Greek of his writings it would be possible to claim that his *War* was translation Greek since he claims to have translated it.

² I may refer to the discussion of this subject in my *Style and Literary Method of Luke* (1919), pp. 39 ff.

³ I do not discover what Torrey thinks of the original language of John. Some of his evidences of Aramaic translation occur in it. Thus with *πάλιν ἐκ δευτέρου* (Acts 10:15; Matt. 26:42) we may compare *ἐκ δευτέρου* (John 9:24) and for the tautology, *πάλιν δευτέρου*, which occurs not only in John 4:54 but in the appendix, John 21:16. Even the *pericope adulterae* contains the "Aramaic idiom" *ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ . . . ἑως*, confirming perhaps its original place as in Luke's Gospel, or, as Eusebius suggests, in the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*. But even the scribes indulge in Semitisms. Codex Bezae in its variants shows some of Torrey's marks of translation from the Aramaic; e.g., *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό* (see p. 454, note) is read by D at Acts 2:46; 16:35. Indeed the Semitic elements in this MS were so abundant as to suggest to Chase a Syriac origin. In the Gospels also Moulton (*Einleitung*, p. 371, following Wellhausen) finds D nearer the Aramaic original than B and \aleph . But in other cases this codex omits the Semitic idiom. Shall we therefore agree with Blass that the β text of Acts is the author's own variant edition of his Greek work, and add the further hypothesis of two Aramaic editions!

see then what parallels can be found. Paul's letters contain several of Torrey's examples. Thus *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό* cited as an evidence of translation in Acts 1:15; 2:1, 44 (as well as of mistranslation in 2:47) occurs three times in I Corinthians (7:5; 11:20; 14, 23) not to mention other writings.¹ *ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός* occurs not only in Acts 3:2; 14:8 (and Luke 1:15) but also in Gal. 1:15. The use of *ἀπό* for *ὑπό* of the agent is cited by Torrey as an illustration of translation from the Semitic in Acts 2:22; 15:4 B.C. But the exchange is frequent with the scribes of the New Testament MSS, and only anticipates what has become an established custom in Modern Greek.² As an example in Paul II Cor. 7:13 may be noted. Again he says on Acts 14:15 (*Composition*, p. 63): "*ἐπὶ θεὸν ζῶντα* (without the article!) renders exactly the Aramaic equivalent . . . of the standing Hebrew phrase . . . 'the living God.'" In the very similar passage in I Thess. 1:9 we have the words *δουλεῖν θεῷ ζῶντι καὶ ἀληθινῷ* and neither there nor in Heb. 3:12; 9:14; 10:31; 12:22 nor in I Tim. 3:15; 4:10 has the phrase *ζῶν θεός* an article.³

Other illustrations of Torrey's examples could be quoted from Paul, but let us consider briefly another writer, Hermas the author of the three sections which make up the book called *The Shepherd*. It is improbable that this Roman production was the translation of a Semitic original and yet it contains repeatedly the phrase *ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν*, as used in Acts 7:23 and Luke 24:38, and the same passive *ἐνδυναμοῦσθαι* that occurs in Acts 9:22.⁴

Especially noteworthy are the parallels from II Acts. The transition from indirect to direct discourse like that in 1:4 occurs also in 23:22 and 25:4f. In the former case, as in 1:4, the sentence begins with using *παραγγέλλω* and the infinitive. "The way"

¹ See Vazakas in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, XXXVII (1918), 106 f.; Moulton and Milligan, *Vocabulary*, s.v. *αὐτός* for Acts 2:47. Even III Macc. 3:1 contains the phrase.

² Torrey appears to overlook a third case in I Acts (4:36; here D reads *ὑπό*).

³ It may be doubtful whether I Pet. 1:23, *διὰ λόγου ζῶντος θεοῦ καὶ μένοντος*, should be quoted here or as illustrating the "error in the Semitic original" which Torrey finds in Acts 7:38, *λογία ζῶντα* for which see also Heb. 4:12. Among other cases of *ζῶν θεός* without the article are II Cor. 3:3; 6:16; Rev. 7:2; II [Clem.] 20:2.

⁴ *Composition*, p. 7.

which Torrey speaks of as a genuine Semitic locution in 9:2, even though it was "taken over by Gentile Christians," cannot be any more evidence of a Semitic original in the first account of Paul's conversion than in the second (22:4) or in 24:22 or elsewhere in II Acts. *ἀναστᾱς* in 5:17 may readily be understood as *ἀναστάντες* in 23:9. And surely the expression *ἐπλήρου δρόμον* (13:25) is not to be considered any more Semitic than *τελειῶσαι τὸν δρόμον* in 20:24 (*cf.* II Tim. 4:7) when one observes how these two verbs and their compounds are used interchangeably in connection with the completion of periods of time throughout Luke's writings. The phrase *ἔθου ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ* (5:4) may be matched with *ἔθετο ἐν τῷ πνεύματι* (21:14). Even Torrey grants this and a few other Semitisms to II Acts, but how grudgingly he does so may be seen from his own statement on page 7 of his pamphlet on the *Composition of Acts*, where he charges them to the *Koiné* but adds that "their presence may be due in part to the influence of the translation Greek which Luke had so extensively read and written. In either case they are negligible."¹

But these parallels in II Acts are to be found, not in isolated passages, but regularly wherever the situation suggests the same mood, as for example in Paul's speech to the elders at Miletus and in the various divine utterances that are reported. The parallels of these latter passages, brief though they are, to the Canticles in the early part of the Gospel are striking, not perhaps in wording, but in general style. Note for example the abundance of pronouns at the end of lines and the use of the epexegetical infinitive with *τοῦ*.

IV

It is particularly unfortunate that Torrey has by his hypothesis excluded from consideration the unusual similarity of phrase and idiom running throughout Luke's writings. This peculiarity is abundant where no suspicion of Semitic influence exists and is plainly due to the Greek style of the author. When therefore a

¹ But one of these idioms, *τότε*, is declared on the next page in the note to be due to the influence of the Aramaic, while in earlier writings Torrey had declared it to be a sure sign of the translation from a written Aramaic source. See his *Ezra Studies*, pp. 23 f., 50. See also his remarks in *ZATW*, XX (1900), 236 on *καὶ νῦν*, which like *τότε* is about equally distributed in the two halves of Acts.

claim is made for Semitic influence in a phrase that is repeated in Luke's writings it is difficult to accept the conclusion. Thus the notable likeness of idiom which connects Luke, chapters 1 and 2, with I Acts is not due to the recurrence of the same Semitic idiom in Luke's sources (in this case in two different Semitic languages) but to the common method of the author. Indeed it is striking that the closest parallels to Luke's Semitic idiom are not in Mark and Matthew and Revelation, the other New Testament books that may be supposed to be translations, but are confined exclusively to Luke's own writings. Why, for instance, if the loose use of the participle "beginning," the use of *συμπληρώω* with expressions of time,² the insertion of the interval of time in the nominative case³ and other expressions in Acts are exact and literal renderings of the Aramaic—why, we may ask, do the parallels to these appear only in Luke's Gospel, when all the Gospels are exact renderings from the Aramaic? Some of the strangest of Torrey's examples repeat themselves too exactly and too exclusively in Luke's writings to avoid the suspicion of being due to the Greek writer's own idiom. Thus "the awkward position of *διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου*," which in Acts 1:2 is a "result of translation," occurs again with equal awkwardness in Acts 4:25. A similar coincidence in order exists in the expression *διὰ στόματος τῶν ἁγίων ἀπ' αἰῶνος προφητῶν*, which occurs not only in the Benedictus, where Luke is following an original Hebrew "word by word, and clause by clause," but in Acts 3:21. Shall we assume an underlying homogeneity between the several Semitic sources of Luke as well as between Luke and his sources, so that the expression *καὶ ἦν χεὶρ κυρίου μετ' αὐτῶν*, which Luke who "had read so extensively" the translation Greek of the LXX could have found in many passages there, is first used in the Hebrew source of Luke 1:66, then in the Aramaic source of Acts 11:21 and rendered exactly in both cases, *μετά* and all? Or shall we say that the familiar Old Testament idiom, *προσέθεο* and the infinitive, which even "the virgin purity of Josephus' Atticism" permitted,⁴ occurs in the New Testament only in Acts 12:3 and Luke 20:11, 12 because his sources used it in the Aramaic, while we infer that in the passages parallel

² *Composition*, p. 26.³ *Ibid.*, p. 28.³ *Ibid.*, p. 31.⁴ J. H. Moulton, *Cambridge Biblical Essays*, p. 477.

to the latter instance the sources of Matthew and Mark did not use the idiom because their Greek gospels do not have it.¹

In the case of some of Torrey's examples another objection may be urged. For while his explanations based on a knowledge of Semitic are often very clever, he has sometimes overlooked or refused to accept simple and natural explanations and preferred the more far-fetched suggestions that his Aramaic learning has supplied. Thus at Acts 9:31 he has connected the words *πορευομένη* . . . *ἐπληθύνετο* and interpreted them according to the common Semitic idiom to mean "continually grew." The intervening dative *τῷ φόβῳ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ τῇ παρακλήσει τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος* is then construed with *ἐπληθύνετο* rather than with *πορευομένη*. But *πληθύνω*, though it is repeatedly used without modifier of growth of numbers in the church in Acts, is never used there of growth in spiritual qualities and never is modified by a dative, while *πορεύομαι* is used in the sense of conducting one's life (no doubt another Semitic idiom; see Plummer, *ad loc.*) in Luke 1:6 *πορεύμενοι ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐντολαῖς καὶ δικαίωμασιν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμεῖς*. There is plenty of good Hellenistic Greek support for such phrases as *λύσας τὰς ὠδῖνας* (2:24); *ἀρχαὶ* (10:11; 11:5); *θυμομαχῶν* (12:20), as a look into Wettstein would prove. They do not require retranslation into Semitic to become intelligible. Even the much discussed *συναλιζόμενος* in Acts 1:4 is not much helped by showing that in Syriac there is a verb which parallels one of the several possible explanations of the word in this passage.²

¹ Matt. 21:36; Mark 12:4, 5. This is one of the cases where D in Luke avoids the Semitic idiom; see above, p. 446, n. 3. On the other hand D is nearly alone in reading at Mark 14:25, *οὐ μὴ προσθῶ πείν*. For another example see I Clem. 12:7. But even this idiom "cannot be regarded as non-Greek" according to A. Thumb (Hastings, *D.A.C.*, I, 556b, referring to Helbing, *Grammatik der LXX*, p. 4).

Similarly Luke alone (5:14) in the injunction to the leper has the transition from the indirect discourse to the direct: *παρήγγειλεν αὐτῷ μηδενὶ εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἀπελθὼν δεῖξον σεαυτὸν κ.τ.λ.*, which affords a perfect parallel to the "Aramaisms" in Acts (1:4 *et al.*; see above p. 447). Matthew and Mark have here direct discourse only.

² Even if there is no satisfactory explanation of the Greek, the hypothesis of translation does not any more effectively acquit Luke of a carelessness in these cases, which is inconsistent with his more careful composition (or translation) elsewhere. Thus if the awkward sentences like those in 3:16; 8:7; 10:36 f. are really to be accepted as the original Greek form of the text and not attributed to scribal corruption (for the habits of scribes in their bad points as well as their good ones are closely

It is doubtful too if Torrey gains much by assuming that certain passages are mistranslations of Semitic phrases which are evidently correctly rendered by the Greek translator elsewhere. Thus Torrey explains at some length¹ that in the account of the increase in the number of Christians in Acts 2:47 the words ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ represent an Aramaic phrase that should have been rendered σφόδρα. But in 6:17 we have σφόδρα in just this connection: καὶ ἐπληθύνετο ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν μαθητῶν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ σφόδρα. Again he declares² that in Luke 2:11 χριστὸς κύριος is "an obvious error of translation" for 'Yahwe's Anointed.' But a few verses later we find the same expression which he suggests as a correct translation, τὸν χριστὸν κυρίου (2:26). Are we to suppose that in these cases we have a translator with an average of 50 per cent in accuracy?³

parallel to those of translators), then surely it is as possible to attribute to Luke, who whether translating or composing knew Greek idiom when he saw it, a lapse in his own Greek as to accept the ingenious mistranslations which Torrey has discovered.

¹ *Composition*, pp. 10-14.

² *Translations*, p. 293.

³ Luke's appositional use of χριστός here is supported by other passages, e.g. Luke 23:2, χριστὸν βασιλέα; Acts 2:36, καὶ κύριον καὶ χριστὸν (to which Acts 3:18, τὸν χριστὸν αὐτοῦ, corresponds as a variation, just as Luke 2:26 corresponds to 2:11. Such variation of expression in nearby contexts is a constant trait of Luke's style; see J. H. Ropes, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XII [1901], 299 ff. including some examples with χριστός on pp. 302 f.). The oldest MSS of two Jewish passages, Lam. 4:20 (Heb. 'Yahwe's Anointed') and Ps. Sol. 17:36, read χριστὸς κύριος. But these mistranslations—if such they originally were—do not prove that Luke also mistranslated, but rather indicate that to early Greek scribes and Christians the appositional phrase was quite as tolerable as the construct phrase.

A similar objection can be made to the example which Torrey (*Composition*, pp. 20 f.) describes as "one of the most satisfactory of all, in the proof of translation which it affords." It is the prediction of Agabus in Acts 11:28 of a famine to come upon the whole world (ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην). Such an extensive famine did not take place, so far as we know from other sources, "in the days of Claudius." To preserve Luke (and Agabus) from the suspicion of exaggeration Torrey supposes that the ambiguous Aramaic ܡܕܢܚܐ (=Heb. ָאָרֶץ, "land, earth") stood in the original and meant Palestine alone, while Luke has understood it of the world. This, he says, "is a mistake that has been made a great many times." But again, as in the cases discussed above, another passage (in Luke 4:25, which presumably Torrey would consider translated from the same Aramaic word) speaks of a famine in Palestine: ἐγένετο λιμὸς μέγας ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν. Perhaps οἰκουμένη ought not to be pressed in its widest meaning. Even in Greek it may be approximately coextensive with γῆ. It occurs in the New Testament with γῆ in passages where it connotes the more human rather than the more extended meaning, e.g., Rev. 3:10, ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης . . . ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς; Luke 21:25 f., ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς . . . τῇ οἰκουμένῃ. But even if οἰκουμένη is

Of course with all our objections we are far from denying the presence of real Semitic idioms in Luke's writings. When all allowances are made some genuine Semitisms remain. In I Acts they are to be found especially in the dialogue and the formal speeches. But they need not be construed as direct translations from a Semitic original. They can readily be explained as due to the extensive influence of the LXX. Even conscious imitation is not out of the question, if we recall the emphasis on style that prevailed among Greek writers of Luke's day. Luke himself was no mean artist. Even Torrey admits that he was a widely experienced and accomplished author and that he used Atticisms in the Areopagus address and avoided them in other parts of his history where they would have been an absurd affectation.¹ Is it not equally possible that where the idiom of Palestine was appropriate the author used it quite as deliberately? The speeches particularly were pliable to the author's own skill, and it is just in these that Semitic idiom is so abundant. Torrey admits that they are free compositions, quite independent of any original sources of a historical kind. And it is no more difficult to conceive of these speeches as written in Greek than in Aramaic. A man who could quote the Greek Bible so readily where more or less definite quotations are involved could certainly echo its idiom where he is not quoting a definite passage.

taken literally, exaggeration is not out of the question in a writer who may be suspected not only of overstatement (Luke 12:1; Acts 21:20; 24:10; 25:24, and elsewhere) but of giving predictions in terms that do not exactly match the fulfilment (Luke, chap. 21; Acts 20:25; 21:11; *ἀήσουσι* . . . *οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι* [Agabus, contrast 22:25]).

In the parallel case cited by Torrey (Luke 2:1), where he says that Luke "represented Quirinius as taxing 'all the world' instead of 'all the land' of Palestine" (*Composition*, p. 21), the exaggeration is at least in part due to Torrey, or shall we say to the source which he translated? (for Wellhausen, *Analyse der Apostelgeschichte*, on Acts 11:28 refers to the census of Quirinius as *ökumenisch*). This is unfair to Luke, who really represents Augustus as taxing the world and Quirinius as being governor of Syria at the time. For how much of his empire Augustus provided a census is a different and (except for Egypt) an otherwise uncertain question. But one can reasonably object if Torrey wishes us to believe that this is the literal translation of an original (Hebrew in this case, "the style is one continuous Hebraism") which began "there went forth a decree that all the land (meaning Syria) should be taxed" and continued, "this was the first census taken when Quirinius was governor of Syria (meaning all the land)."

¹ *Composition*, p. 53.

It is true that Torrey discusses and condemns the view that these phenomena are due to imitation. But the illustrations he adduces of schoolboy translations are not the only parallels available. A better illustration is the widespread acquaintance with the language of the Bible in modern times. Probably the Semitic idiom of the Greek Bible was as familiar to the Greek-speaking Jew or Christian of the first century as the language of the English Bible is to the children of pious modern homes. And on appropriate occasions either style can be adopted naturally and without affectation. The language used in public prayer is as different from ordinary English as the constant Semitic idiom of Peter's speech at Antioch is different from the literary language which Luke "and Theophilus and their circles were accustomed to use." It is true that biblical English involves English archaisms as well as Semitisms for those who use it today. But Bunyan's English was Semitic and biblical and not archaic, and the use of biblical language by Bunyan or Lincoln or any modern Christian is no more proof of his independent study of Hebrew than Luke's style is proof of a knowledge of Semitic language on his part. The least questionable of Torrey's illustrations are exactly those expressions which are most readily adopted and imitated in any language without a knowledge of "the original tongues."¹

It is no doubt rash to disagree with so accurate and careful a scholar as Professor Torrey, particularly when one cannot claim his wide knowledge of Semitic literature for one's self.² But

¹ E.g., the construction with *ἐγένετο*, and the expressions with *πρόσωπον*, *χέρι*, *στόμα*, *καρδία*, and other parts of the body. Even Acts 17:26 has *ἐπὶ παντός προσώπου τῆς γῆς*, like Luke 21:35 *ἐπὶ πρόσωπον πάσης τῆς γῆς*. As for *πρὸ προσώπου τῆς ἐκδόου αὐτοῦ*, instead of being "altogether too literal a translation" (Torrey, *Composition*, p. 37) of an Aramaic document, one can scarcely doubt that it too is due to the LXX and that the author has in mind the usual *testimonium* to John the Baptist in Mal. 3:1 and has conflated the *πρὸ προσώπου* with the *ἐκδόου αὐτοῦ* of the next verse.

² It behooves the layman to be very modest in his opinions of Aramaic, since even doctors disagree. See the difference of opinion between Dalman and Torrey revealed in the latter's note (*Composition*, p. 33). It is particularly difficult to distinguish between the Hebrew and Aramaic, and it is doubtful whether Torrey would lay much weight on the claim that some of his examples in I Acts are "specifically Aramaic" (*Composition*, p. 6). Of those thus designated the "redundant demonstrative" in Acts 1:5, *μετὰ πολλὰς ταύτας ἡμέρας*, which he assigns to Jewish Aramaic (J. H. Moulton, *Grammar*, I, 21 claims this among "phrases literally translated from the

Professor Torrey himself has invited criticism of his thesis and he would probably agree with the words of the late Dr. J. H. Moulton when he says, speaking of Luke's Semitisms: "Neither Aramaic specialists nor Hellenistic have the right to decide whether he had any knowledge of a Semitic tongue: what we really need is

Latin"), is illustrated in the Book of Exodus: 2:23 (so 4:18 [LXX]), *μετὰ δὲ τὰς ἡμέρας τὰς πολλὰς ἐκέλευς*; 2:11, *ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταῖς πολλαῖς ἐκέλευς*; while *ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν* (Acts 7:23) cannot be limited to the Aramaic in the light of the Greek parallels in Isa. 65:16, 17; Jer. 3:16, etc.

Even more misadventurous are the two or three attempts which Torrey makes to prove that the original was not merely Aramaic but a special Judean brand of Aramaic. One of them is the passage 14:17 already considered (above p. 444, n. 2) where in support of the alleged mistranslation he remarks (*italics not mine*): "the *nun* of the preposition was frequently assimilated at this time in Judea, but very rarely elsewhere." We have seen reasons for doubting the whole theory of mistranslation there. Another example of specifically Judean Aramaic is the "mistranslation" of Acts 2:47. Torrey (*Composition*, pp. 10-14) understands the *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό* there to represent the Aramaic compound ܐܬܝܬܐ, which is the equivalent of the Hebrew and usually means "together." "But in the Judean dialects," says Torrey (*in italics*), "the usual meaning of ܐܬܝܬܐ is 'greatly, exceedingly,' and this is precisely what is needed in place of *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό* in Acts 2:47." We need not dwell at length on Torrey's extensive argument on this case which is to his mind "the most interesting of all" and "seems to furnish direct evidence that author and translator lived in different parts of the Aramaic world." But as far as the mistranslation's being possible only in a Judean Aramaic this much may be ventured, that if a Semitic term is sought which, though usually meaning "together" also has an intensive force, the Hebrew also has parallels to the "Judean dialects of Aramaic." Both ܐܬܝܬܐ and ܐܬܝܬܐ have an emphatic meaning as well as one that expresses what the lexicon calls "community in place" and some at least of the Greek translators (their usage varies, in Job the translator using *ὁμοθυμαδόν*, in Isaiah using *ἅμα* for the local sense and no Greek equivalent for the intensive sense) used *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό* without any differentiation between the meanings. Thus in the Psalter it is used (a) of association in place and action as in 2:2: *οἱ ἄρχοντες συνήχθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό* quoted in Acts 4:26 (does the *συνήχθησαν ἐπ'* ἀληθείας in the next verse show that the author of Acts understood *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό* here as intensive?); (b) of association in time (so at least the Hebrew interpreters) in 4:8, *ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό κοιμηθήσονται καὶ ὑπνώσω* (a verse which follows those cited in connection with Acts 14:17); (c) in various intensive senses, e.g., 19:9, *τὰ κρίματα κυρίου ἀληθινὰ, δεδικαιωμένα ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό*; 41:6, *ἐξεπορεύετο ἔξω καὶ ἐλάλει ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό κατ' ἐμοῦ*; 122:3, *Ἱερουσαλὴμ οἰκοδομουμένη ὡς πόλις ἣς ἡ μεταχὴ αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό*. Without granting that in Acts 2:47 the intensive explanation is really necessary we may at least suggest that if it does seem required an original Hebrew or even an intensive use of the Greek phrase, like that familiar to Luke from its abundant use in the LXX, would cover the case fully as well. It is interesting to note that the suggestion of Hebraism here (for ܐܬܝܬܐ) as for other examples of Torrey's, was current in the days of the Purist controversy and that G. D. Kypke, in his *Observationes Sacrae* (1755), illustrated from secular Greek some uses of the phrase in other meanings than that which gives offense in Acts 2:47.

prolonged collaboration of both, till a joint impression is formed which may have elements of authoritativeness."¹ Let this discussion be taken as a mild and friendly caveat against the too easy acceptance of his argument that Luke really translated written Semitic documents. No attempt has been made to meet each single example on which his cumulative argument rests, but rather to indicate some of the objections that can be offered to his assumptions and methods of argument, and to suggest a different explanation for the phenomena. The writer's whole task may be construed not as that of a mere translator with the same rigid limitations that we find in the more conservative translations in the Greek Old Testament, but as the task of a real author and editor like the Hellenistic historians. According to the alternative hypothesis here commended, Luke took over his material from sources which so far as they were written were written in Greek, he recast all his material in his own style, but varied the style to suit the situation, and in particular in the case of lyric passages, dialogue, and public addresses he put into the lips of Jews something of the Semitic idiom which was known to him from the Greek Old Testament. Even the narrative displays in different parts different degrees of Semitic coloring in a ratio quite proportionate to the amount of definite biblical quotation in those sections. Thus the Nativity stories with their distinctly biblical atmosphere and the first chapters of Acts with their abundance of Scripture quotation are rich in biblical phraseology, while the last half of Acts is much freer from both quotations and other influences of the Greek Old Testament.

¹ *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, II, 19. For the most recently published opinion of Moulton himself concerning Luke's relation to Semitic languages see in A. S. Peake's *Commentary on the Bible*, p. 592.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE

A STUDY IN THE HISTORY OF BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION

In a single compact volume Professor Fullerton gives us a sketch of the use of the Old Testament in the Christian church.¹ He shows that at the beginning of Christianity the question of the relation of the new religion to the Jewish Scriptures was fundamental. The church maintained against Jews, Gnostics, and Marcionites that the Old Testament was a Christian document. In order to establish this proposition the Old Testament was regarded chiefly as a prediction of the New Testament, and the New Testament was valued mainly as proof of the inspiration of the Old Testament by its minute and detailed fulfilment of the predictions of the prophets. The predictive character of the Old Testament could, however, be defended only by the surrender of the literal, historical meaning of its books and the substitution of an allegorical, unhistorical method of interpretation. History and ceremonial were made types of Christ, and the utterances of the prophets and psalmists were wrested out of their original signification and were turned into predictive programs of the life of Christ. The adoption of the method by the early Apologists and Church Fathers was due to the influence of Alexandria, where Homer had long since been allegorized by the Greeks to adapt him to the needs of neo-Platonic philosophy, and where the Old Testament had been allegorized in a similar fashion by the Jews to make it teach the same philosophy.

The peril of the allegorical method was that no two writers could agree as to the "spiritual" meaning of a passage in question. The Gnostics could use it to prove their heresies as well as the Church Fathers to prove their orthodoxy. Consequently, the early church was soon compelled to introduce the principle of ecclesiastical authority in the form of the unwritten tradition handed down by the bishops in order to determine which of the many allegorical interpretations of the Old Testament were correct. As a result the Bible soon became an enigmatic book whose interpretation was the exclusive right of the Holy Catholic

¹*Prophecy and Authority, a Study of the History of the Doctrine and the Interpretation of Scripture.* By Kemper Fullerton. New York: Macmillan, 1919. xxi+214 pages. \$1.50.

church through its councils and its popes, who were assumed to hand down the primitive tradition of the apostolic church, or to be divinely inspired to illumine the mysteries of Scripture.

The Protestant Reformation in breaking with the authority of the church was compelled also to break with its doctrine of Scripture; and to affirm that, instead of being an enigma whose meaning can be penetrated only by the infallible church, its meaning is clear to any Christian who is willing to study it. Luther rejected the allegorical method of interpretation because it made the Bible obscure and necessitated the church as an interpreter, and affirmed that the Bible was the clear and infallible rule of faith that could be understood by every individual believer. From this followed the Reformation method of exegesis—the grammatico-historical method, that is, that Scripture has only one meaning which is determined by philology, grammar, and syntax, and by a study of the historical conditions under which any given author wrote. By this method *halacha*, *haggada*, allegory, and traditional interpretation are forever banished, and the one meaning of Scripture is its original, historical meaning. This was the theory of Luther and of Calvin, but in practice the power of ancient habit was still strong, and they frequently lapsed from the grammatico-historical exegesis into allegory like their predecessors. Later Protestantism through its development of the doctrine of the verbal inerrancy of the Bible in opposition to the infallibility of the church and of the pope brought a return to the ancient methods of interpretation, for the inerrancy of the Bible could be defended only by an allegorical treatment of its contents. The history of Protestantism has been a struggle for the maintenance of the fundamental principle of the Reformation that the only meaning of Scripture is its original, historical meaning as determined by a knowledge of the language and of the times of the various authors. In the course of the last century this has become the settled conviction of Protestant scholars and also of Modernists in the church of Rome. This means the final abandonment of the predictive theory of the Old Testament with its typology of history and ritual and its search for specific predictions of events in the life of Christ. Instead of this we now see that Christ “fulfils” the Old Testament by “filling it full” with a new and diviner meaning. “Fulfilment” is not the accomplishment of a program laid down in advance by the Old Testament, but is evolution of the truth that is germinal in the Old Testament. The ancient Alexandrine predictive theory of interpretation still lingers among the Adventists, Millenarians, and similar sectarian movements;

but these vagaries are doomed before the advance of knowledge of the historical meaning of the Bible.

This book is a clear and scholarly presentation of the subject that will do much to help clarify the thought of the modern church in regard to the legitimate use of its sacred writings.

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A STUDY OF THE QUR'ÂN

The need for a good book in English on the teaching of the Qur'an has long been felt; missionaries, general historians, and especially students of the history of religions, most of whom know Arabic not at all or not enough, would all be grateful for such help. The writing of such a book, one that could safely and trustfully be used by non-Arabists, is not an easy matter. The study of Arabic, especially the Arabic of Qur'anic times, of the Qur'an as such, of the history of Mohammed and his time, of those phases of Judaism and Christianity with which he had contact—all these are not yet beyond the pioneer stage. And it would take a master of all these things to write such a book as might be wished for.

In the meantime, to bridge the gap, while we are waiting for this *ultima Thule*, a little volume has been issued by the Central Board of Missions and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.¹ The author, the Rev. Weitbrecht Stanton, is very modest in his claims and makes no pretension to having offered a perfect or very learned book. What he gives us shows clearly that he knows the Qur'an itself and its traditional (orthodox Moslem) interpretation well and intimately. The bibliography at the end of the volume (pp. 135 f.) shows that he has also made himself acquainted with good Western books; more particularly those that deal professedly with the subject of his volume he has evidently studied with care, both in English and in German. The knowledge so acquired is in the main well presented; the little book is a pretty accurate measure of its author's studies.

It is no reflection on the author's ability to state, in this connection, that the compass of the volume is small, indeed, only 138 pages in all. The Qur'an itself is not very large, and, its repetitions deducted, the

¹*The Teaching of the Qur'an. With an Account of its Growth and a Subject Index.* By H. U. Weitbrecht Stanton. London: Macmillan, 1919, 136 pages. 7s.

teaching it contains can be summed up in even fewer pages. It is possible, further, to pack your information closely, and this has been done, notably in the second half of Mr. Weitbrecht Stanton's work, which is by far the best and most useful part of the book.

The subject index, particularly, pp. 75-110, should prove of great help to all students of the Qur'ân. The reviewer has not been able to check all the headings and references, but such use as he has made of it has shown it to be sufficiently extensive and reliable for the ordinary reader's use. The list of Surahs under their names in Arabic and English, and the comparative table of at least two different verse-numberings, are also carefully made. They will be welcome aids to beginners and others in their labors.

Least satisfactory in this part of the book is the list of historical dates (pp. 114 f.). This, in fact, is the weakest factor of the whole book. In the very first sentence of the preface it purports "to present the body of religious and moral teaching contained in the Qur'ân itself apart from the traditions." But it has quite escaped the notice of Mr. Weitbrecht Stanton that, in following a wholly traditional and antiquated historical scheme of Mohammed's life and of the connection of specific portions of the Qur'ân with events, themselves often problematical and legendary, he is substituting tradition, perhaps in the guise of traditional interpretation, for the Qur'ân itself. This is the most serious limitation under which Mr. Weitbrecht Stanton and his book labor. Perhaps it is due to the fact that he has limited himself among Western books to those in English and German. The student of Islam cannot any longer safely limit himself to these. Thus it is manifest on many pages of this little book that tremendously important work in Dutch (by Snouck-Hurgronje), in Italian (by Caetani), and in French (by Lammens) has been overlooked by the author. But even some of the literature he himself quotes might have warned him against assigning definite dates, not only to the birth of Mohammed, but to Mohammed's "meditations (*sic!*) in a cave on Mount Hira," to the "first revelation, followed by a blank interval," to "revelations resumed," to a first and second migration to Abyssinia. It is really a very serious matter that, in a book intended for the information of the Western World about the origins of Islam, the old mystification about two "migrations" to Abyssinia should be repeated in 1919.

Grave errors of this sort are too numerous throughout the first portion, chiefly the Introduction, pp. 3-29, to admit of complete enumeration. It will suffice to point out some typical ones chosen at random.

It must be Shiite influence in India, that caused the anti-'Uthmānic statement (p. 11) about Abu Bakr's "collection" and 'Uthmān's "collation" of the materials contained in the Qur'ān in its present form. This is based upon the old fable of the death of many memorizers of the Qur'ān at Yamāmah (A.H. 12), which was invented expressly to bolster up the anti-'Uthmānic invention of Abu Bakr's collection. The invention is carried straight through to the point where 'Uthmān has to borrow Abu Bakr's copy from a widow of Mohammed's. If, on the one hand, thus 'Uthmān's work is depreciated, on the other hand, the perfection of the final result of this work is overstated, again after the manner of Moslem "tradition." Neither is the Qur'ān "a complete collection of the oracles" of Mohammed, nor (p. 12) is "the only difference which now affects the reader—a slight variety in the numbering of the verses"; even the straightlaced Baidhawi admits more serious variant readings than that.

Of a piece with the date for the beginning of revelation is the confident naming of Surah 96 as the earliest; almost any good Western book on the subject and many Arabic ones might have made the author a bit dubious on this point. Very curious is the statement (p. 13), which must make any uninformed reader think that Mohammed chose *saj'* or rhymed prose as the literary form for his oracles, in order to distinguish them from those of *kāhins* or soothsayers; the author hardly intends this, for he certainly knows that *saj'* was the very vehicle of the *kāhin*. That the migration to Abyssinia is designated as a flight (one not two, of course—a rough computation of the distance and the difficulties of the journey is enough to establish this fact), is well and good; its characterization as an emigration, equivalent to the move to Medina, is traditional and bestows too much dignity upon the venture and on those who took part in it. On the other hand, the *Hijrah* to Medina should no longer be described as a "flight" in a well-informed modern book. Page 17 teems with errors and questionable statements. Not to speak of the problematical dignity of Mohammed's family before Mohammed's rise, the description of Mecca and Medina (excluding Tā'if) as "the principal cities of the Hijāz, and of the Hijāz as "the leading province of Arabia," reflects post-Mohammedan not pre-Mohammedan conditions and conceptions. The absurd tradition that Mohammed at twenty-five married Khadtjah (why Khadaijah?), *forty*, who, at that age, bore him two sons and four daughters, is baldly repeated. How does the author know for certain, that two cousins of Mohammed's wife were really "Christians," and that Mohammed

"must have had intercourse with Jews from early days"? Page 18 is hardly better. The old master Noeldeke might have warned the author that 570 as the date for an elephant episode connected with the Abyssinian Abraha as king, not of Abyssinia, but of the Yemen (Arabia Felix), was impossible (p. 20); at best there was only one stubborn African elephant, not an Indian "array" of tractable ones. Whatever be the rights or wrongs of the supposedly deleted verses about Allât, æ 'Uzzâ, and Manât, that they cannot be connected with the confused account, which ultimately resulted in a double flight to Abyssinia, has been amply demonstrated by Caetani (p. 21). Whether the Quraish actually "banned" even the family or clan of Mohammed, many of whom were not Moslems, is problematical (cf. Caetani); but that the Quraish banned "the Moslems," scattered throughout the town and connected with all manner of families to the very elect of the Quraish themselves, this is not maintained by any early Moslem writer who still tried to picture to himself clearly what his statements involved (p. 22). It will not be necessary to cite further examples. What has been said is sufficient to warn the uninformed reader and to make it clear that, for a second edition, a re-working of at least the whole first part of the book is necessary.

And a second edition, in spite of the adverse criticism registered, the reviewer hopes the little volume may attain. For in nearly all other respects it is a book that can be used with profit and that deserves to be widely used. Thus the actual presentation of the teaching of the Qur'ân (pp. 31-73) is again very much better than the attempt at a historical introduction. Of course, if the Introduction is re-written, this will in itself involve a pretty thorough revision of this section also. The origin and meaning of the Abraham-Ishmael legend in connection with the Meccan sanctuary must be restated after Snouck-Hurgronje's *Het Mekkaansche Feest*. It should not be said that Mohammed "changed the original name Yeshû'" (p. 47); Mohammed, of course, simply repeated what he heard. From George Foot Moore's *History of Religions* the author may now learn, that on the doctrine of predestination Mohammed may not be held to account, as might a systematic theologian of an entirely different stratum of civilization. It seems to have escaped the author entirely that Mohammed's idea of fasting underwent great changes in more ways than one; that at one time he seems to have considered complete silence as an, perhaps *the*, integral part of fasting. On the Jihâd the statements are not always quite as fair as the author no doubt would like to make them. It is not only an overstatement, it is

erroneous, that "the accepted way of propagating Islam in the outer world was by the sword," unless one distinguishes Islam as religion from Islam as rule and empire of the Arabs (p. 58). Likewise the translation of Jihād (p. 65) as "strife in the way of Allah" is neither fair nor wise, if one would point out to Moslems a point of departure for reforms within Islam; Jihād is not "strife" but *striving, toiling, earnest endeavor*; a *mujahid* is not at all necessarily a warrior, in fact, in one technical use of the word he is what we would describe as a serious student of theology. And that the establishment of a public fountain, e.g., or other distribution of alms, is described as *sebil*, is of course only another form of *jihād fī sebil allāh*, "striving in the way of God." And so, throughout the second part, a thorough revision, chiefly historical, is needed. With this a second edition would make the well-organized work at least as useful again as it is in its present form, and may, if properly and thoroughly done, make it the standard work in English on the subject.

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A STUDY OF LUKE'S SOURCE MATERIAL¹

Mr. Perry is not the first to suggest that a special source was used by Luke in the closing chapters of his Gospel, but he has the honor of being the first to inquire into the hypothesis with the fulness that it deserves. From an examination of the earlier chapters of Luke he deduces as foundation for his study the methods which the author appears to use in employing his sources. Next he surveys the phenomena in the last six chapters, and, partly from the abundance here of non-Markan material, partly from Luke's divergence from Mark where the two are parallel, he concludes that these phenomena can be accounted for only by postulating for the Third Gospel another source, which he calls J. To this source, once assumed, he assigns not merely the sections peculiar to Luke but a great deal of the material more or less paralleled by Mark, amounting to 173 verses in all.

The next step in the study is to discover whether this material shows such homogeneity in vocabulary, thought, and viewpoint, and such differences from the rest of Luke's writings in the same respects as to

¹ *The Sources of Luke's Passion-Narrative*. By Alfred Morris Perry. (Historical and Linguistic Studies in Literature Related to the New Testament. Second Series, Volume IV, Part 2.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1920. vii+128 pages. \$0.75.

confirm the hypothesis of an independent source. Although the author speaks here with great caution, he decides that such support is at hand and so refers to the hypothesis as "demonstrated." Therefore, as befits an *editio princeps*, he ends with a discussion of the provenance, author, date, purpose, historical value, and literary relations of this document. He believes he has "shown" that J was a Greek document, possibly a translation from the Aramaic, and "that its origin is probably to be fixed in the Christian community at Jerusalem, about the year 45 A.D., and that its author was probably a disciple of Jesus and eye-witness of the events he describes."

While the clear logical method, the self-restraint, and the careful collection of evidence deserve the highest commendation, the certainty and soundness of Mr. Berry's conclusions will hardly receive general acceptance. In a composition so fully edited as is Luke's, the statistics of vocabulary cannot be used either for or against a theory of written sources, while the more general signs of distinctiveness or of unity are almost equally precarious to the source-hunter as evidence. Particularly the reduction to a minimum of the influence of Mark on these latter chapters of Luke is ill-supported. It is easier to assign the variations in parallel sections to an increased editorial liberty than to ascribe them to the entirely new method of employing for occasional interpolations the source which in earlier chapters had been Luke's chief narrative-guide. It is far from certain that Luke was bound to use everywhere the same restraint in using Mark which he exhibits in earlier sections. Not only the Book of Acts but certain sections of his Gospel suggest considerable editorial freedom, e.g., Luke 4:16-30; 8:11-15; 9:28-37; 24:13-35. It is precarious also to assume that Luke's frequent transpositions of Mark's order in the passion-narrative are due to the influence of a correcting written source. The word *καθεξῆς* in the preface cannot be pressed as guaranty that changes are always due to a superior well-authenticated chronology. Perhaps some oral or fugitive written information was available when Luke wrote these chapters, and yet Mark is still his principal guide.

Detailed proof of this objection is not here desirable, but a few examples may be given. Thus the apocalyptic discourse in Luke is reckoned, according to Perry, as about half and half, Mark and J. But in spite of this interpolation of J into Mark, or rather, as Perry would put it, of Mark into J, the order and general subject-matter, if not always the exact wording of the two gospels, is throughout this section in perfect agreement. If economy of hypotheses is a sound argument, it will be

simpler to suppose that in dealing with the difficult and fluid subject of eschatology Luke paraphrased Mark more freely than usual, as he did, for example, in copying Mark's explanation of the parable of the sower.

Mark gets even less credit for the subsequent chapters of Luke—not more than 15 or 20 verses out of 167. And yet here as before, except in plainly independent sections, there is much that reflects Luke's usual editorial treatment of Mark. Of course other elements have entered into Luke's treatment, as the transfer of the appearances of Jesus from Galilee to Jerusalem and the insertion of Herod. But both these elements reappear in Acts and it may be suspected that Luke's interests as shown in the sequel have colored parallel scenes in the Gospel. Mr. Berry has not sufficiently considered the significance of these and other evidences from Acts, and in his belittling of Markan influence he has sometimes overlooked obvious parallel phrases in Mark. For example, of his instances of exact detail in the scenes in Gethsemane and in the courtyard of the high priest (pp. 62 f.; cf. pp. 42, 44), which he attributes to the J source, *θελς τὰ γόνατα* occurs four times in Acts; *ἀπὸ τῆς λύπης* and *ὁ Κύριος ἐνέβλεψεν τῷ Πέτρῳ* resemble other additions to Mark by Luke (9:32; 20:1, 7 *ἐμβλέψας*); *ὥσεί λίθου βολήν* and *διαστάσης ὥσεί ὥρας μῆς* seem to represent, not some non-Markan source, but a similar method of treating Mark's *μικρόν* (14:35) and *μετὰ μικρόν* (14:70), while *μετὰ βραχύ* may also be borrowed from the latter phrase. Certainly in their present form these phrases are Lukan, if Acts 5:7 and 27:28 (*βραχύ διαστήσαντες*) are considered, and not attributable to either Mark or J. Finally, *καθήμενος πρὸς τὸ φῶς* is from Mark 15:54, *συνκαθήμενος μετὰ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν καὶ θερμαινόμενος πρὸς τὸ φῶς*; yet Perry assigns to Mark's influence in this scene only the cock-crow!

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A NEW TRANSLATION OF PLOTINUS¹

The recent revival of interest in Plotinus is not altogether wholesome. It is in part due to that fatal facility of transition from mysticism to superstition of which Maeterlinck is the most conspicuous illustration. Plotinus himself, however, though a cause of superstition in others, is almost wholly free from the concrete supernatural. Though he was a

¹ *Plotinus' Complete Works*. In Chronological Order, Grouped in Four Periods. Translated by Kenneth Sylvan Guthrie. London: George Bell and Sons, 1918. In four volumes. 1333+Lxxiv pages.

hasty and careless writer, he was (in philosophy) a scholar and an original thinker. And his enormous influence on the subsequent history of European thought makes every aid to the difficult study of his writings welcome. But the student who desires to retain his sanity will do well to test provisionally all new interpretations by Zeller's collections of the facts, and the excellent summaries of Whittaker's neo-Platonists.

Dr. Guthrie almost disarms criticism of his ambitious attempt by beseeching "the mantle of charity in view of the stupendousness of the undertaking in which he practically could get no assistance of any kind." "There are passages," he adds, "that never can be interpreted perfectly." This is quite true. An infallible translation of Plotinus postulates not only a keen interest in abstract metaphysics and a mastery of the Greek language but an intimacy of acquaintance with the texts of Plato and Aristotle such as probably not six, perhaps not three, living scholars possess. It is no disparagement of Dr. Guthrie's work to say that he has not these qualifications. He evidently reads Greek readily, but he does not understand the particles and he is capable of gross misapprehensions of idiom, synonyms, technical terms, and especially difficult sentences. He has looked about in the history of Greek philosophy, consulted the "authorities," and collected some of the parallels in earlier thinkers that illustrate or explain Plotinus' words. But he clearly does not possess the first-hand familiarity with the writings of Plato and Aristotle that is the indispensable prerequisite of a complete interpretation.

Although at first I intended to write a critical review of the entire translation, I must limit myself to a few typical illustrations of these generalized criticisms. The cost of an exhaustive list of corrections would be prohibitive in both labor and space, and the attempt would be unfair to both author and reviewer. Dr. Guthrie translates freely in fluent, readable, and fairly philosophic English—sometimes giving only his conception of the meaning in paraphrase or résumé. And in a considerable proportion of cases what the critic might list as an error would be from the translator's point of view only a legitimate freedom in the expression of the true general purport of the passage. It is enough, then, to warn the student that, though he may read this translation with pleasure and trust it to give him a fair impression of the mind and philosophy of Plotinus, he cannot safely use any of its statements for critical and scholarly purposes without verifying them in the Greek text. They may be, probably are, right enough for general literary ends. But one can never be sure.

In i. 6 the rendering of τὴν σωφροσύνην ἡλιθιότητα εἶναι that "wisdom is softening of the brain" is either a bad joke or a gross error. The mistaken translation of σωφροσύνη by "wisdom" recurs frequently. The passage incidentally illustrates the necessity of knowing Plato. Plotinus is thinking of *Gorgias* 491 E: τοὺς ἡλιθίους λέγεις τοὺς σώφρονας.

In i. 6. 6 and in many other passages the rendering of φρόνησις by "prudence" is misleading. Although Plotinus adopts much of the Aristotelian ethics, he is here using φρόνησις in the Platonic, not in the Aristotelian, sense. Probably the Latin translation *prudencia* in the right-hand column of the Didot edition caught Dr. Guthrie's eye. This has apparently happened in many other passages, e.g., in i. 6. 4 in rendering ἐπιτηδεύματων by "arts and sciences" he seems to be thinking of the Latin. In iii. 1. 1 he is clearly misled by the *partim* of the Latin when he translates "of these that exist, some might *partly* have a cause." In iv. 7. 2 ff. under the influence of the Latin *ratio seminalis* he renders λόγος "seminal reason," thereby obtruding stoicism on many passages that are merely Aristotelian. In v. 9. 7 in translating οὐκ ἐπιβάλλων, "it does not direct its glances," he is evidently thinking of the Latin *neque aciem intendens*. For the rest, this is one of the passages which he entirely misunderstands: καὶ ἐνδοθεν τό τε νοητὸν τὴν τε νόησιν ἔχουσιν is not "they reveal the intimate union of intelligence and thought"—where "intimate" again is from the Latin *ab intimo*. Plotinus is speaking as often of the problem of the identity of the highest thought with its object—a conception whose history I have elsewhere traced in outline from Plato's *Parmenides*, through Aristotle's *De anima*, down to the neo-Platonists (see *A.J.P.*, XXII [1901], 161 ff.).

Without wishing to be hypercritical, one must warn the student that little light can be thrown on the dark places of the neo-Platonic metaphysics by an interpreter who translates νοητὸν and νόησιν "intelligence and thought." In iv. 7. 1, κατὰ φύσιν ἐπισκοπούμενος is, of course, not "by a study of our nature." It is merely the familiar Aristotelian phrase for the methodical or natural procedure. In the same passage the rendering of ἀλλ' οὖν διηρήσθω γε ταύτη by "this is how we must distinguish" may serve to exemplify the general observation that Dr. Guthrie has little appreciation of the force of Greek particles and connectives. His neglect of them may sometimes be only the allowable freedom of English idiom. But often it seriously obscures the sense and the logical connection. In iv. 7. 3 the rendering "since the body is not constituted by matter exclusively, as could be proved analytically, if necessary" completely misapprehends the meaning in ways too complicated for explanation in my space.

These instances must suffice. As already said, very few living scholars know enough at once of Greek and of Plato and Aristotle to translate Plotinus. And unfortunately, in spite of his enthusiasm, his industry, his fluent and readable style, and the practical sufficiency of his version for some purposes, Dr. Guthrie is not of the few.

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AN ESSAY ON PHILO

In a recent monograph the ideas and the language of Philo, the famous Jewish scholar of Alexandria, are examined with a view to showing that he was a consistent Platonist.¹ Philo's extensive debt to Plato has usually been recognized, but several modern interpreters have ascribed to him a considerable measure of eclecticism including stoical and mystical features so characteristic of the Hellenistic culture of Alexandria in Philo's day. The present essay is an emphatic protest against this modern tendency. The author allows that occasionally Philo's language was colored by the popular eclecticism of the time, but in general such phraseology is only an apparent and not an essential deviation from pure Platonism. Either these aberrations were already present in Plato or else Philo's language is to be understood in a purely metaphorical sense. However much his literary style may show the influence of different schools, the content of his thinking always retains its integrity; he never departs "at all from the unity and consistency of his own thought." This contention is defended by a careful statistical examination of Philo's ideas regarding ultimate reality, intermediate powers, man's soul and its powers, and ethics. A final chapter deals especially with the influence of Plato upon the phraseology of Philo.

Although the author supports his views by numerous references to both Philo and Plato, his argument does not always carry conviction. That Philo was extensively influenced by Platonism every serious student of the subject probably will allow without question, but that he was only superficially affected by the syncretistic elements in the immediate cultural milieu of Alexandria is much more doubtful. At least it is highly unsatisfactory to pass over this phase of the problem in comparative silence. It may be relatively easy for us moderns, enjoying the seclusion of a twentieth-century library with Plato's works

¹ *The Platonism of Philo Judaeus*. By Thomas H. Billings. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1919. viii+105 pages. \$1.00.

on one hand and Philo's on the other, to show by the citation of proof-texts what seems to us to be the pure Platonism of Philo, but the question can hardly be settled with historical assurance until it has been approached from the point of view of Philo's own cultural and social environment. The stimuli in his surroundings which prompted him to philosophize and the ends which his philosophy were designed to serve in his immediate situation are matters of first-rate importance in this connection. The present thesis would have carried much greater conviction had its author set out by showing that the adoption of a pure Platonism would have served best the specific needs and tastes which the historical conditions of the time imposed upon Philo.

On the other hand, the peculiar historical environment of Philo and the special task which he set himself to accomplish certainly would not predispose one to find in his writings a rigid adherence to consistent Platonism. It must be remembered that Philo was a Jew and that he always remained, at least to his own satisfaction, a loyal adherent to the faith of his fathers. As an apologist for Judaism he sought to convince not only Platonists but every other type of Hellenistic thinker and religionist that the Jewish faith was worthy of acceptance by Gentiles. Under these circumstances he might readily appropriate for his exposition of Jewish religious thinking items from different philosophies then current, notwithstanding what may seem to us to be inherent logical contradictions. Even had Philo's interest been less strongly practical and more distinctly dialectical, as an eclectic he would have been by no means a strange phenomenon in that day. And whether he would have so revered Plato above all other philosophers of the time as to make himself a pure Platonist, either deliberately or unconsciously, seems open to question. Another point needing further investigation is the genetic connection of Philo's thinking with that of possible Jewish predecessors in the schools of Alexandria.

We hope that Professor Billings may find it possible at an early date to employ his extensive familiarity with Philonic literature in further investigations within this attractive field.

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THE INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT OF AUGUSTINE

So much has already been written about Augustine that at first sight one might doubt the propriety of attempting any new discussion of the subject. Yet a French scholar has recently undertaken on an

extensive scale a series of studies upon the intellectual evolution of the famous bishop of Hippo. The first volume in this series has appeared.¹ It covers Augustine's career during the period of his attachment, successively, to Manicheism, Skepticism, and Neoplatonism. A second volume will deal with his transition from Neoplatonism to Christianity, and a third will describe the final stage of his development as he worked out his own distinctive type of Christianity.

In justification of his undertaking the author notes the deficiency of previous works particularly in the field of Augustine's intellectual evolution. Most books written to expound Augustinian doctrine are said to treat it statically rather than developmentally, and the few books that do apply the evolutionary method of interpretation are found to deal only with selected phases of the subject. Hence there is thought to be need for an exhaustive study of the whole course of Augustine's development as it is exhibited more especially in his inner intellectual struggles during successive periods in his life. This task requires not only a careful reading of Augustine's writings in chronological order but a consideration of the various milieus in which he lived and from which he received the stimuli that in large measure determined the course of his development. It is well known that he was a man of very sensitive temperament who would be particularly susceptible to environmental influences and whose career therefore has to be studied particularly from the standpoint of actual contacts and experiences in real life. In the present volume this genetic principle of historical investigation has been consistently applied.

After an introductory section dealing in a general way with the outward career and psychological characteristics of Augustine, his attachment to Manicheism is interpreted in the light both of the content of the Manichean faith and of Augustine's apologetic on behalf of this system of thinking. Next we are shown how Augustine, as a result of his continued rhetorical studies and change of residence from Carthage to Rome, and subsequently to Milan, was influenced especially by his reading of Cicero to abandon Manicheism and adopt the skeptical views of the Academics. But in this school of philosophy he is seen to have found no permanent satisfaction, hence he was led by his own mental necessities and the reading of Plotinus to adopt Neoplatonism, although he combined with it certain features derived from Christianity in which he had been brought up as a youth. At this point

¹ *L'Évolution intellectuelle de Saint Augustin: I. Du Manichéisme au Néoplatonisme*. By Prosper Alfarc. Paris: Nourry, 1918. ix+556 pages.

the present book ends, leaving it to later volumes to trace the process of Augustine's full adoption of Christianity and his further development of a distinct Augustinianism.

The author's argument is worked out in great detail and is supported by ample references to the original sources of information. The book is an important contribution to the history of Christian biography and doctrine in its particular field.

SHIRLEY JACKSON CASE

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A HISTORY OF CHRISTOLOGY

A very valuable history of Christian doctrine lies before us, scholarly, accurate, detailed, and precise; one that marks its author as a most assiduous and painstaking teacher.¹ The long story is presented under four great divisions: (1) the ancient Fathers, Greek and Latin, the chief attention being given to the Greek; (2) the scholastic writers of the Middle Ages, particularly those connected with the two rival schools of Friars, Dominicans, and Franciscans; (3) the Reformers, especially Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin; (4) modern Protestant theology, mainly as developed by Schleiermacher and Ritschl. This last is wholly German, English, or American.

Thus the whole field is surveyed with tolerable completeness (so far as the highways are concerned; we are never led aside into byways), except that modern Roman developments are wholly ignored. We search in vain for so much as a mention of the Council of Trent, the Jesuits, or their Jansenist opponents. Not a hint as to the doctrines of the immaculate conception of the virgin or of the infallibility of the pope. This is no great loss, but even apart from it, it must be admitted that there are very inexplicable gaps. We are given no intimation that there ever existed St. Vincent or the great school of Lerins; we hear nothing of Keltic Christianity, nor even of Wycliffe, Waldenses, or Hus. Pelagius himself has a brief footnote, quoted from Harnack; not one syllable more. Our author would probably say that it was no care of his to fill the gaps between the four great periods into which the subject naturally falls.

He is very fond of giving the views of his theologians in the very words they used and this must be accounted to him a very great merit

¹ *A History of the Doctrine of the Work of Christ in Its Ecclesiastical Development.* By Robert S. Franks. New York: Hodder & Stoughton, 1918. Two volumes. xiii+892 pages. \$6.50.

indeed. Such quotations are exceedingly helpful and vastly enhance the real value of the book. Only very seldom indeed, as it seems to us, has Mr. Franks written anything to which exception can be taken in the matter of cold fact. His work seems most meticulously accurate. It does, however, appear unfortunate that he should impliedly identify Eutychianism with Monophysitism (the latter term not actually used, but the one nature specified) on page 89 of Volume I. It may be admitted at once that to the Western mind the distinction is most subtle and elusive, but as it forms the stumbling-block in the way of union for the Coptic and Armenian churches it is only courtesy to admit that it exists. But it is clear throughout that, whatever has been the author's exact measure of the importance of different Christian doctrines, it is not their influence on the splitting of unity. Even so sturdy an Anglican as Bishop Westcott might have been a convinced Nonconformist from anything to be gathered from the pages before us. This is no reproach to the book. And it is a most interesting novelty that the work deals almost wholly with individual writings, hardly at all with formal creeds.

It certainly cannot be alleged that the writer shows any undue tendency to propaganda. Everywhere he keeps his own opinions to himself until he is moved in the course of his discussion of Socinianism to use expressions which display sympathy for a liberal Protestantism, though not necessarily identifying himself with that or any other particular school of thought. Whatever enthusiasms he may possess he suppresses more than he need. Each great theologian in turn is discussed with impassive impartiality; Calvin, Grotius, Jonathan Edwards, all fare alike. It is not our author's plan to discuss the influence his religion exerted on the individual. For a person who has the great privilege of living in the fascinating old English city of Bristol he seems rather to lack feeling for the spirit of the Middle Ages, and even writing in that environment he confuses monks and friars.

The work is really so excellent and so useful that it seems a very great pity that a fatal defect is likely to prevent its ever taking its place with the great historical classics in the English tongue. The title gives an indication of the sort of style in which the book is written that is by no means misleading. It is terribly bald and flatfooted. It may be asserted that the subject is not one that lends itself to much charm in telling; even Gibbon when his narrative led him upon similar ground had to help out by rather cheap sneers. This may to some extent be true; yet how delightfully and with what entirely reverent spirit has

Hodgkin dealt with theological controversies in telling the deathless story of Italy and her invaders, a work that will last as long as our tongue. The weary details of the damnation or other fate of Theodore of Mopsuestia, all the theological intricacies of Justinian's reign, assume under his pen an interest fully equal to that of the rest of his narrative. Had Hodgkin written the work before us it would have taken its place as one of the classics of the English language, without necessarily being more useful than it is to the student who is really keen.

As a book of reference Mr. Franks's great work—for it is a great work—has few rivals, at any rate in the English language. It will be of the greatest value to all who have to teach church history and if they can make their students read it too, it will be the highest tribute to their zeal. But at the same time we rather suspect that those who have read or will read the volumes from cover to cover without the terror of an examination before them might hold a convention in the drawing-room of an average New York apartment.

The publishers deserve credit for the attractive manner in which the volumes are printed and bound.

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BRIEF MENTION

OLD TESTAMENT

BÖHL, F. M. TH. *Het Oude Testament*. [Bybelschkerkelik Woordenboek, Eerste Deel.] Groningen, Holland: J. B. Wolters' U. M. 1919. viii+332 pages. F. 7.25.

Professor Böhl has accomplished a difficult and wearing task in the preparation of a dictionary of the Old Testament by his own unaided efforts. The scholarship and scientific spirit of the work are guaranteed by the author's name. Its character, however, as a handbook for general use is constantly kept in mind. Only the most salient facts are noted. The longest article does not extend over two pages. The general point of view in the treatment of the various subjects is closely allied to that of the so-called *religions-geschichtliche* school, represented by Gunkel, Gressman, Hans Schmidt, *et al.* In addition to the Old Testament data that naturally belong in such a work, we find also the names of outstanding representations of Old Testament science during the last century. Here we can but note the omission of many names of English-speaking scholars whom we should expect to find, especially when we observe how wide open the door is held for German and Dutch scholars. But for Dutch readers in general this preference is easily justifiable.

Scattered through the work we find interesting bits of Böhl's own views that are more or less new. For example, Isaiah, chapters 24-27 are connected with the devastation of Babylon in 689 B.C. and chapters 13 and 14 with the murder

of Sennacherib in 681 B.C. Deutero-Isaiah did not so much write under the name of Isaiah as preach upon short passages or "texts" originating with Isaiah. The reconciliation of the supposed fact that the name Yahweh is found before the time of Moses and yet Moses is said to have received the revelation of the name of Yahweh is sought in the hypothesis that there were two forms of this name, viz., Yahu and Yahweh, just as is the case with Abram and Abraham. In this connection reference should have been made to the Assuan papyri and the form used there. It is not quite accurate or safe to say that nobody doubts the unity and integrity of the Book of Ezekiel. Brief but good bibliographies are added to all the more important articles.

J. M. P. S.

GENUNG, J. F. *A Guidebook to the Biblical Literature*. Boston, Ginn & Co., 1919. xvi+686 pages.

In this handbook, Professor Genung furnishes an introduction to both Old and New Testaments. It calls attention primarily to the contents and value of the biblical material and does not stress date, authorship, and similar matters which constitute so large a part of the traditional introduction. For this reason it forms a useful supplement to such books. The point of view of the treatment is rather confusing. The method is in a broad way historical, but in detailed application it contents itself with acceptance of traditional views to such an extent as almost to vitiate the usefulness of the book for historically minded students. Critical knowledge and the traditional terminology of standardized piety rub elbows on every page. For example, on page 34 we are clearly informed that the patriarchal stories interpret "racial traits in masterly terms of individualized personality" and contain "historical conditions reduced to biographical detail." Yet the patriarchs are treated as real persons undergoing real experiences as recorded in the narratives. Isaiah is credited with practically everything in chapters 1-39. The New Testament section reveals the same characteristics. This "guide" will be most useful to those who know most.

J. M. P. S.

HILL, J. G. *The Prophets in the Light of Today*. New York: Abingdon Press, 1919. 240 pages. \$1.25.

This is not a study of the prophets nor an orderly exposition of their teachings. It is rather a series of inspirational chapters based upon the teachings of the prophets. The point of view is that of the modern, historical school and the preaching is good. This attractive use of the prophets and their utterances ought to inspire some readers to seek a closer acquaintance with the prophets and their books.

J. M. P. S.

PENNIMAN, JOSIAH H. *A Book about the English Bible*. New York: Macmillan, 1919. ix+444 pages. \$2.25.

The English Bible has recently received new attention by specialists in English literature. The excellency of its language, and the romantic history of its preservation down through the centuries, have aroused a genuine interest in its historical background and in its literary forms and characteristics. Professor Penniman tells us in the Preface, that the book "has grown out of a series of lectures delivered to students in the University of Pennsylvania, the purpose of which was to give a brief account

of the English Bible, its immediate sources and their contents, their literary background and surroundings, the forms and characteristics of the constituent books and their relation to each other." Twenty-one lectures are made to cover the entire area of the volume. Naturally the number of themes is limited, and the discussions are general, as seen particularly in the compressing of "Biblical History," The "Background of the Old Testament," of "Prophets," and of the "Wisdom Books"—each into a single lecture. The last six lectures deal with the English Bible from the manuscript of Wycliffe down to 1917.

The critical position of the author is that of a progressive. He avoids such technical discussions as would divert the attention of his listeners from the central thought of the lecture.

The author has read widely and collected carefully from reliable authorities, such material as will illumine the theme under discussion. His style is just what we should expect from a professor of English literature, clear, concise, specific, and forceful.

The themes which receive the largest treatment are poetry (five lectures) and the English Bible. Here, especially in the former, we find the author at his best, contributing out of his own wisdom to the discussion of the poetical wealth of the Old Testament.

He finds especial delight in his brief sketch of the history of the English Bible which has contributed so largely to the language of our day.

As a series of popular lectures about the Bible this volume deserves a high place in the new material of our day.

Pr.

NEW TESTAMENT

HOLMES, W. H. G. *The Epistle to the Hebrews*. ("The Indian Church Commentaries.") New York: Macmillan, 1919. xi+448 pages. \$1.60.

This work on the Epistle to the Hebrews is one of a series published under the title "The Indian Church Commentaries" by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. It is only to be expected, therefore, that it should have a very practical religious purpose, namely, to strengthen Christian converts and particularly native Indian converts within the Anglican Communion. The aim of the book is, therefore, not primarily that of scientific scholarship but rather that of practical religious helpfulness. The book is a commentary based upon the text of the English Revised Version which is printed at the top of the page. At the end of most of the chapters there are additional extended notes on more important or more difficult topics, while the first sixty-eight pages consist of a full introduction under the usual headings. The author accepts the traditional view that the Epistle was written to Jews who under persecution and disappointment were tempted to revert to Judaism and the ritual of the Temple. He therefore assumes that the Epistle must have been written before 70 A.D. and seems hardly to be aware of the fact that any other view has been taken or could be taken.

Within this framework the author gives a very strong presentation, always having in view the Indian Christians, whose situation he considers peculiarly similar to that of the readers. In all his notes he makes extended and illuminating comparison with Hindu and Mohammedan customs, views, and doctrines. The book withal keeps closely to the facts of scholarship, being quite concrete and realistic, and often

suggestive and scholarly. The following sentence from the note on the word "covenant" (p. 301) indicates the sanity of the author's exegesis: "The use of any word commonly employed in human affairs, and in the disposition of worldly goods, to signify God's dealings with men, is in itself a kind of parable, and no parable should be too closely interpreted or it loses its force." The book is a good example of a highly desirable and religiously helpful commentary which keeps close to the mother earth of historical fact.

H. L. MACN.

MOULTON, JAMES HOPE. *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*. Vol. II. *Accidence and Word-Formation*. Part I. "General Introduction, Sounds, and Writing." Edited by Wilbert Francis Howard. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1919. xv+114 pages. 7s.

The tragic death of Dr. Moulton in the spring of 1917 was a severe blow to New Testament scholarship. It is gratifying, however, to learn that the second volume of his New Testament grammar was almost finished before his death and that his publishers propose to bring it out in completed form at an early date. Part I, which has recently appeared, contains an introduction dealing in a general way with the character of the New Testament language as exhibited in the several books, after which follows a detailed discussion upon sounds and writing. Part II is to treat of accidence and Part III of word-formation. There will also be an Appendix by Rev. C. L. Bedale who will take up in detail the question of Semitisms in the Greek of the New Testament, a subject frequently alluded to but not adequately discussed in Part I. Readers familiar with Dr. Moulton's *Prolegomena*, as Vol. I was called, will only need to be assured that the initial part of the second volume exhibits the same sound scholarship and is written in the same attractive style.

S. J. C.

GRAVES, FRANK PIERREPONT. *What Did Jesus Teach?* New York: Macmillan, 1919. xi+195 pages. \$1.75.

This book is an experiment in pedagogy rather than a contribution to theological science. It grew out of the practical experience of the author in his attempt to guide the reading of university students in the life and sayings of Jesus. These circumstances give to the book a valuable practical direction. It treats in a popular but accurate way the historical sources from which our knowledge of Jesus' teaching is derived. Two chapters are devoted to Jesus as a teacher, and to his methods of teaching. The content of his message is presented under such topics as his idea of God, his idea of man, his conception of the ideal and reconstruction of life, his teaching concerning the future, his views regarding the kingdom and the church, and the bearing of his teaching upon modern society. As an introductory book upon the subject, it should prove useful for many readers.

S. J. C.

CHURCH HISTORY

MOORE, HERBERT. *The Treatise of Novatian on the Trinity*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1919. 147 pages. 6s.

This is another small volume in the very useful series of "Translations of Christian Literature" which is designed to furnish at moderate expense an up-to-date English

rendering of the chief documents of early Christian literature. The translator supplies a brief introduction regarding the life and work of Novatian, the reading of the document is facilitated by the insertion of numerous paragraph headings, and obscure matters in the text are elucidated by well-chosen footnotes.

S. J. C.

WEISKOTTEN, HERBERT T. *Sancti Augustini Vita Scripta a Possidio Episcopo*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1919. 175 pages.

This monograph consists of a critical introduction, the Latin text of Possidius' *Life of Augustine*, an English translation, and a series of interpretative notes. In the introduction the author sketches the chief events of Augustine's own life and describes the general character of the biography which was written by Possidius. The Latin text is accompanied by critical textual notes. The supplementary notes at the end of the book are mainly of a historical and interpretative character. Students of church history will appreciate the convenience of having this interesting document available in so attractive a form.

S. J. C.

MARTIN, EDWARD J. *The Emperor Julian*. ("Studies in Church History.") New York: Macmillan, 1919. 128 pages. \$1.50.

The author has aimed to give an account of Julian that might easily be read at one sitting. He does not feel altogether satisfied with the general impression derived from most books upon this subject. Too high an estimate of Julian is a fault in his opinion altogether too common. He feels that most writers, in their desire not to appear as Christian partisans, have really made themselves apologists for paganism. The essay falls into two main divisions, one treating of Julian in relation to Christianity and the other sketching Julian's scheme of religious revival within paganism. While the book makes interesting reading, it can hardly be regarded as a significant contribution to the subject.

S. J. C.

WALTHER, WILHELM. *Luthers Charakter*. Leipzig: Werner Scholl, 1917. vi+214 pages. M. 3.80.

The mantle of Nicholas von Amsdorf and a double portion of his spirit have descended on Wilhelm Walther, professor at Rostock. He is a "gnesio-Lutheran" to the fingertips, determined to defend his hero, through thick and thin, against the rage of the Romanists on the one side and against the more insidious, if only relative, disparagements of the liberal Evangelicals on the other. He has conceived his task among scholars to be neither the minute research of a Kawerau, nor the philosophic orientation of a Troeltsch, but that of an attorney for the defense. Having thus limited himself he has, none the less, discharged his duty with unexampled zest. His earlier work, "Für Luther wider Rom," is really what its subtitle proclaims it to be, a "manual of apologetics against the Romanist attacks." By his chosen method he has both lost and gained. He has suffered, or the value of his work has, in that he has felt compelled to apologize for every single act and every word of the Reformer. "Der ganze Luther" is his ideal, his norm; he will allow no abatement thereof. But it is difficult to praise all that Luther ever did or said; the very brilliancy of his moral complexion, so to speak, make the blotches on it show all the

more plainly. And yet, on balance, Walther has gained more than he has lost, and his championship shows to greater advantage in the present work, where he builds a positive structure of his own, than it did in earlier works where he labored and sweated not a little to repel the charges of Denifle and Grisar.

From this general survey Luther emerges, as he was bound to do, not only a great man, but an attractive one. His sincerity, his frankness, his unselfishness, his self-respect, self-reliance, and courage are conspicuous, and his good humor, wit, passionate earnestness, and true German temperament are not lost sight of. In weighing the sources, as far as they consist of Luther's own sayings, the author makes the observation that they are so multifarious, and often so contradictory, that almost anything, by proper selection, could be made out of them. Thus, Luther at times showed a genuine humility, and at others "no mortal has ever spoken of himself as did Luther," so proud and confident did he seem. Taking the work as a whole, Walther balances well, and sums up convincingly. What one misses, if anything, is an idea of the development of Luther's character. As the earnest and yet care-free boy he was not the same as when he was the deeply troubled, slightly neurotic monk; nor was the bold liberal and revolutionary of 1520 the same as the gray-haired paterfamilias of 1540.

P. S.

DOCTRINAL

CAVE, SIDNEY. *Redemption: Hindu and Christian*. ("The Religious Quest of India Series.") New York: Oxford University Press, 1919. xii+264 pages.

This volume adds another to the series entitled "The Religious Quest of India," under the editorial supervision of Drs. J. N. Farquhar and H. D. Griswold. We have already a favorable introduction to the series through the volumes by Mrs. Stevenson on *The Heart of Jainism* and Macnicol on *Indian Theism*. The reader has to bear in mind the twofold purpose of the series as defined in the editorial preface, viz., to make a scientific study of the particular phase of Indian religion under scrutiny, and then to compare it with the Christian religion in regard to that religious problem.

The title of the book is suggestive as correcting a popular misconception. The reviewer heard an address at the recent Student Volunteer convention in Des Moines, Iowa, when several thousand students were informed that Hinduism offered no redemption to its adherents. On the contrary there is more than one way through which the Hindu is bidden to find salvation. There are the way of knowledge (*jñāna mārga*), the way of works (*karma mārga*), the way of asceticism (*yoga mārga*), the way of meditation (*dhyāna mārga*), and the way of devotion (*bhakti mārga*).

Dr. Cave has done especially well in Part I of the book, which consists of a historical outline of the development of Hindu thought as related to redemption. He has shown that two streams of thought emanate from the Rig-Veda, the doctrine of *karma* and its concomitant, *samsāra* (metempsychosis), and the beginnings of Brahmanic speculation involving the identification of the individual soul (*ātman*) with the cosmic soul (*brahman*). This development proceeds through the Upanishads which are made the textual basis for Vedantic philosophy. The yearning for redemption is from *samsāra* through escape from the operations of *karma*. The various ways are all designed to help the individual to effect that release, whether through works, knowledge, asceticism, meditation, or devotion, the culmination of which is the

absorption of *ātman* in *brahman*. The Bhagavadgītā advocates the way of devotion to Krishna, portrayed as lord of the universe, and makes the most ethical appeal of the Hindu scriptures.

In the second part of the book, the author presents the Christian doctrine. This is done substantially in the traditional fashion, redemption being portrayed individualistically, with no attempt to interpret socially the Christian message of redemption. Finally the author attempts to set the two religions into relationship in the effort to convince his readers that the Christian message contains a more satisfactory response to the expressed aspirations of Hinduism than does Hinduism itself.

A. S. W.

HUNTER, ROBERT. *Why We Fail as Christians*. New York: Macmillan, 1919. xiii+180 pages. \$1.60.

The first portion of this book is devoted to a sympathetic and unusually careful study of Tolstoi's religious ideas and his attempt to put them in practice. Tolstoi's failure is found to be in his lack of aggressive endeavor to alter social conditions. To be a Christian, as he understood Christianity, is impracticable in the existing industrial order. The second portion of the book undertakes to show that Jesus inculcated communism, that early Christians practiced it, and that the teachers of Christianity proclaimed it until a corrupted church gave itself over to the defense of private property. "We fail, then, as Christians, because we have abandoned communism."

While the author's keen sympathy with the economically oppressed is thoroughly wholesome, and his recognition of the need of social reorganization is entirely justified, his program will strike the critical reader as singularly doctrinaire. Between the simple, untechnical brotherhood of the little groups of early Christians, and the proposal to communize modern industrial life in its complexity, there is almost nothing in common. The early Christians *renounced* all claims on this world, trusting to God to supplant the present evil age by a miraculous catastrophe which should usher in the Kingdom of Heaven in its perfection. Hunter's communism would *possess* all the resources of this world. There is no hint, either in the New Testament or in Hunter's own exposition, of the appallingly complicated technique necessary to organize and maintain universal communism. Moreover, the history of communistic experiments furnishes a discouraging verdict. Why identify Christianity with a peculiarly dubious form of social reconstruction and insist that it fails because it does not today espouse that program?

G. B. S.

KELMAN, JOHN. *The War and Preaching*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1919. 216 pages. \$1.25.

This is the forty-fifth number in the series of the Lyman Beecher Lectureships on Preaching at Yale University. The lecturer is one of the most distinguished in the Scottish—and now in the American—pulpit, and enjoyed an intimate and honorable experience in the Great War. There are eight lectures. The first four are concerned especially with the war and the influence of the struggle upon religious ideas and the work of preaching. The second section of the book covers the conception of the preacher as expert, statesman, priest, and prophet. It treats these aspects of the preacher's work and personality with appreciation. It is in the first part of the

lectures that Dr. Kelman brings his particular contribution to the material of homiletics. The first chapter is especially valuable. It is concerned with the reality of the work of the preacher. One feels after reading it that the ministry is vital business and that the church has not failed to touch life at its center, in spite of all the criticism that has been urged against it. In the middle of page 21 is a sentence that seems obscure; what does "outwith" mean—or perhaps it is a bungling of the words "out of touch with." We have read many an appeal for the validation of preaching at the bar of experience; but chapter ii is the best at hand. It is most vital. Then come two chapters in which the general influence of the war upon the soldier's creed is studied. These interpretations are useful for the preacher who desires to keep his message in tune with the thought of his generation. We feel that here is a noble preacher appealing for noble preaching. The book is not well unified, although it is all worth while. It is a shame not to have an index for such a volume. Even the low price for which the book is sold does not warrant binding it in paper; but the soft brown tone of the cover is attractive. It keeps up to the high level of the Yale lectures.

O. S. D.

EDWARDS, LOREN M. *The Spectrum of Religion*. New York: Methodist Book Concern, 1919. 159 pages. \$0.75.

So far as this study of religion is of real value, it is due to the fact that the minister who wrote it used a large number of replies to questions, 233 in all, which were directed to all sorts and conditions of men throughout the country. So he calls the product the result of "a pastor's clinic in religion." There are seven chapters, each with an attractive title; for example, "The Religion of the Upward Reach," and "The Religion of the Burning Heart." One is aware of the preacher all the time in the treatment of the material. It is a sane and most attractive picture of religion that is given here. One is confident that religion is integral to human nature; that Jesus is the most normal expression of religion. This is an excellent book to put into the hands of young people who are trying to think through their problems, for it is a clear and friendly discussion of its great subject.

O. S. D.

BOOKS RECEIVED

The more important books in this list will be reviewed at length

OLD TESTAMENT AND SEMITICS

- Cadbury, Henry J. *National Ideals in the Old Testament*. New York: Scribner, 1920. xiii+269 pages. \$1.75.
 Condamin, Albert. *Le livre de Jérémie*. Paris: J. Gabalda, 1920. xlv+380 pages. Fr. 24.

NEW TESTAMENT

- Edwards, Lyford Paterson. *The Transformation of Early Christianity from an Eschatological to a Socialized Movement*. Menasha, Wis.: Banta, 1919. 94 pages.
 Jackson, H. Latimer. *The Problem of the Fourth Gospel*. Cambridge: University Press, 1918. xxiv+170 pages. 6s.
 Kennedy, H. A. A. *The Theology of the Epistles*. New York: Scribner, 1920. xii+267 pages. \$1.35.
 McLachlan, H. *St. Luke, The Man and His Work*. London: Longmans Green, 1920. xii+324 pages. 7s. 6d.
 Moulton, Richard G. *The Modern Reader's Bible for Schools—The New Testament*. New York: Macmillan, 1920. vi+437 pages. \$2.25.

CHURCH HISTORY

- Emerton, Ephraim. *The Defensor Pacis of Marsiglio of Padua*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1920. 81 pages. \$1.25.
 Maxson, Charles Hartshorn. *The Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1920. vii+158 pages. \$1.25.
 McClure, M. L., and Feltoe, C. L. *The Pilgrimage of Etheria*. (Translations of Christian Literature.) New York: Macmillan, 1919. xlviii+103 pages. 6s.
 Stephenson, Andrew. *The History of Christianity*. ("World Worships Series.") Boston: Badger, 1919. Vols. I and II. 325 and 320 pages. \$7.50.

HISTORY OF RELIGIONS

- Brown, Sanger. *Sex Worship and Symbolism of Primitive Races*. ("World Worships Series.") Boston: Badger, 1916. 145 pages. \$3.00.

- Carpenter, Edward. *Pagan and Christian Creeds: Their Origin and Meaning*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Howe, 1920. 319 pages.
 Carter, George William. *Zoroastrianism and Judaism*. ("World Worships Series.") Boston: Badger, 1918. 116 pages. \$2.00.
 Sweet, Louis Matthews. *Roman Emperor Worship*. ("World Worships Series.") Boston: Badger, 1919. 153 pages. \$2.00.

PRACTICAL THEOLOGY

- Bugbee, Lucius H. *Flutes of Silence*. New York: Methodist Book Concern, 1920. 173 pages. \$1.00.
 Dennett, Tyler. *A Better World*. New York: Doran, 1920. 173 pages.
 Fitch, Albert Parker. *Can the Church Survive in the Changing Order?* New York: Macmillan, 1920. 79 pages. \$1.00.
 McAfee, Cleland Boyd. *The Christian Faith and the New Day*. New York: Macmillan, 1920. 74 pages. \$0.90.
 Pace, Charles Nelson. *Hear Ye Him*. New York: Methodist Book Concern, 1920. 159 pages. \$1.00.
 Religion among American Men. New York: Association Press, 1920. xviii+155 pages.
 Wenton, Margaret (editor). *War-Time Agencies of the Churches—Directory and Handbook*. New York: Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 1919. 337 pages.

DOCTRINAL

- Buckham, John Wright. *Progressive Religious Thought in America*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1919. xi+352 pages. \$2.00.
 Huse, Raymond. *Theology of a Modern Methodist*. New York: Methodist Book Concern, 1920. 125 pages. \$0.75.
 Lodge, Oliver. *Man and the Universe* (new edition). New York: Doran, 1920. xi+294 pages.
 Lodge, Oliver. *Reason and Belief*. New York: Doran, 1910. xi+166 pages.

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METHODISM TODAY

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The aim and point of view of this paper demand definition at the outset. Two facts are fully recognized. First, that which unites American Protestantism in faith and life is far greater than that which divides, and it is the common heritage and task which especially interest us today. Second, the main influences which mold life and thought today bear alike upon us all. The most significant lines of division today are not the vertical lines that mark off one communion from the other, but the lateral lines of stratification that run through all alike. But these very considerations give the reason for such a report as this. It is because of our common faith and task that we wish to know how the tides of life and thought are moving at other places. And a third consideration points the same way. Our interest is in unity today, but not necessarily in uniformity. There are diversities of gifts and of ministrations, and the larger spirit of fellowship makes us only the more interested in asking each of the other: What have you to offer to our common life, and how fares it with you? This paper is to consider Methodism in America, and to this broader field most of the discussion will apply. The more specific statements, however, have reference to the Methodist Episcopal church of which the writer can best speak from personal knowledge.

THE HISTORICAL CHARACTER OF METHODISM

The Methodism of today can hardly be understood without reference to the Methodism of yesterday, for its merits and its defects, its progress and its problems are all determined in measure by the special character that has marked the movement from the beginning. It is true that it is not easy to define the differentia of Methodism. Though marked by definite convictions constantly proclaimed, Methodism did not begin with a doctrinal issue; the articles of religion which Wesley gave to the American church were simply a revision of the Thirty-nine Articles. Nor did Methodism begin with a doctrine of the church or theory of church organization. Its organization, though an outstanding feature, was shaped by practical needs, its ritual was inherited, and neither was ever considered the article of a standing or falling church. And though Methodism's moral emphasis has always been strong, it did not begin as a reform movement. The central concern of Methodism has always been her conception of religion, religion as a personal relation, a life of conscious fellowship with God in the power of the Holy Spirit and with the fruit of holy life and loving service. Anglicanism is fundamentally a doctrine of the church, as is Roman Catholicism in more thoroughgoing fashion; Calvinism is primarily a doctrine of God; Methodism is a doctrine of religion.

It is this central conception of Methodism that explains its outstanding characteristics: the message emphasized by its preachers, its conception of Christian doctrine, and the nature and meaning of its organization. These men, like the men of the early Christian community, had discovered religion as a life, not an institution or a doctrine, a ritual or a code, but as a new life of joy and peace and moral power. This explains Methodist preaching, central in the Methodist movement, but it explains Methodist theology as well. Within the realm of this experience lay the interest of Methodist theology, and the interests here involved determined the doctrine. This life was God's free gift intended for all men, so that Methodists would have naught of a limiting election. This life any man could receive if he would, and this he must work out with fear and trembling, so they rejected fore-

ordination and determinism with irresistible grace, and emphasized human freedom and moral responsibility. And all this in turn explains the third characteristic, Methodism as an organized and aggressive movement. From such an experience and such a conviction there followed the character of Methodism as an aggressive evangelistic movement, its central figure not a bishop with authority, nor a rector with his robes, nor a teacher among his books, but an itinerant preacher with his message. From this conception of religion follows the other aspect of organized Methodism, its interest in religious fellowship and oversight, so that the new life might be conserved and developed. Thus from this central interest there sprang class meeting, prayer meeting, lay preaching, itinerant ministry, and the rest. The personality of Wesley himself entered in here as a great factor in developing this organization, but the main reason for this, aside from his administrative genius, was because this conception of religion was dominant with him.

METHODIST THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT

It is with this background in mind that we are able to understand the theological position and temper of Methodism, its combination of essential conservatism with an open-minded and progressive spirit. The connection is clearly seen in Wesley himself. He had no quarrel with the doctrinal standards of Anglicanism, though he balked a little at the damnatory clauses of the Athanasian Creed. He was delivered alike from dogmatic conservatism and speculative radicalism because he rejected that intellectualistic conception of religion in which both of these root. His extraordinary liberality did not come from indifferentism but from a discerning appreciation of what religion really was. "We may die without the knowledge of many truths," he wrote, "and yet be carried into Abraham's bosom; but if we die without love, what will knowledge avail? I am sick of opinions. Give me solid and substantial religion; give me a humble, gentle lover of God and man." He had words of appreciation for men whom orthodox and evangelical thought had summarily cast out, for Montanists and Trappist monks, for Pelagius, Servetus, and Loyola. He published

for the edification of his followers the biography of Thomas Firmin, a Socinian, declaring that he could not gainsay facts though he had once held that there could be no real religion without correct opinion of the Trinity. His emphasis upon the certainty which came with religious experience gave him a certain further freedom in relation to external standards. He was not disturbed by a Bible discrepancy, like that of the genealogical tables of the Gospels, and he anticipated by nearly a century and a half the recent action of the Anglican church in revising the Psalter, eliminating certain psalms as not being fit for the lips of a Christian congregation.

To this fine tradition the Methodist church on the whole has been loyal. It has been generally free from unbalanced radicalism of thought as from a heresy-hunting spirit. The saving element in both cases has been its dominant concern with a vital religion. Divisions among Methodists have not been due to doctrinal disputes. The test which Methodists usually apply first to doctrine or church movement is that of the bearing upon life. The general trend of thought in the church may readily be seen by noting the publications of the Book Concern, the materials of religious education put forth by the Board of Sunday Schools, the teachings of the theological schools, and the prescribed course of study for ministers. These indicate a general acceptance of the historical method of biblical study and its more assured results, a growing appreciation of the social aspects of religion and of the significance of religious nurture, and a sympathetic understanding of other movements of religious thought.

Other tendencies, of course, have not been wanting. There has been vigorous opposition at such points as biblical study and the program of religious education with its underlying ideals. The tendency to emphasize practical interests has sometimes prevented the frank and thoroughgoing consideration of principles. Anomalous elements have not been wanting. Such is the retention of creed subscription as a requirement of church membership. This was inserted only a half-century ago in the church ritual. It contradicts the position repeatedly asserted by Wesley who made no other condition of membership than the earnest purpose to

lead a Christian life, and it violates the original "General Rules" which are a part of the constitution of the church. It was eliminated four years ago in the report of a commission on the revision of the ritual, but the proposed return to the original practice and to the Wesleyan position was nullified by the action of the bishops to whom the report was referred for final consideration. Another attempt to eliminate this was made at the last general conference, the judiciary committee having reported that it was in violation of the constitution, but this failed also. Anomalous also is the fact that the communion which has most strongly emphasized the gift and the guidance of the Holy Spirit in the church should deny this doctrine by seeking to place its articles of religion beyond possibility of revision at any later time. On the whole, however, the church has been true to Wesley's fine statement of principle:

In our first conference it was agreed to examine every point from the foundation. Have we not been somewhat fearful in doing this? What were we afraid of? Of overturning our first principles? Whoever was afraid of that, it was a vain fear. For if they are true, they will bear the strictest examination. If they are false, the sooner they are overturned the better. Let us all pray for a willingness to receive light.

Turning from these general considerations, it may be observed that certain modern movements in theology have found congenial soil, if not anticipation, in Methodist thinking. Here may be considered first of all the discussions that center about the nature of truth, the method of knowledge, and the character of authority in religion. Without having worked out the principles involved, Methodism furnished an anticipation of the line of thought that runs through Schleiermacher and Ritschl to some of the present-day pragmatists. In both cases, religion finds its own foundation and lives by its own right. Religious truth is neither a logical demonstration, a speculative achievement, nor a supernaturally communicated sum of information. It is a life that is gained in personal fellowship, a truth that is first of all a working relationship. The apprehension of this belongs only to the believing and obedient life, for its realm is that of ideals and values. Authority in such case cannot be external, whether of church or creed or Bible. The appeal is to the conviction of the hearer, the validation is by the experience of life.

Turning to the central theme of theological interest today, the doctrine of God, we find again modern tendencies that are especially congenial to the Methodist point of view. The interest of Calvinism was in the sovereign will of God, its emphasis was upon absolute power and unrestricted choice; God was first of all the Great Ruler. The emphasis of Methodism has always been upon the character of God, and his relation to men has been conceived as primarily personal and ethical. Consistently there was a vigorous assertion of moral freedom, and a sturdy moral realism in recognizing the human factor in salvation. Here is the limited God, not with the dualism of Mr. Wells, and yet truly limited by his own character and that of the world which he has shaped. More important is the essential democracy of God here as against the old absolutism. There was indeed a democracy in the old Calvinism which gave men the fear of God and delivered them from the fear of kings. But the relation between God and man was not democratized, nor the relation of God to his world. Essential to democracy are the reliance upon truth, the method of freedom, the principle of responsibility, and the obligation of service as inhering in power. Methodism emphasized the personal relation as against that of mere ruler and subject, the appeal of truth, and the response of free men. And its constant stress on the indwelling and enabling Spirit of God was a real preparation for the God of our present faith, working not as irresistible power exercised from without, but in the immanence of a moral and personal presence, himself suffering and striving and toiling that love and righteousness may triumph in the earth.

Before leaving the field of theology, consideration should be given to Methodist thought on certain questions in which it has been peculiarly interested, the questions of sin and conversion, the witness of the Spirit, and entire sanctification. In all these points there must be noted a continued interest and the occurrence of change. Earliest Methodist thought accepted the traditional Calvinistic ideas about original sin; Wesley asserted not merely total depravity but native guilt as well. Later Methodist theologians saw that this involved ideas which they repudiated. This reduction of sin to a natural state was inconsistent with their

emphasis upon moral freedom and responsibility. Further, the total depravity of Calvin left men inert and impotent in relation to all good; salvation would then be not a moral process but a mechanical affair of election at sovereign pleasure and compulsion by irresistible grace. So they declared that this utterly corrupt and impotent individual was a theological figment, since we know of no humanity apart from the Spirit of God. They recognized the absolute dependence of man upon God and did not oppose Pelagius to Augustine; but they insisted upon a "prevenient grace" whose influence left no man untouched. This has been the position of leading writers of the last two generations.

The practical importance of this position appears in connection with the question of children and religious nurture. If total depravity in the Calvinistic sense describes the status of childhood, then certain alternatives are open. Baptismal regeneration is one and Wesley as a good Anglican declared "that all who are baptized in their infancy are at the same time born again"; but this sacramentarianism did not obtain long in Methodism. More common was the idea that childhood belonged by nature to the devil until it turned to God. With this went the exclusive stress upon adult conversion as the way into the kingdom. The Methodist church today holds to neither of these views. "All children are born in the Kingdom of God," it declares, and it enforces the obligation to train the children in the church rather than to wait and win them from the world.

Earlier Methodism laid great stress upon a conscious experience of the work of the Holy Spirit as accompanying conversion and sanctification. There is just as clear realization today that the new life in man is the work of the Spirit of God, but there is less tendency to stress the emotional accompaniments and more emphasis upon the decision of a trustful and obedient will. Methodism still believes in the assurance of the Holy Spirit, in a life that is more than belief and effort, that involves love and joy and peace which men know as the gift of God and the evidence of his presence. But there is less tendency to insist upon one pattern of experience and to rest one's assurance upon varying states of feeling, and there is the conviction that the final ground of assurance

is in that mercy of God which men lay hold of by faith. The emphasis upon sanctification as a conscious and final experience at a given time must be distinguished as the form of doctrine from the substance. The form is not now generally held; there remains the emphasis upon the fact that religion means holiness of life, a holiness which is alike the gift of God and the task of man. "Loving God with all our hearts, and our neighbors as ourselves, is the perfection I have taught these forty years," wrote Wesley himself in old age. In some quarters the social meaning of this doctrine has been asserted of late, as in the social service statement adopted by the general conference of Canada.

Had the Methodist doctrine of holiness, or perfect love, been followed in all its social and economic implications, Methodism would have been the home of that passion for human brotherhood, religious in its intensity, which has been shown by many groups of men and women outside the church, and, as Mr. Dale of Birmingham has said, "Methodism would have inaugurated a revolution compared with which the Protestant reformation would have to take second place."

METHODISM AT WORK

From the discussion of the thought of the church we turn to consider its activities. To what tasks is Methodism addressing itself? In an earlier period adult evangelism was its outstanding activity. The obligation to the unchurched is still realized, but methods of work have changed. While large numbers of churches hold special evangelistic meetings as a regular part of their year's work, increasing dependence is placed upon personal work carried on the year around. Most significant, however, is the place given to religious education. There is here the recognition that preservation is better than rescue work and the realization that nine-tenths of the membership of the church has come in from its schools. Indicative of the estimate placed upon this work is the fact that it is planned to expend some two millions a year in the near future for its development and supervision under the Board of Sunday Schools, and this apart from the expenditures of the local congregation. Especial attention has been given to the development of literature for the Sunday school. The church publishing house issues now some three million copies of graded

lesson books annually, and of Sunday-school periodicals, weekly, monthly, and quarterly, some seventy million copies more.

The organized missionary work of the church developed at first very slowly, but in fact the church as a whole was a missionary body from the beginning. The beginning of Methodism might well be dated from that day when the refined and somewhat fastidious clergyman of the Church of England overcame his repugnance, remembering only the men whom he could not otherwise reach, stood in the open air outside of Bristol, and preached from the text which long years before that other young man had chosen at the beginning of his ministry: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he anointed me to preach good tidings to the poor." In this country especially the itinerant system made possible a unique missionary work of greatest value.

Last year the church celebrated the one hundredth anniversary of the founding of its missionary society. It was made the occasion of a notable forward movement. The Methodist Episcopal church secured subscriptions amounting to one hundred and fifteen millions to cover five years, the church in the South raising a proportionate amount. With this went a thorough survey of conditions and needs in the home and foreign field conducted by specialists, with the careful outlining of larger plans for the future. Significant is the attention paid to social service and educational work. The home and foreign mission boards are planning their future work on the basis of a ten-million-dollar annual budget for each, to which amount the women's societies add some three and a half millions more. An intensive campaign of education was also carried on, large use being made of lay speakers as well as of printed materials. Training in the principles and practice of Christian stewardship was a part of this campaign, and if at times this showed a tendency to drop into a new legalism, for the most part it rested on Christian principles and often showed a fine appreciation of the larger application to industrial and social life.

In the field of education the traditional policy of the church has strongly favored denominational institutions of higher learning. The earlier tendency was to plant these in large numbers, sometimes with the easy inclination to let pious purpose make up for

defective resources. Today the church is trying to consolidate rather than multiply schools, is setting constantly rising standards, and is making often heroic efforts to give adequate support. A recent general campaign added thirty-five millions to properties and endowments. A new feature is the changing attitude toward state institutions. While the church still feels its personal obligation in the field of education and its dependence upon its own schools for Christian leadership, it is recognized that at best only a part of the field can be covered. Technical training, professional preparation, and graduate instruction demand resources beyond all but a very few church schools, and aside from this the larger facilities of the state schools attract increasing numbers of the church's young people. So the church is going where its students are in order to care for them. The first attempt was to furnish special religious care, commonly through student pastors. At the larger state institutions, such as Illinois and Wisconsin, foundations are now being established to provide social centers and courses of instruction, such as a state institution cannot furnish. The latter include the Bible and missions and aim to fit young people for Christian service.

The problem of ministerial education has been one of special difficulty in the Methodist church. The character of its early work made it necessary to admit untrained men to the ministry, and made it possible to use them to large advantage. In many churches the limited support offered still makes it impossible to command the service of well-equipped men. Meanwhile the church has always sought to supply a preacher to every congregation. Despite Mr. Wesley's insistence upon reading and study there was at first a widespread suspicion of an educated ministry. The church is not yet able to enforce the standard which it has set up of a college and seminary training, but for those who do not meet this it provides a comprehensive four years' course of study in which every candidate without seminary training must pass satisfactory examination. Four years ago this was put in charge of a special educational commission, and the plan now contemplates the development of correspondence-school work supplemented by a series of summer schools for intensive training. It

may be added that vigorous attention is being given to the matter of better pastoral support, with the setting of minimum salary standards. At the same time large endowments are being raised to furnish retiring allowances. Some twelve hundred thousand dollars in pension moneys is now being paid out annually and the amount is steadily increasing.

One other educational agency of the church deserves mention, the Book Concern. It is not generally known that this is the oldest publishing house in the country and one of the largest, its recent report showing total sales for the past quadrennium of nearly fourteen millions. Its primary purpose, as officially stated, is educational and evangelistic. It represents a policy that goes back to the beginnings of Methodism. Mr. Wesley laid the greatest stress upon an intelligent and informed people and saw the advantage of the printed page for all his work. He put forth a constant stream of pamphlets, books, and periodicals. In a day when books were a luxury he made them accessible to the common people, and it was one of the duties of his preachers to see to their circulation. And neither his publications nor his own writings were limited to the religious field. He himself, for example, translated from the German and revised a somewhat extensive popular work covering the general field of scientific knowledge, in which are included some striking anticipations of the doctrine of evolution (see J. Y. Simpson, *The Spiritual Interpretation of Nature*, pp. 287, 288). The publications of the Book Concern which are of more general interest are now put out under the imprint, The Abingdon Press. The church, at home and in the mission field, is served by a series of journals, some published independently, the principal ones by the Book Concern. The latter show a combined circulation of nearly 300,000, and their value as an agency in church work has been indicated especially in connection with the recent centenary movement.

As a final aspect of the work of Methodism its relation to the social problem must be considered. The Methodism of the nineteenth century shared the common emphasis upon an individualistic and subjective religion. There were, however, traditions that pointed in another direction. The moral earnestness of

Methodism had revived the best elements of Puritanism, and while the emphasis was sometimes unduly negative the ascetic ideal as such had no place with Wesley. He was interested in men and in all that concerned their welfare. His relation to prisons and prison reform began with the early Oxford days, when he not only brought spiritual help to prisoners but gave practical relief that secured freedom and a new chance for prisoners held, as many were, for trifling debts. He organized friendly visiting and systematic relief, established loan agencies, set up workshops in times of widespread unemployment, and founded medical dispensaries and free labor bureaus. He attacked the slave traffic and the liquor business. In this country the liquor interests have counted Methodism as one of the greatest organized forces arrayed against them.

In the common social awakening of recent years Methodism has shared to the full. With its traditional moral emphasis and its membership so largely from the common people, it ought to be pre-eminent in this field. As early as 1892 memorials were sent to the general conference requesting action upon social problems. The Methodist Federation for Social Service was formed late in 1907. The general conference of the following May adopted a notable statement of social principles, the first to be set forth by any such representative body in this country. This statement, with slight modifications, was taken over by the Federal Council of Churches six months later. Confirmed by many other religious bodies later on, it has had wide circulation as the "social creed of the churches." Since then the social message has had increasing place in the literature published by the church, in the materials for study furnished to the Sunday school, in the courses of study for ministers, as well as in the plans and discussions of the church.

The utterances of the last few years have shown a closer grasp of the underlying economic problem. In a special statement in 1918 the bishops declared in favor of "the application of democracy to industry," and for "an equitable wage for laborers, which shall have the right of way over rent, interest, and profits. We favor collective bargaining as an instrument for the attainment of industrial justice and for training in democratic procedure. We

also favor advance of the workers themselves through profit-sharing and through positions on boards of directorship." A meeting of the bishops, district superintendents, and other officials in 1919 declared not only for "the democratization of industry, but its christianization also," insisting that this "means that power, either political, economic, or industrial, shall not be monopolized by one class to the detriment or defrauding of another." In closing it called for "the open discussion in the church of these vital questions until 'the good of all shall become each man's law.' " The most definite and far-reaching Methodist statement, however, was that adopted by the general conference of the Canadian church in October, 1918. It courageously declares:

One of the causes of the Great War is the rivalry of national groups in the exploitation of undeveloped countries. The war has revealed certain moral perils, not accidental but inherent in a system of "production for profits." Industrial democracy is demanded to make political democracy effective. While the present separation of capital and labor exists, working conditions of industry should be determined by joint industrial councils. The transcendence of this separation is sooner or later inevitable and is the only "radical reform." That this new order will be based upon the appeal to service rather than love of gain is no valid objection to a Christian.

Emerging in such statements is the recognition of a task that goes far beyond ameliorative processes.

Such a movement has naturally not been without opposition. It has come from those who have feared that the individual and spiritual element of religion was being lost with the social emphasis, who failed to grasp the essentially moral and religious content of the new conception. Once or twice the hostile attitude arose apparently because there had been frank criticism of the church itself in relation to certain vested interests. Here as elsewhere the church has felt something of the reactionary spirit that has appeared since the war, with its temper of suspicion and intolerance. But on the whole these are but eddies in the stream. The wholesome effect of the new ideas is seen especially in the larger program of the church. The comprehensive ideal has become the Kingdom of God, and the coming rule of God is seen to include all life. The church is viewed as both embodiment and instrument in relation to this end. All human life is sacred and the church is interested

in all. Circumstances determine just how wide the scope of her work is to be, and it is not forgotten that her central and distinctive function is to bring to men the truth of God, to unite them in worship, and to inspire them for a service that reaches far beyond her own activities. But back of this is the growing realization of the unity of all life and the place of the church as minister to all.

CHURCH ORGANIZATION AND CHURCH UNION

There remains now the study of Methodism as an organization, including its conception of the church and its relation to the matter of Christian unity. For early Methodism as for primitive Christianity religion was, in order, a faith, a fellowship, and a task. The faith was not an inherited belief but a warm and vivid personal experience. We have noted how the task followed of necessity from the faith. The same was true of the fellowship. These two aspects constitute the essential character of Methodism as an organization. From the Methodist standpoint the church is first of all a fellowship and then an instrument for a task.

Methodism was a revival of the Christian ideal of fellowship. It found the church an institution, it made it again a brotherhood. In the main this followed from the inherent nature of the movement, in large part it was due also to Wesley's spiritual insight and genius for organization. Wesley never forgot the words of a chance companion of early days to whom he had unburdened himself: "Young man, the Bible knows nothing of solitary religion. You must find companions, or make them." So Wesley's societies contained their classes, and in turn were grouped in circuits, while a strong feeling of unity ran through the whole church, which was significantly called the connection. In band meeting, class meeting, prayer meeting, love feast, quarterly meeting, and camp meeting, the religious services were always of a pronounced social character. The mere list of these gatherings is suggestive. But the fellowship was one that reached beyond religious meetings and involved relations of friendship and mutual helpfulness. Peculiarly close has been the tie which has bound the preachers together.

The other important aspect of the Methodist conception of the church we may call the instrumental, and it is here that we find the explanation of its elaborate organization. Wesley began as a High Churchman and Methodists refer his altered opinion to the reading of a work by Lord King. But the difference goes far deeper. Some of Wesley's "High Churchism" remained with him to the end, but the dominant influence that carried him irresistibly onward lay elsewhere. The whole conception of the church as a legal institution, formed according to pattern *jure divino* and mediating the divine grace by certain exclusive rites that must be correctly performed, is at the farthest remove from Methodism. The divine character of the church is seen to be rather in the divine life that fills it and in the way in which it mediates that life to others. Wesley saw clearly the double task of winning men for this life and then of training them in Christian life and service. This task Methodism took up with an earnestness and energy never excelled, and to its execution Wesley brought an organizing and directing genius unsurpassed by any man of his age. The various features of Methodist organization were all developed in subservience to these ends.

On the side of organization Methodism has often been criticized as lacking in democracy. There is some truth in the criticism. Certainly Wesley's own administration was far from democratic. He gathered his preachers in conference and invited the freest discussion, but his own decision was final. It was a well-defined paternalism. The American church did not recognize Wesley's authority, but the system that was adopted was strongly centralized and left little power to the individual congregation or to the rank and file of the membership. The supreme body, the general conference, was composed of ministers only. The bishop, not the congregation, determined who should serve a given church. The local officers were largely nominated or appointed by the pastor.

It would be wholly false to suppose that this was due to a lack of sympathy with independence or democracy. The controlling ideal was simply effectiveness in service for the special task which

rested upon Methodism. The apparent autocracy is only the obverse of a militant efficiency. For early Methodism was a militant organization. One might find an analogon in the Salvation Army, itself sprung from Methodism and reviving some of its earlier features. The fighting nucleus was the company of preachers. They were light troops, mounted troops in literal fact in the earlier days. They came together annually for review and to receive a new assignment. There was little of impedimenta. Most of them were unmarried. The fields were largely missionary. The settled pastorate, the comfortable support, the independent and self-sufficient local congregation were wanting. Centralization and co-operation helped to explain the efficiency of this system. These were secured through the administration of given areas by the annual conference and of the church as a whole by the general conference and by the bishops. The latter administered the affairs of the church in its entirety instead of being limited each to a diocese.

In this system large changes have been made, some due to changing conditions, others to the growing influence of democratic ideals which has been apparent in all our life. The governing body of Methodism is now composed equally of ministers and laymen, and in the near future the laymen will probably participate in the business of the annual conferences. The episcopal administration has become decidedly more democratic. Nominally the bishop has authority to appoint any minister under him to any parish in his territory. In practice he is an agent of the church and intermediary between preacher and people, who, after advising with his district superintendents and committees from the churches, seeks such an adjustment as will best serve the interests of the whole. His official title is not bishop but general superintendent, and this accurately describes his function.

The church, however, is by no means inclined to give up the elements that have made for effective work in the past. It recognizes as never before the value of that sense of solidarity with its expression in a closely coherent organization which makes it possible to mass the forces of the church for a united effort as well as to extend its help to every last congregation. Such a movement as the recent Missionary Centenary was made possible only

by this mobilization of forces under central direction. Similarly there is no desire to change that system by which pastors receive their appointment, or reappointment, at one time each year. In individual cases a minister or a congregation might fare better with independent action, but there is general recognition of the great value of the system when the common welfare is considered. There are freedom and flexibility in the plan; necessary changes are made with the least friction, the minister usually attains the position for which he has capacity, churches are not left without pastors nor pastors without churches, and the disorganizing intervals between pastorates are rare.

Within limits, however, the organization is being more or less constantly changed. Methodism has shown a marked capacity for adaptation to changing conditions. The modern situation, for example, demands a greater permanency in the pastorate, so the time limit was removed, and while the pastor must still be appointed annually his term of service may continue as long as desired. The development of the episcopacy affords another interesting example. Until recently the board of bishops as a body administered the church as a whole. Each bishop was assigned a group of conferences for supervision, but they were scattered here and there and were changed annually. The church still retains the idea of a general superintendency as against a diocesan episcopacy; the bishops are elected by the church as a whole and serve the church as a whole. But eight years ago the plan was adopted of assigning to each bishop a given area for closer supervision. The intention was to locate responsibility more definitely and to secure more effective leadership. Not so long ago there was a strong tendency to limit the power of the bishops by restrictions in connection with the appointment of district superintendents and of the pastors. It is recognized now that effective leadership demands authority, and that dangers can be guarded against by making the incumbent responsible and requiring regular accounting. The general conference has defined and enlarged the duties of the bishop. He is required to make formal report to it quadrennially in writing. There is no limit to his term of office, aside from the age limit, but the general

conference may at any time retire him without preferring charges and without trial if it considers his work unsatisfactory. Of late there has been recognized in increasing measure the danger inhering in centralized control and intensive organization, the always present danger of ecclesiasticism with its office-holding (or desiring) group, its emphasis upon conformity, and its depreciation of the prophet. But the clear recognition of this danger is the greatest safeguard against it.

Reference has been made to the problem of democracy in connection with the organization of Methodism. But democracy in religion is far more than a matter of organization, and in its religious life Methodism has been in a peculiar sense an exponent of democracy. Its democracy is seen first of all, as previously indicated, in its conception of God and of his relations with man. God is conceived primarily as character, not power. He deals with man not in the relation of power but of moral appeal directed to a free personal being. There was an essential democracy in the Methodist conception of man. The words of the Duchess of Buckingham are quite in point: "Their doctrines are most repulsive, and strongly tinctured with impertinence and disrespect towards their superiors, in perpetually endeavouring to level all ranks and to do away with all distinctions, as it is monstrous to be told that you have a heart as sinful as the common wretches that crawl on the earth. This is highly offensive and insulting." There was a democracy in this idea that all men were equally sinful and needy, just as there was a democracy in the assertion of that high privilege of the life with God that lifted the poor and wretched to a plane beyond which the richest and most cultured could not go. There was a democracy too in the idea of the religious life and its expression. The Spirit of God himself mediated this life to all alike and out of the direct experience of that life all could speak. There was no place here for the autocracy of priesthood claiming to control the channels of grace, or for the aristocracy of intellect which gave to the cultured alone the power to understand and the right to expound. In its class meetings and prayer meetings Methodism encouraged men to speak. There was a revival of the primitive liberty of prophesying. And in

this connection came the large use made of laymen. There were the lay preachers first of all, and the largest proportion of sermons preached in the Methodist churches of Great Britain today are still by laymen. Beyond this was the use made of laymen as class leaders and in other capacities. In line with this was the recognition of woman in which Methodism seconded the Quakers. The recognition has moved slowly in some fields, but the recent general conference contained a considerable number of women in its membership and passed a resolution providing that women might be licensed to preach.

The problem of church union is fundamentally the problem of the conception of the Christian religion. It is in the nature of this conception as held by various church groups that the real obstacle lies. If Christianity be primarily a set of doctrines authoritatively delivered, then the basis of union can only be agreement on these doctrines. If the constitutive fact be the church as an institution framed after a divine prescription and controlling the means of grace, then the form of organization and the mode of sacramental administration are decisive, and the members of the one true church can only wait for others to unite with them. In considering the relation of Methodism to church union and Christian unity we must recall its conception of religion and its special emphasis. For Methodism religion is primarily a life. The Christian religion is the life in the Spirit of Christ, gained through faith in God as revealed in Christ and lived in the fellowship of Christ's followers in worship, love, and service. With this emphasis it can be tolerant in point of doctrinal details. There is no bar to its recognition of other bodies as true churches of Jesus Christ. In the historical statement prefatory to its discipline, it finds the test of a true church in its ability to seek and to save men, concedes full freedom to others in the matter of orders, ceremonies, and government, and justifies its own forms and usages simply as aids to the fulfilling of its mission, one part of which is the promotion of fraternal relations among all branches of the one church of Jesus Christ.

For Methodism, then, the problem of church union is a practical one. Organic union is not for it the pressing concern that it must

be for those whose thought admits of but one true church. Organic union must commend itself for practical reasons. It sees reasons for this especially in relation to other Methodist bodies, and so has consummated this in Australia and Canada and is working to this end in Great Britain. During the last four years a commission has been seeking to perfect a plan of union between the Methodist Episcopal church and the Methodist church, South. A strong sentiment in both bodies is in favor of this movement, but practical difficulties have so far barred the way, and the plan of union devised by the commission was not accepted by the recent general conference of the Methodist Episcopal church. The close organization of Methodism, its centralized administration, and the presence of an extensive officary with this machinery make the merger far more difficult than in the looser union that would be involved in case of other bodies. In this case it might be called a problem of minorities. The negro membership gives the first illustration and perhaps the chief difficulty. The Methodist Episcopal church has a large colored membership in the South. It does not wish to have the negro invited out and asked to form a separate communion nor deprived of participation in the higher offices or legislative bodies. The South would prefer to have the negro in a church by himself, and not as a member of a general conference in which he would share in legislating for white churches. The southern church itself forms a second minority problem. It is outnumbered by the northern church and not unnaturally its leaders fear that in matters of legislation, administration, and election of officers it might be swamped by the larger numbers. An effort was made to solve these problems by a division of the church into large regional conferences which should be intermediary between the annual and the general conference, one of these being a racial conference which should include all the negroes. This plan awakened the apprehensions of a third minority composed of sections of the Methodist Episcopal church which would fall within the region dominated by the church in the South. While the plan was not accepted, provision was made for further negotiation. It is possible that the election of two colored general superintendents, or bishops, by the recent general conference of the

Methodist Episcopal church may be an added obstacle, but the ultimate union of the two bodies is generally expected.

In relation to other movements looking toward a larger unity of Christian spirit or to practical co-operation the church has shown active interest or at least an open mind. It has given hearty support to such organizations as the Laymen's Missionary Movement and the Anti-Saloon League. It has shared fully in the work of the Federal Council of Churches. It participated in the Interchurch World Movement. It has joined in the very practical efforts of the Home Missions' Council. It is represented in the Council of the United Churches of Christ and in the movement for a World-Conference on Faith and Order. It does not believe in the union or non-denominational church, holding that such churches lack the outlook and inspiration, the helpful direction, and the responsibilities that come with organic relation with some general body. With other churches it is sharing the growing spirit of fraternity and the earnest desire to secure better mutual understanding and closer fellowship in common faith and service.

"THE SECRET OF *BADHU*"
A SPECIMEN OF "JEWISH CAMOUFLAGE"

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There is a well-known discrepancy between the Synoptic Gospels and the non-Synoptic Gospel as to the day on which Jesus was crucified: according to the three Synoptics he was crucified on Passover Day,¹ while according to John he was crucified on *παρασκευή*, that is, the eve of Passover.²

Many New Testament scholars have tried in various ways to reconcile this contradiction, but a considerable number of them admit that a contradiction does exist.³ Among the early Eastern and Western churches there was a divergence in regard to the fixing of the day of Easter: Quartodecimanism and anti-Quartodecimanism, that is, the early Asiatic Christians held that Jesus ate the paschal lamb on the fourteenth day of Nisan and was crucified on the fifteenth, while the Roman church, holding that Jesus himself was the Paschal Lamb, maintained that he was crucified on the fourteenth.⁴

Recently Matthew A. Power, S.J., in an article in the *American Journal of Theology* (April, 1920) entitled "Nisan Fourteenth and Fifteenth in Gospel and Talmud: A Study in Jewish Camouflage," has essayed to solve this problem and to prove that the contradiction is neither menological nor hebdomedal; that is, no divergence as to day of month, nor as to day of week, the supposed

¹ Matt. 26:2; Mark 14:12; Luke 22:7.

² John 13:1; 18:28; 19:31.

³ C. S. Davidson: "The best critics admit that there is an irreconcilable difference between the Synoptics and the Fourth Gospel, in respect to the date that Jesus was crucified" (*An Introduction to the Study of the New Testament*, II, 371).

⁴ T. Zahn, *Introduction to the New Testament*, III, 271 f.; see Davidson, above; Salmon, *A Historical Introduction to the Study of the Books of the New Testament*, pp. 245 f. In regard to the early literature see Schürer, *De Controversiis Paschalibus* (1869).

menological contradiction being due to two different styles of reckoning, arising from "the camouflage employed by the Jews" in the arrangement of their calendar in the time of Jesus. Father Power states that in the year in which Jesus was crucified (31 C.E.) Passover fell on Friday, but "the wise men in Camera," apprehensive lest by reason of Sabbath following a holiday business might be suspended too long, shifted the Passover from Friday to Saturday, and this they accomplished through resort to the "ingenious, tricky, and occult rule *Badhu*," whereby they intercalated Heshvan so as to prevent Passover from falling on Friday. Jesus, however, and his disciples, not holding to the tradition of the elders, kept the Passover on Friday, which was indeed the fifteenth of Nisan. Therefore the Synoptic Gospels inform us that he was crucified on Passover, whereas the Fourth Gospel informs us that the crucifixion fell on Friday, eve of Passover, as in that year the festival was kept by the Jews on Sabbath. The statements may thus be presented:

Jesus crucified on Friday	{	Fifteenth of Nisan—Passover as observed by Jesus.
		Fourteenth of Nisan—according to the change of the wise men in Camera.

According to Father Power, "prima facie there is no such process in the Jewish calendar as the transference of the Passover from Friday to Sabbath," but "on close analysis of every Jewish calendar this transference is secretly but most assuredly practiced," as was done in 31 C.E., 1522, and 1842, by resort to the device of *Badhu*, and that the rule of *Badhu* was as much "a secret to the masses of the Jews as to the Christians," and only three of the wise men in Camera were aware of it—even "the learned Jew Poznansky knows nothing of *Badhu*" and the editors of the *Jewish Encyclopedia* do not divulge it to their readers.¹

As is readily seen, Father Power desires not only to solve the problem of contradiction, but also to show that the Jews are responsible for that contradiction and that they "chuckle over the gullibility of the *goyim*." In the course of this study it will be

¹ This essay is almost a repetition of his book *Anglo-Jewish Calendar* (London).

seen that Father Power not only does not solve the problem that presented itself to him, but misunderstands entirely all the Talmudic passages which bear upon this subject. Anyone possessing critical knowledge of the Talmud knows that the Jews in the time of the Second Commonwealth had no fixed calendar.¹ This can be seen from the fact that Pentecost, according to the Bible the fiftieth day after the first day of Passover, is according to the rabbis of that time, liable to fall on the fifth, sixth, or seventh of Sivan.²

The reason therefore is evident: the Jews having no fixed calendar had to consecrate the new moon according to the testimony of eyewitness, and therefore could not know beforehand whether Iyyar and Sivan would be defective or intercalated. If both were defective, the fiftieth day would be on the seventh of Sivan, but if both were intercalated it would fall on the fifth; if only one of these months were defective and the other intercalated, Pentecost would then coincide with the sixth of Sivan. It is therefore absurd to suppose that in order to prevent Passover from falling on Friday the rabbis should almost half a year in advance intercalate Heshvan, when they felt unauthorized to fix a date ahead for Pentecost on the ground of not knowing in advance the lengths of the months intervening between Passover and the fiftieth day thereafter.

Only in the third century C.E. do we find a statement made by the Babylonian Amora Raba that, since the time of Ezra, Nisan, Ellul, and Tishri had never been intercalated.³ The reason for this statement was that the Jews in Palestine were reduced to great straits by the Roman authorities. They were not able in time to inform the Jews in Babylon as to the sanctification of the new moon; hence for the months upon which the dates of the great holidays depended, the Jews in Babylon adopted this new principle. Nisan affects the date of Passover, Ellul that of the New Year, and Tishri that of the New Year, Atonement, and Tabernacles. As to the Pentecost they had no need of knowledge with reference

¹ See Mishnah, *Rosh Hashanah*, where it is stated that the months were intercalated according to eyewitnesses.

² *Tosefta Arakin*, i, 9. See also Talmud Babli, *Rosh Hashanah*, 6b.

³ Palestinian Talmud, *Shebiit*, x, 1. Talmud Babli, *Rosh Hashanah*, 14b.

to the intercalation of the Palestinian Sanhedrin, since they had merely to count fifty days from the first day of Passover.

We must of course understand that the words "since the time of Ezra" are not to be taken literally. As already noted in the Palestinian Talmud,¹ Rab, the author of the statement, being compelled to introduce this new principle and not daring to put it upon his own authority, ascribed the newly formulated rule to Ezra, just as has been done by rabbis when they strove to bring Jewish law into consonance with life.²

Assuming, even for the sake of argument, that in Jesus' days there were a fixed calendar, we can still prove that Father Power's thesis that the Jews never had Passover on Friday is incorrect. Father Power says that in the Talmud no reference is made to Passover falling on Friday save in one passage (*Pesachim*, vii, 9, 10) of which he gives us a ridiculous interpretation.

The passage reads, "The paschal lamb which has passed out פסח שיצא or become defiled is to be burned straightway."³ Father Power finds fault with the interpretations of Maimonides, "the Spanish Jew," and Bartenora. The latter's interpretation is that we are dealing here with a paschal lamb slaughtered on the fourteenth which passed out *extra murum*—beyond the wall of the city of Jerusalem. This is wrong in the opinion of Father Power, since the Bible says one should not take the paschal lamb outside. His Bible citation is true enough, but supposing a man had carried it out, what should be done with it is a legitimate question, to which the *Halaka* replied that in such a case it must be burned immediately before sundown, in accordance with the law governing all peace offerings that passed out *extra murum urbis*, and the burning is to take place before sundown, otherwise it is not allowed to be burned. Father Power's interpretation is that פסח שיצא implied that "the Passover passed out," not of the place, but of the day on which the feast should be; the regular word to indicate postponement, he admits, would be דחה. But here, he says, is "a camouflage known or unknown to Maimonides." If Father Power were more familiar with talmudic literature

¹ *Ibid.*, *Shebiit*, x, 1.

² S. Zeitlin, "Takkanat Ezra," *Jewish Quarterly Review*, New Series, VIII, 61 ff.

³ הפסח שיצא או שנשחט ישרם מיד

he would realize that **שֶׁצֶדֶק** is constantly employed in connection with sacrifices which "passed out" *extra murum urbis*. What kind of camouflage, for example, could be detected in the oft-recurring **וְהִבִּיחַ שֶׁצֶדֶק**, "the sacrifice that passed out" (has been carried out)?

Father Power attempts to show from the same Mishnah that Passover was never on a Friday, since it is stated there that "the remains should be burned on the sixteenth of Nisan; if the sixteenth of Nisan fell on Sabbath, it would be burned on the seventeenth." He reasons that, were Passover on a Friday, the paschal lamb would be eaten on Thursday night, and if it were left it would be burned on Friday morning; why should the burning be postponed until Sunday? He concludes therefore that Passover never occurred on Friday, and that when the Passover was postponed to the Sabbath the paschal lamb was eaten on Friday night, and no burning being permitted on Sabbath it had to be done on Sunday.¹ But the same prohibition against burning the remnants of peace-offerings applied to festivals as well as to Sabbaths, as stated in the very same Mishnah.

Father Power, apparently, was so intent upon throwing dust in the eyes of scholars that he did not feel that he contradicted himself. First he draws our attention to the fact that to carry out the rule of *Badhu* the Jews intercalated Heshvan so that the fifteenth of Nisan, the date of Passover, should fall on Sabbath rather than on Friday, and now he would detect in the same Mishnah evidence that when the fifteenth did fall on Friday the sixteenth of Nisan was declared to be Passover. Father Power states: "There is no mention whatever in the whole of *Pesachim* of a Friday Passover." True. But Father Power must be well

הַעֲצֻמָּה וְהַנִּגְדִּים הַנּוֹתֵר יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּשֶׁשֶׁה עֶשֶׂר חֹל שֶׁשֶׁה עֶשֶׂר לַחֲדָתָה בִּשְׁבַת יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּשֶׁבַע עֶשֶׂר לְפִי שְׁאִין דְּרַחֲוִין לֹא אֵת הַשְּׁבַת וְלֹא אֶתְדִּיּוֹם טוֹב. "Ossa, nervi, et reliquiae comburuntur decimo sexto. Si decimus sextus dies inciderit in Sabbatum, comburuntur decimo septimo, quia non pellunt Sabbatum neque diem festum." Father Powers errs again in thinking that *comburuntur decimo sexto* refers to *Pascha quod exivit*. This Mishnah has nothing to do with the previous Mishnah and refers to the remnants which had remained from the paschal lamb on the fourteenth to the fifteenth, and as the fifteenth is a holiday and burning is forbidden, therefore the remnants had to be burned on the sixteenth.

aware that this treatise does not comprise the entire *Corpus Tannaiticum*, and if for the moment, as stated above, we accept his idea that during the Second Commonwealth the Jews had a fixed calendar, we can produce evidences from the Talmud that the Jews kept Passover on a Friday.

1. "If Purim falls on the third or fourth day" (of the week).¹ Therefore if the fourteenth of Adar falls on Wednesday, Passover will fall on Friday.

2. "The day of the Omer (of barley) (sixteenth of Nisan) which falls on Sabbath takes precedence of Sabbath."² It is plain that whether or not the Jews had a fixed calendar, the falling of the sixteenth of Nisan on a Sabbath necessitates the falling of the fifteenth on Friday.

3. Hillel says: "I have a tradition from my teachers that the sacrifice of the Passover lamb takes precedence of Sabbath, and not only in the first Passover but also in the second. If the second Passover (fourteenth of the second month) falls on Sabbath, the first Passover (fifteenth of Nisan) must have fallen on Friday."³

4. "The Ninth of Ab, when falling on the eve of Sabbath" (*Taanith*, 15b). If the calendar were fixed, this would involve the falling of the fifteenth of the previous Nisan on Friday.

5. "A woman is permitted to dress her hair on the first day of the week and to bathe in purification on the fourth day, as we find in another case that she may dress her hair on the eve of Sabbath and take the purification bath on the night of the second day of New Year when the first day falls on Sunday" (*Niddah*, 67b). If the first day of the New Year falls on Sunday, the preceding Passover must have occurred according to our premise on Friday.

6. "The palm branch takes precedence of Sabbath on the first day of the Feast of Tabernacles while the willow takes precedence of Sabbath on the end" (seventh day). It happened once that some Boethusians piled up great stones on the stock of willows and the people were aware of it and they rolled off the stones on a Sabbath.⁴ If the seventh day of Tabernacles fell on Sabbath, the fifteenth of Nisan (Passover) must have fallen on Friday.

¹ Mishnah, Megillah ia.

² *Tosefta Pesachim*, iv, 2.

³ *Tosefta Menahot*; cf. *ibid.*, Talmud Babli, 64b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, *Succah*, iii, 1.

In the foregoing we have assumed for argument's sake that the Jews had a fixed calendar, as Father Power claims, and still we have shown the error of the notion that the Jews habitually shifted Passover from Friday to Sabbath. As the Pharisees contended against the Sadducees that the waving of the Omer when falling on Sabbath supersedes the sanctity of the Sabbath and that the ceremony should be carried out in detail, it is supererogatory to suppose that these scholars were resolved never to allow Passover to fall on a Friday; for their making an issue of the matter of waving of the Omer is strong evidence that the sixteenth of Nisan could fall on Sabbath. Father Power gives as the motive for shifting of Passover from Friday to Sabbath a business consideration: "Such a combination would leave on Jewish shoulders the intolerable burden of two successive days of abstention from servile work and consequent forfeiture or reduction of income or wage. The only way to obviate this financial calamity was to transfer the Passover to the Sabbath and so leave Friday free for commercial and other lucrative pursuits."

He ignores many and many a passage in the Talmud where the expression occurs: "In case a holiday falls on the eve of the Sabbath";¹ this would be against his thesis. If the Jews shifted Passover from Friday to Sabbath, why did they not do the same with other holidays? We find in the Talmud that they had holidays both on Fridays and on Sundays. Father Power not only ignores Jewish literature *but also entire Jewish life*. Every gentile layman who comes in contact with Jews knows very well that they not only have two days in succession as holidays, but even three days; for example, when New Year falls on Thursday and Friday. This proves that the tendency of the Jews has never been to prevent loss of commercial days through incidence of festivals. *We can hardly conceive that Father Power should be one unaware of this fact.*

Father Power claims that the non-lunar factor which operated as secretly to the masses of the Jews as to the Christians, and was only known to *three* of the "wise" seated in Camera, goes back to a very remote period. The secret is not divulged in the

¹ יום טוב שחל להיות בערב שבת (Beqa, ii, 1; and *passim*).

Talmud; it has been so well kept that the editors of the *Jewish Encyclopedia* knew naught about it, and Poznansky appears not to have heard about it. Father Power, who condemned the "wise men of Camera" for having chuckled over the gullibility of the *goyim*, also "as they acted upon the formula *Badhu*," characterized by him as a "nonsense-word and secret," has not told the world the real meaning of the word *Badhu*, thus making himself liable to the charge of chuckling over the gullibility of his readers. As the readers will see, *the word is a pure mnemonic*, from a period after the fixation of the calendar, indicating on what days Passover cannot fall, that is, ב the second (Monday), the fourth (Wednesday), and ו sixth (Friday). Naturally the Talmud never speaks of ב as a mnemonic for the days on which Passover is not permitted to fall. Anyone acquainted with this "nonsense-word" can readily see the cause: the reason for Passover's not falling on Monday, Wednesday, or Friday is simply that Atonement should not fall on either Friday or Sunday (in either of which cases it would be hard for the people to observe),¹ nor should the seventh day of Tabernacles fall on Sabbath by reason of the carrying of the willow. But as was stated before, in the Temple period there was no fixed calendar. The existence of such restriction of Passover to particular days of the week would be ridiculous, and even later, when the calendar became more fixed it was useless to so regulate Passover's incidence, as we find references in the Talmuds to Atonement Day falling on Friday and Sunday² and the Day of the Willow on Sabbath.³ Therefore for the wise as for the laity the *Badhu* formula was not yet existent. When the Jews finally concluded that it was a great hardship to keep the Day of Atonement on the day before or after the Sabbath or to have the Day of the Willow on Sabbath,⁴ then they arranged that the first day of the New Year should not fall on Sunday, Wednesday, or Friday—for this they devised the mnemonic

¹ The reason for not having (after the adoption of the fixed calendar) Atonement fall on Friday or Sunday is not, as Father Power would claim, avoidance of loss of commercial days, but considerations of laws concerning burial of the dead, which in hot countries like Palestine and Babylon could not be deferred two days.

² *Tosefta K'ritut*, ii, 15.

³ *Tosefta Succah*, iii, 1; *ibid.*, Babli, 43b.

⁴ See above, p. 529, n. 1.

Adhu (אָדוּ)—whereby their purpose was achieved. In the fixed calendar, consequently, if New Year cannot fall on the days indicated by *Adhu*, then Passover cannot fall on the days denoted by *Badhu*. This makes clear to us why Maimonides speaks of *Adhu* and not of *Badhu*, the latter being a consequence or corollary of the former. Nowadays that corollary has become more familiar, owing to the fact that in connection therewith the *At-Bash* series possesses significance. We mean the formula that states:

א"ט The day on which the first day (א) of Passover falls, on that day also falls the Ninth of Ab (ט).

ב"ז The day on which the second day (ב) of Passover falls, on that day also falls Pentecost (ז).

ג"ד The day on which the third day (ג) of Passover falls, on that day also falls New Year (ד).

ד"ה The day on which the fourth day (ד) of Passover falls, on that day also falls Rejoicing of the Law (ה).

ה"ו The day on which the fifth day (ה) of Passover falls, on that day also falls the Day of Atonement (ו).

I can therefore assure Father Power that *Badhu* not only is known to the well-known Jew Poznansky, but to every intelligent Jew. Father Power must realize that negative assertions have a dangerous result. We can be certain only about affirmations for which we have data. In this respect the present writer is positive that Poznansky at one time knew of the formula *Badhu*, since in black and white (*Jewish Quarterly Review* [old series], X, 271), Poznansky discusses the mnemonic *Badhu*. Moreover we may refer him to a more popular book than the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, where he will find the secret of *Badhu* divulged to the entire laity. We have reference to the *Shulhan Aruch*,¹ where all the mnemonics are explained.

In regard to the proofs advanced by Father Power from statements contained in Lindo's *A Jewish Calendar for Sixty-four Years*,² that in some years Passover was shifted by intercalation of the previous Heshvan from Friday to Sabbath, that is not surprising—when the calendar was fixed they naturally arranged matters so that Passover should not fall on a Friday, but where are his proofs that such a manner of regulating the incidence of the Passover

¹ *Shulhan Aruch* on *Kiddush ha hodesh*, Orah Hayyim, chap. 428.

² From 1837 to 1901.

existed in the time of Jesus? Not only have we shown the absence of any motive for such a shifting, but we have actually pointed out passages that prove that the Passover was at times celebrated on the eve of the Sabbath.

Father Power errs again in thinking that the authority to intercalate or not to intercalate was vested in three men selected from the wise men in Camera. When the Mishnah states *עבור החדש בשלשה* (intercalation of month is by three), it merely wishes it to be understood that a minimum of three men is sufficient, as contrasted with other religious or legal functions, where seven, twenty-three, or even seventy-one persons were required.¹

From the above it can be seen that Father Power's charge of Jewish camouflage is not sustained, but rather we might be tempted to say that such an essay as his deserves to be characterized as a camouflage study of the New Testament.

Father Power accepts Friday as the date of the crucifixion at the full moon (fifteenth day of Nisan, twenty-seventh of April, 31 C.E.) but as that year was not a leap year (there were not two Adars) Passover (the full moon of Nisan) must have fallen on the twenty-eighth or twenty-ninth of March, Wednesday or Thursday.²

I agree with Father Power that "the ex-Jew Chwolson" is grievously mistaken in his solution of the contradiction;³ but in the main "the ex-Jew" has a clearer understanding of the New Testament (to a considerable extent the work of ex-Jews) and also of the Talmud (product of the activity of the Jews) than has many a scholar of the New Testament among the Gentiles.⁴

¹ Mishnah, Sanhedrin i.

² According to Wurm: "Astronomische Beiträge zur genäherten Bestimmung des Geburts und Todesjahre Jesu," *Archiv für Theologie*, Tübingen, 1817. Fifteenth of Nisan 31 fell on the twenty-seventh of March. Achelis (*Nachrichten v. d. Kit. z. Göttingen* [1902]), on March 26 or 27; Westberg, *Die biblische Chronologie*, 1910, on March 27-28; cf. also Bach, *Minatstag und Jahr des Todes Christi* (1912); De Morgan, *The Book of Almanacs* (London).

³ Chwolson, *Das letzte Passahmahl*, Leipzig, 1908.

⁴ It is surprising that Father Power never mentioned the name of Father Cornely, as Father Cornely already expressed the idea that the Jews in the year of the Crucifixion of Jesus shifted Passover from Friday to Saturday with the help of *Badhu* (Cornely, *Historica et Critica. Introductio*, Vol. III, *Introductio Specialis in Novi Test. Libros Sacros*, pp. 271, 272, n. 12); cf. also G. M. Semaria, "Le jour de la mort de Jesus," *Revue Biblique* (1896), pp. 78-87.

Father Power is of the opinion that this problem could be solved with the help of the tannaitic literature. We may add thereto that the understanding of the Gospels as a whole can be illuminated by careful scrutiny and intelligent study of the *Halaka* and its development, since there are allusions in the New Testament to many *halakoth* and controversies between Jesus and the Pharisees. An investigation as to whether these *halakoth* existed in the time of Jesus is of importance for the historical value of the Gospels.

CRITICAL NOTES

SELF-BAPTISM

The Babylonian Talmud makes the following provisions for the reception of a proselyte. After circumcision the candidate was led to a bath (*tebilah*), whose minimum dimensions are carefully fixed (*Erubin* 14*b*, top) to give it a capacity of at least forty seahs (*ca.* 120 gallons). While he stood in the water (*Yebamoth* 47*b*, top), "Two learned men stand over him and teach him a few light commandments and a few grave commandments, and when he has bathed [טביל] and has come up he is like an Israelite in every respect. In the case of a woman, women place her in the water up to the neck, and two learned men stand outside and teach her," etc. The bathing was almost (not quite) certainly by complete immersion. On ascending from the bath the neo-convert uttered his first Jewish benediction, "Blessed art thou who hast sanctified us by thy commandment and commandest us concerning *tebilah*" (*Pesachim* 7*b*, bottom; cf. *Berachoth* 51*a*, top).¹

The meaning of this ceremonial is clear enough. The proselyte came to Judaism bearing all the defilement of his past life, a defilement that must be purged before he could take his place in the assembly of the righteous. Curiously enough, no special provision for a case of this kind was made in the Law, but the analogy of countless Old Testament passages obviously indicated ritual ablution. And such ablution was always regarded as the act of the individual concerned, with a regular formula:

He shall bathe himself in water

רחץ במים

λούσεται ὕδατι

(Lev. 15:5, etc.), and nowhere is priestly water ablution of another person directed. In the talmudic ceremonies, consequently, the

¹ For the literature and discussions see especially Schürer, *Ges. Jüd. Volk.*, III (1909), 181-85; *Jewish Encyclopedia*, articles "Ablutions," by K. Kohler (1901), "Baptism," by S. Krauss (1902), and "Proselytes," by E. G. Hirsch (1905); C. F. Rogers in *Jour. Theol. Stud.*, XII (1911), 437-45, and XIII (1912), 411-14; I. Abrahams, *ibid.*, XII (1911), 609-12, and *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, chap. iv (1917; the talmudic references should be checked); A. Merx, *Die vier kanonischen Evangelien*, II (1902), i, 34-41.

rabbis' presence is required in order to direct the convert how to proceed and (doubtless) to provide official testimony that all things were well and properly done. But the rabbis do not perform the baptism; they are teachers and witnesses but not officiants.

That this use of baptism in the admission of proselytes extended back into New Testament days may now be taken as definitely established; it may not have been an invariable requirement but it was certainly customary in most cases. And the ceremony cannot be conceived to have been very different from the simple rite described in the Talmud; witnesses were essential, the utterance of a benediction may be taken for granted and the immersion could only have been the act of the candidate himself. Indeed, for this last point there is the definite evidence of the fourth Sibylline Oracle (ca. 80 A.D.), where among the other penitential acts prescribed for Gentiles is found the direction (l. 165):

Wash your whole body in ever-flowing streams.
ἐν ποταμοῖς λούσασθε ὅλον δέμας ἀενοῦσιν.

Cf. Isa. 1:16, *λούσασθε, καθαροὶ γένησθε*. A question can arise only regarding the case of very young children of proselytes who were baptized with their parents. The reflexive would seem unsuitable for them, but our sources do not discuss the proper term to be employed.

On turning to the New Testament, however, a different conception seems to predominate, for *βαπτίζειν* (the verb most used for lustral purifications) is generally found in the active (of the officiant) or in the passive (of the candidate). In fact, the middle voice occurs only in three places, Mark 7:4 (of Pharisaic purifications), Acts 22:16 (of Christian baptism), and I Cor. 10:2¹ (of the passage through the Red Sea as a type of Christian baptism). In three other cases, all in Luke, the middle appears as a variant reading, namely in 3:12 (604 has the middle), 11:38 (604 has the middle and *e* has the active *baptizavit*; Pharisaic cleansing is in point), and 12:50 (3 954 have the middle). There should be noted also the following cases where the form may be read as either a middle or a passive: John 3:23 (imperfect); Acts 8:12 (imperfect, but with an aorist passive in the next verse); Acts 8:16 (perfect); Acts 18:8 (imperfect), and I Cor. 15:29 (twice, both present participles).

Of the other verbs used to describe baptismal lustration *ἀπολούειν* appears as a middle (without variant readings) in Acts 22:16 and I Cor.

¹ Many MSS, including some of great weight (NACDG 33), read the passive here. But the middle, supported by BKLP Origen Chrys., is certainly right (despite Tischendorf and von Soden); its conversion into the passive would be perfectly natural for a Christian scribe, while the reverse change would be inexplicable.

6:11, and the form of *λούειν* in Heb. 10:22 is ambiguous (perfect participle). The middle of *νίπτειν* appears in John 13:10 in what may or may not be a reference to baptism, but as the symbolism made this voice imperative no weight should be attached to the occurrence.

The most significant of these passages are Acts 22:16; I Cor. 6:11; and 10:2. The first of these, *βάπτισαι καὶ ἀπόλουσαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου*, is entirely talmudic in its phrasing¹ (with "sins" for "defilement"), and the concluding clause, *ἐπικαλεσάμενος τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ*, can be taken as the Christian equivalent of the ascription uttered by the proselyte as he left the *tebilah*. Similarly in I Cor. 6:11 the same voice and tense are used as in Sib. Or. IV, 165; Isa. 1:16. Almost equally important is I Cor. 10:2. Although Paul is describing an event of the Exodus, he is thinking constantly of Christian baptism, so much so that he is led to describe the Exodus rite as *ἐν Μωϋσῇ*, a phrase meaningless in itself and only explicable as an over-close paralleling of the Christian technical expression *ἐν Χριστῷ*.

These three passages evidence a very archaic conception of Christian baptism, a conception that reaches back at least to the first divergence of Christian ceremonial from the Jewish; that Paul and Luke should represent a contrary, pro-Jewish development is naturally out of the question. The passages in point are clear survivals of earlier phraseology, much like the use of the title "Lord Jesus" after the general adoption of "Christ." The textual phenomena in Luke's Gospel point in the same direction, scanty though they are. The evidence is obviously insufficient to establish these readings as original with even the slightest trace of plausibility, but they at least testify to the passage of the Third Gospel through a circle which preserved certain early traditions tenaciously—a fact, of course, familiar in connection with the abundant evidence of the *β* text.

The utterance of the invocation in Acts 22:16 by the candidate instead of the officiant is testified also in I Pet. 3:21. Here as an antithesis to *οὐ σαρκὸς ἀπόθεσις ῥύπου* later development would have supplied some such form as *ἀλλὰ ἡ ἐπικλησις τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ κυρίου*. Instead of this we have *ἀλλὰ συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς ἐπερώτημα εἰς θεόν*, a prayer that can have been uttered only by the catechumen.² So the (clearly pre-Pauline) formula preserved in Rom. 10:9 may very well represent the

¹ Merx (*op. cit.*, p. 38, n. 1) notes that it is used by a Jew addressing Jews.

² It is a weakness of Heitmüller's *Im Namen Jesu* (1903) that he dismisses (p. 93, n. 3) the first of these passages as of no significance (he does not list it in his index of texts) and that he ignores the second altogether. They do not, to be sure, invalidate his general doctrinal conclusions, for the "name" could be as efficacious in the mouth

exclamation of the neo-Christian as he left the baptismal waters (cf. I Cor. 12:3, etc.). These passages as they stand are general in their reference, but it is evident that great importance must have been attached to the *first* utterance of "Lord Jesus!" by a convert. In any case it is clear that the New Testament preserves traces of a baptismal practice which differs liturgically from that found later. And it is from this earlier practice that historical discussions of the origin and significance of Christian baptism should take their point of departure.

For present purposes the liturgical transformation alone is of interest. How did the use of the middle voice come to be changed to the passive? And how did the minister come to replace the proselyte as the active agent? These two questions are not quite equivalent, for the linguistic change might take place without any accompanying alteration of the theory of the rite. Even Attic Greek had long since ceased to insist on the necessary use of the middle voice to express reflexive acts, and the insistence was still feebler in the *Koiné*, so that e.g., βαπτισθεῖς might be used to denote the fact of baptism without reflection as to its agent. So Merx:¹ "The passive βαπτισθῆναι can be given the following logical resolution. הַטְבִּיל means to bring or induce to baptism, and that is the sense of βαπτίζω, while טָבַל is to immerse one's self, and that is the sense of the middle βαπτίζεσθαι. From the Hiphil הַטְבִּיל there can be derived the passive Hophal הַטְבֵּל, with the meaning to be brought or induced to baptism, and that would be βαπτισθῆναι."

Now precisely this conception is found in the β text of Luke 3:7, where in place of βαπτισθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ D has βαπτισθῆναι ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ; cf. *in conspectu eius* in *d e* and *coram ipso* in *b q r l*.^{*} This reading is meant to convey "were immersed (by their own act) in the presence of the Baptist as the official witness." The same conception reoccurs in Luke 7:30 where after βαπτισθέντες the mention of the agent (ὑπ' αὐτοῦ) is omitted in *e a b c l*. These variants are probably to be appraised like the other Lukan readings above, but they add materially to the evidence for the archaic tradition. Other New Testament passages that mention baptism without naming an agent may be explained in the same way; cf. Acts 10:47 f.; 16:15, 33, etc.

It is even possible to press this explanation to cover the passages where an agent is named. A convert could not literally "baptize

of the catechumen as of the minister. And the "prayer" in the Petrine passage *may* be understood to include invocation of the "name." But the passages should not have been treated so cavalierly.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 41, n. 1.

himself," in the sense of making the ceremony a purely private affair, undertaken and carried out on his own initiative without reference to the proper officials. Judaism required the presence of duly qualified persons, the baptism of John was evidently invalid without his own direction (or that of his disciples), and the earliest Christianity followed the same precedent. So a force for *הטביל* (*βαπτίζειν*) could have grown up as "to hold a baptism," and in fact this force must be invoked to explain the constantly recurring phrase *Ἰωάννης ἐβάπτισεν ἐν ὕδατι*, a phrase that can scarcely be thought to be of gentile origin. Cf. Acts 19:4, *Ἰωάννης ἐβάπτισεν βάπτισμα μετανοίας*, "John instituted (by divine commission) a baptism of repentance"; the whole section, verses 1-6, is most naturally read in strictly Jewish terms. With a little more difficulty it may be possible to interpret such a passage as I Cor. 1:13-16 similarly, as if Paul were mentioning presiding at the various baptisms in question. From this active use a passive might be formed in which the official witness at a baptism could be spoken of as the agent; this is just conceivable, but D's reading in Luke 3:7 shows that it was not a natural expression in circles where Jewish tradition was alive.

There is, however, still another class of passages in which the strictly Jewish terminology was used in a sense more like that of later Christianity, those that speak of baptism in the Spirit. For baptism in the Spirit is not and cannot be thought of as a reflexive act; in the parallelism, "I baptize you with water but he with the Spirit," the verbs are not used in exactly the same sense. Both must represent the same Aramaic causative form, but the first means, "I enable you to practice (profitable) immersion in water," the second "he will cause the Spirit to descend upon you." The Messiah is in the strictest sense the *officiant*.

A Jew, even a Greek-speaking Jew, might always be conscious of the precise distinctions in such usages of "baptize," but a Gentile would understand them only after considerable technical explanation. In Greek *βαπτίζειν* has no trace of a causative sense; it is as purely active as the English "dip," and to Greek ears *Ἰωάννης ἐβάπτισεν* would mean only "John immersed." So it seems most artificial to understand such a direct phrase as *Φίλιππος ἐβάπτισεν αὐτόν* (Acts 8:38) in any other way. A Jew could perhaps grasp that this is a condensation of "Philip acted as enabling and instructing witness at the ceremony where the eunuch immersed himself," but Greek readers of Acts could never have extracted such a meaning from the passage. And there is no reason to suppose that other New Testament passages were understood (or meant)

differently; the change in the conception of the minister of baptism was inevitable as part of the change of Christianity from Jewish to Greek soil.

The change would have been aided further by the Hellenistic theories of initiation into the mystery religions. However much the introduction of the neophyte might be thought to be his own act, the dominant conception is that the ceremony is performed by the priest. So, e.g., in Apuleius *Metamorph.* xi. 23 of introduction into the Isis cult: "Iamque tempore, ut aiebat sacerdos, id postulante, stipatum me religiosa cohorte deducit ad proximas balneas, et prius sueto lavacro traditum, praeatus deum veniam, purissime circumrorans abluit." Lucius here has nothing to do but submit to the cleansing rite.

A further factor that would tend in the same direction has been noted especially by Heitmüller,¹ although he does not observe its significance for the modification of earlier practice. That is the partial assimilation of the theory of baptism to that of an exorcism. A convert was not in as evil a state as a demoniac, but both alike were truly under the rule of powers of evil, which could be broken by the use of the "name." No one, of course, could exorcise in his own case, and so (it could be argued, consciously or unconsciously) he could not pronounce the decisive formula in baptism; at least, the invocation on the part of the candidate must be supplemented by one from the officiant.

In fact, this last theory shows how the change could take place without suggesting any breach of continuity. From the very beginning prayers and invocations by the officiating witnesses can be assumed, and the transformation would simply accent the importance of these at the expense of the words uttered by the convert. This would lead to the gradual dropping of the post-baptismal invocation of the latter, which was eventually transferred to precede the ceremony; this is its position in the added verse of Acts 8:37. And when the officiant came regularly to lay his hand on the catechumen at the moment of immersion the ceremonial alteration would be complete. The process evidently had reached the conclusion of its development in the gentile portions of the Apostolic church, and from then on the essentials of the rite have remained unchanged.

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¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 250-52, 334-36.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE

LEGENDS OF DANISH HEROES

So far as subject-matter is concerned this book¹ will run no water on the wheel of the student of comparative religion, though written by a master of that craft, but it turns loose a flood of method. When the Grimms and their school studied a group of heroic or religious traditions they sought to discard all but the oldest attainable form and apply all their acumen to it, as if in the hope of some day attaining something ultimate, a method which had behind it the unconscious presupposition of a golden age when God spoke face to face with man and presented him with final truth which a later age had darkened with foolish council. Svend Grundtvig found the true task of the student of traditions in studying their development from the earliest to the latest versions, in watching the creators of traditions at their work, and the ultimate task in formulating the laws by which they worked. This method is illustrated in his great work, *Danmarks gamle folkeviser* (*The Ancient Ballads of Denmark*), and was employed by Child in his *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*. If Jakob Grimm had done such a piece of work he would have regarded the various versions of a ballad as so much material out of which to "reconstruct" a theoretical primitive form. What would not fit into this would be but chips on his floor. Grundtvig regarded every version as of value and in his work printed one manuscript of each *in extenso*. Olrik, Grundtvig's gifted pupil, has followed the path of his master and given us in this book an example of this method at its best.

It is a translation and revision of the first volume of a series of three dealing with one great group of Danish legendary heroic lore. The first volume appeared in 1903, the second in 1911, but the appearance of the third has been delayed by the death of the author. It is, however, to be hoped that it will yet be published. This volume deals with the traditions of the elder series of Scylding kings and their subordinate heroes, and it is of interest to English-speaking peoples because it deals

¹ *The Heroic Legends of Denmark*. By Axel Olrik. Translated from the Danish and revised in collaboration with the author by Lee M. Hollander. New York: The American-Scandinavian Foundation, 1919. xvii+530 pages.

immediately with the *Beowulf*, indeed it is the best available commentary on the action of a great part of that poem.

The sources for the study are found in *Beowulf*; in ancient lays, some of them preserved only in Latin versions by Saxo Grammaticus, others in Old Norse; in distinctly Danish traditions found in the Danish chronicles (Sven Aggison and Saxo); in twelfth-century Norwegian sagas used by Saxo, being mostly viking tales from western Norway; and in a number of Icelandic monuments.

Olrik is a critical scholar, but, as a really great scholar, also a poet, and with loving care and poetic insight he arranges these sources in their right order and unfolds them before us so that we see how they developed. He shows how the English took over a body of traditions into which they put their earnest subjectiveness, how the original Danish parent stem shows the striking Danish sense for reality, how the Norwegians took over a body of traditions to which they gave the bursting wealth of their imagination, and how the Icelanders became the editors of traditions and applied to them their power of organization and sense of proportion, elsewhere unapproached in the Middle Ages.

But the best of the book for us, and the student of any traditional lore should come to Olrik to learn of him this, which sounds so simple and yet is so difficult to attain, is that he shows in detail how traditions develop out of themselves. Here is a tag end which is unfinished, a situation which could be developed further, something suddenly appearing in the middle of a tale with no explanation of its origin, an interesting hero who might well go through more adventures. These all are so many challenges to the next narrators. They finish the tag end, develop the situation, explain the origin, deck out the hero until he eclipses his lord, but they add strangely little that is new; it is but the re-working of old ideas. Scyld of olden times fares forth dead on the waters, his boat laden with treasure. "Men, hall-rulers, heroes under heaven, could not truly say who received that burden" (*Beowulf*, l. 50). Centuries later the Norwegians add to the Scylding legends the tale of Sigurth Ring, the old king who after battle puts on his ship the body of his poisoned young love, decks his craft with the corpses of the best of the fallen heroes, sails out on the sea, sets fire to his ship, and slays himself. The old was mysterious, vague, solemn, in the form we have it, English; the new is magnificent, plastic, Norwegian, but it is the same tale retold, a tradition developed out of itself. It was from the collection of such phenomena that Olrik sought elsewhere to develop the laws of epic growth.

Dr. Hollander's excellent introduction and translation are evidently a labor of love.

The American-Scandinavian Foundation is to be thanked for putting this book before the English-speaking public.

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THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH¹

These two volumes form the first half of a work in four volumes. They are a part of a series of religious histories entitled the "World Worships Series." The four volumes devoted to Christianity are to carry the history "to the close of the Reform Period." The present volumes extend to the establishment of the Papal Autocracy or 1250. On account of the extent of the work it may be well to give it more notice than at first sight one would deem needed. In the first place, the book is written without references to sources—not a mortal sin, but frequently inconvenient where views are sometimes distinctly unusual. It is apparently based upon easily accessible works of modern writers. Sometimes they are mentioned by name; sometimes they are apparently quoted without more reference than quotation marks. But nowhere is there reference to volume and page. As an indication of some of the nuggets of historical wisdom which may be found in the book, which one would in no respect lay to the charge of the writers most used, Moeller, Milman, A. V. G. Allen, Emerton, and Gwatkin, the following, taken quite at random, may suffice. "These [the Syriac recension of the Ignatian Epistles] are in a much shorter form than that previously accepted. They are now pretty generally recognized as the only genuine Ignatian Epistles" (Vol. I, p. 135). Yet only two pages later are to be found two quotations from Ignatius which are not in the Syriac but from the short Greek recension, concluding with this statement as to the teaching of Ignatius, "Upon careful reading of the genuine epistles of Ignatius it will appear that there is not a single statement to throw any light upon the views of the author touching the Incarnation of Jesus or his divinity." As to the position of the bishop in the third century we are told: "The powers of the bishop grew continually. His was the ordaining power, but he usually delegated this to the presbyters" (p. 241). Now this is interesting,

¹ *The History of Christianity*. By Andrew Stephenson. Vols. I and II. Boston: Badger, 1919. 325 and 320 pages. \$7.50.

if true; but if true, no little history will have to be re-written. The more recent investigations as to the fate of Nestorius are ignored, for he "died in exile in the Thebaid in 440" (p. 279). That may be a small point, but it shows that the writer, here as in the case of the Ignatian Epistles, was using antiquated secondary works.

From the second volume we glean some novelties. "The Pseudo-Isadorian [*sic*] Decretals . . . were arranged and published by an ecclesiastic of southern France" (p. 241). Speaking of Conrad IV, we are told that he "was captured and hung by Charles of Anjou," when it was Conrad's son, also of the name Conrad, who was captured and not hanged but beheaded by Charles of Anjou. "From 1250 to the Reformation was as complete a theocracy as ever the Jewish nation at its best state." The following volumes may show this more particularly, we hope. Perhaps, however, the author is a radical "higher critic." Gregory IX is mentioned as being "justly famous for his codification of the ecclesiastical law. . . . The codification of these laws was completed in 1234 and printed under the title of *Nova Compilatio Decretalium* in 1473 at Mainz" (p. 317). Quite true, but what conception can the author have of the Corpus Juris Canonici, who speaks thus of the Extravagantes of Gregory IX?

The book, furthermore, is highly confused in order. Thus, to take merely one example, there is a fair statement of the Crusades in pages 190 to 214. Immediately follows (p. 215) the story of the conversion of the Germans by St. Boniface. There is no evidence of any conception of the imperial constitution that lay behind the contest over investitures, though the political side of the work is on the whole the best. A perusal of so convenient and accessible a work as Karl Müller's *Kirchengeschichte* would have helped here more than Moeller, who is known to the author.

It is ungracious to point out misspelling of proper names, often due to accident, but names appear in strange forms apart from mere misspelling. Possibly Lucian of Antioch gets his name of Lucien from some French authorities, though there is no evidence of acquaintance with French scholarship. Pierius and Theognostus appear as one person. Peter the Martyr appears as Peter Martyr. Henry Hildebrand is a new character, at least in history as it is commonly written. It seems to mean Henry IV. The list might be continued.

In concluding this notice, too long for a book of so little real importance, one can only express regret that a real history of Christianity had not been attempted rather than a poorly executed history of the

ecclesiastical development of the church, which has been done over and over again in much better form. The book seems for the most part to be the elaboration of scrappy lecture notes of one who was suddenly required to give a course on the history of the church and had to get his material together from where he could find it most easily. There is little evidence of any real grasp of the subject or appreciation of the opportunity presented for giving what is really needed—a history of Christianity as a religious and ethical system, a power in the actual life of men and of nations.

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BRIEF MENTION

CADBURY, H. J. *National Ideals in the Old Testament*. New York: Scribner, 1920. xii+269 pages. \$1.75.

This is a good, popular summary of the teachings of the Old Testament regarding the destiny of Israel. It is interesting to note that under this caption the author subsumes almost the entire content of the Old Testament. This is completely in accord with the fact that the religion of the Hebrews was primarily not an individual concern, but a national interest. Prophet, psalmist, and lawgiver alike had national welfare at heart. The sage was the out-and-out individualist, even though individualism was first clearly enunciated by prophecy. The positions taken by Dr. Cadbury upon debatable topics are conservative, and his attitude throughout, though frankly committed to the historical method, is cautious. He indulges in no novel interpretations, but satisfies himself with an attempt to familiarize the intelligent public with the spirit and method of modern biblical interpretation through a presentation of its more commonly accepted results in the field of the Old Testament. The book should prove very useful for the purpose for which it was designed.

J. M. P. S.

SWEET, LOUIS MATTHEWS. *Roman Emperor Worship*. (World Worships Series.) Boston: Badger, 1919. 153 pages. \$2.00.

This book is a New York University doctor's dissertation. The author sets himself the twofold task of showing (1) that emperor-worship is more deeply rooted in native Roman religion than has commonly been supposed, and (2) that this cult ultimately became so popular and dominant as to be "the one characteristic and universal expression of ancient paganism." Whether either contention is adequately maintained will certainly seem doubtful to some readers. Indeed the very limitations of space which the writer felt obliged to adopt rendered practically impossible such a comprehensive discussion of the data as would in any event have been necessary to establish the main thesis of the book. In its present form it is a valuable summary of selected statistics which must be read with caution by one unfamiliar with the larger body of evidence which had to be passed over in order to bring the dissertation within manageable limits. The author expresses a hope, which his readers will heartily share,

that he may soon find an opportunity for a more adequate and exhaustive presentation of the subject. Perhaps at that time he will be able to offer more substantial and convincing reasons for his doubts regarding the extent to which Greek and oriental influence operated in the genesis of Roman emperor-worship. Also the contention that the imperial cult was the one characteristic and universal expression of ancient paganism can hardly stand without a comparative study of other cults, especially the oriental religions that appealed so strongly to the populace during the imperial period. It is also very questionable whether the imperial authorities as early as the time of Domitian saw in Christianity a "deadly menace" to the unity of the empire and the supremacy of the emperor. A more thoroughly considered treatment of these problems is greatly needed, as is also a more careful proofreading. Such linguistic monstrosities as "le culte imperiale," "Roman Mythologie," or "Sitzungsberichte des Akademie" remain uncorrected, and the accenting in the Greek citations is uniformly atrocious.

S. J. C.

CARTER, GEORGE WILLIAM. *Zoroastrianism and Judaism*. (World Worships Series.) Boston: Badger, 1918. 116 pages. \$2.00.

One could easily imagine that this monograph might have been written some twenty years ago and that no serious effort had been made to bring it up to date before publication. Apparently the writer is unfamiliar with the more recent studies upon both Persian religion and Judaism, and their mutual relations. His statement of the case represents only that stage of progress reached prior to the publication during the last two decades of investigations by such representative scholars as Jackson, Moulton, Söderblom, Böklen, and Bousset. A more careful revision of the manuscript, or more drastic proofreading, ought to have prevented an unusually large number of infelicities in printing. For example, a certain well-known character of Persian religion appears in different chapters of the book as Ahriman, Aharman, and Ahrman (for which we are given the astounding Greek equivalent 'Απελιδυλος); also "Good Thought" is variously designated Vohumanah, Vohn-Mano, Vohn-Manah, Vohu-Mano; and among the authorities cited on the first page of the first chapter are "Darmesteler" (twice) and "Edward Meyer, *Geschichte des Alterthums*." Other signs of dilettantism are, unfortunately, all too numerous.

S. J. C.

MERCER, SAMUEL A. B. *Growth of Religious and Moral Ideas in Egypt*. Milwaukee: Morehouse Publishing Co., 1919. ix+109 pages. \$1.50.

Dr. Mercer's little book is a brief popular statement of Egyptian ideas about god and man, morality, mediation, and the future life. As the author well says: "To speak of an 'Egyptian Theology' would be unscientific. . . . But it is quite legitimate to speak of an 'Egyptian Religion' in the sense that the Egyptians always were religious, although they never were unanimous in just what constituted their religion." Conflicting and illogical beliefs due to mixture of local variations and to continually superimposing new conceptions upon the undiscarded old provide an awkward task for any writer. The author has not particularly clarified the situation in his analyses of god and man. More masterly is his chapter on morality. Various accidental misstatements and slips like "Uni" for "Unis" (pp. 1 and 71), "Horses" for "Horuses" (p. 73), and "monarch" for "noma ich" (p. 91) need correction.

T. G. A.

LA RUE, WILLIAM EARL. *The Foundations of Mormonism*. New York: Revell, 1919. 243 pages. \$1.25.

While disclaiming any attempt to unsympathetically attack the Mormons, the author of this volume frankly admits that his intention is to discredit Mormonism in the eyes of its own followers. Mormonism, he believes, is "false in its fundamental claims and deceptive in its character." It can be dislodged only by showing its followers something fundamentally wrong in their church structure or belief, or in their standard books published during the life of Joseph Smith. These fundamental errors he exposes under such headings as "Joseph Smith," "The Book of Mormon," "The Book of Doctrine and Covenants," "The Holy Scriptures," "The Organization," "Gathering to Zion," and "Polygamy." An introductory chapter on Mormon history gives some elementary information. Although the author seems to have acquainted himself with the early literature of his subject and to have had personal contact with the Mormons, it cannot seriously be claimed that he has made forceful use of his knowledge. His exposé lacks effectiveness. He has not begun to make full use of a crushing indictment. However, he rather cleverly points out how Mormon leaders have been misguided in their Zionistic schemes, and his reproduction of the subject-matter of the *Nauvoo Expositor* (June, 1844) is astute. The kindly spirit in which he performs his task may disarm the prejudices of the rising generation of Mormons, and pave the way for their reflection. But for students of Mormonism this study has comparatively little.

P. G. M.

WALCOTT, GREGORY DEXTER. *Tsing Hua Lectures on Ethics*. Boston: Badger, 1919. 193 pages. \$1.75.

Professor Walcott delivered these lectures at Tsing Hua college in Peking during a year of instruction which he gave there. They were intended to introduce to Chinese students the conception of ethics entirely familiar to Americans, viz., that morality is essentially a social attitude, developed through group activities, that the ideals thus engendered may be altered as social conditions change, or as new knowledge becomes available, and that ethics ultimately aims at ideals which may be universally human rather than provincial. The discussions are in simple style, richly illustrated by concrete examples, and would serve well the purpose for which they were intended.

G. B. S.

MCDOWALL, STEWART A. *Evolution and the Doctrine of the Trinity*. New York: Putnam, 1918. xxvii+258 pages.

Mr. McDowall aims to restate the doctrine of the Trinity from the standpoint of evolution and related modes of thought. In carrying out his plan he examines the Godward and manward aspects of personality, Christhood as link between Godhead and manhood, belief in human immortality, the evolution of personality, and finally transcendence and immanence. The book appeals to two classes: those who hold to the Trinity in spite of modern thought, and those who seek in modern thought for a convincing defense of the Trinity. Others will find here an unsuccessful, although a very able, attempt to resuscitate an ancient formula which, like "original sin" and the "two-nature doctrine" of Christ, has practically ceased to function in present-day religious experience.

C. A. B.

HASTINGS, JAMES (editor). *The Christian Doctrine of Faith*. (The Great Christian Doctrines.) New York: Scribner, 1919. ix+419 pages. \$3.00.

Those who have used or seen the first volume of Dr. Hastings' series on the Great Christian Doctrines will not need to be told of its plan and place in the literature of the Christian religion. The second shows, like the first, that the editor has fixed upon the great facts of religious experience as the centers around which he aims to arrange the brightest and deepest of the reflections and the most glowing expressions of the inner life. Faith and prayer are subjects of discussion in Christian theology because they are first facts of experience apart from the Christian religion. Faith plays a part even in the pre-religious life. Accordingly, in his collection of the best thought on faith Dr. Hastings goes back to the elemental topics of the necessity, the importance, and the heroism of faith. With this as a starting-point he presents successively ideas on faith in one's self, faith in men, faith in God, faith in Jesus, faith in Christ as Savior; the venture of faith, the fight of faith, the full assurance of faith; the foundation of faith, the confirmation of faith, and sanctification by faith. These are all vital aspects of a great factor in the spiritual life. The works of preachers and poets as well as of philosophers and scientists and men of affairs, as far as they are known to have given utterance to stirring or impressive sayings in them, are here brought together and placed at the disposal of the present-day religious teacher. Not the least suggestive and helpful in the volume are the words of the editor as he introduces the various subdivisions of the subject aiming to direct the reader in his own thinking. The volume is admirably fitted to fill the great "gulf fixed between the professor's lecture room and the preacher's study." Many a young minister, finding that the preparation for his pulpit work is halting, will hasten to the volume for needed assistance and material.

A. C. Z.

AALDERS, W. J. *De Kerk*. (Bijbelsch-Kerkelijk Woordenboek, onder redactie van Prof. Dr. A. Van Veldhuizen.) Groningen, den Haag: Wolters, 1919. 330 pages. F. 7.25.

This third volume of the dictionary of religious information edited by Professor Van Veldhuizen is a highly commendable piece of work. Its scope is limited to the theological terms, ecclesiastical groups, and leading personages in church history. Dealing with conventional topics, it gives in brief but invariably lucid form the information which is desired. Naturally more space relatively is given to matters of Dutch church history than would be found in similar reference books published elsewhere. But we have noted no serious omissions, and have discovered no important errors. An admirably objective point of view is maintained, so that varying religious ideals all receive sympathetic treatment. It would be difficult to find more reliable information in so brief a compass.

G. B. S.

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The more important books in this list will be reviewed at length

OLD TESTAMENT AND SEMITICS

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- Bertholet, Alfred. *Kulturgeschichte Israels*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1919. 294 pages. M. 14.30.

NEW TESTAMENT

- Barton, William E. *Four Hitherto Unpublished Gospels*. New York: Doran, 1920. 149 pages. \$1.50.
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- Enelow, H. G. *A Jewish View of Jesus*. New York: Macmillan, 1920. 181 pages.
- Hoskier, H. C. *The Text of Codex Usserianus ("Garland of Howth")*. London: B. Quaritch, 1919. xi+46 pages.
- Leipoldt, Johannes. *Urchristentum und Gegenwart*. Herrnhut: Winter, 1920. 32 pages. M. 1.65.
- Loisy, Alfred. *Les Mystères païens et le mystère chrétien*. Paris: Emile Nourry, 1914. 368 pages.
- Pallis, Alex. *To the Romans. A Commentary*. London: Liverpool Booksellers' Co., 1920. 190 pages.
- Parry, R. St. John. *The Pastoral Epistles*. Cambridge: University Press, 1920. clxviii+104 pages. 20s.
- Shaw, John M. *The Resurrection of Christ*. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1920. viii+215 pages. \$3.25.
- Smith, David. *The Life and Letters of Saint Paul*. New York: Doran, 1920. xv+704 pages.
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- Johnson, Charles. *Selections from the "Historia Rerum Anglicarum" of William of Newburgh (Texts for Students, No. 12)*. New York: Macmillan, 1920. 63 pages. 1s. 3d.
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- Köhler, Walther. *Die Geisteswelt Ulrich Zwinglis*. Gotha: Perthes, 1920. 156 pages.
- Marriott, G. L. *Macarii Anecdota. Seven Unpublished Homilies of Macarius (Harvard Theological Studies V)*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918. 48 pages. \$1.25.
- Müller, A. V. *Luthers Werdegang bis zum Turmerlebnis*. Gotha: Perthes, 1920. x+140 pages.
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- Dearmer, Percy. *The Power of the Spirit.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1919. 108 pages.
- Graham, John W. *The Faith of a Quaker.* London: Cambridge University Press, 1920. xvi+444 pages. 21s.
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